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AN

ANCIENT HISTORY,

FROM THE

CREATION TO THE FALL OF THE WESTERN
EMPIRE IN A. D. 476.

WITH NUMEROUS MAPS AND PLANS OF CITIES.

By A. J. B. VUIBERT, S. S., A. M.,
" "

PROFESSOR OF RHETORIC AND HISTORY IN ST. CHARLES'S
COLLEGE, ELLICOTT CITY, MD.

Histories make men wise.—BACON.

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FOLEY BROTHERS, PUBLISHERS,
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I take great pleasure in recommending to the students of history, and particularly to the Colleges and Schools of this Archdiocese, the "Ancient History" compiled by the Rev. A. J. B. Vuibert, S. S., A. M., Professor of Rhetoric and History in St. Charles's College.

The many years' experience which Father Vuibert has enjoyed as Professor of History, his studious habits and eminent abilities warrant me in believing that this work will be warmly welcomed, and that it will have a more extensive circulation than even the well-known Ancient History of Rev. Dr. Fredet.

JAMES CARD. GIBBONS,

Archbishop of Baltimore.

PUBLISHERS' NOTICE.

The present work was originally intended to be merely a revision of Fredet's Ancient History. To correct and complete that able and deservedly popular book, and, by embodying in it the latest results of modern research and discovery, to make it worthy of continued patronage, not only in this country, but in England and Ireland, was the writer's sole object. Among the many obstacles preventing this plan, may be mentioned the following :

1. The history of Egypt, Assyria, and Babylonia not only needed to be revised, but entirely rewritten.

2. Of the earlier portions of Grecian and Roman history, the same may be said, either because much that is now deemed legendary, is given with an air of historical truth ; or because, in the internal struggles between the ruling classes and the common people, the blame is too often imposed on the latter.

3. Fredet's plan of presenting "the history of all the nations together," rather than "give a separate account of each," even when the events related have no sort of connection, is carried to such an excess, in his work, as to involve the youthful student in continual perplexity. This defect no simple revision could remove.

4. While Fredet's Ancient History is attractive to the young for its copious narration of military events—its account of the development of human thought, of the progress of arts and sciences, of law and government, is altogether unsatisfactory, the points of most interest being wholly omitted, or crowded at the end of the volume.

5. Finally, in Fredet's work, as in the older histories from Plutarch to Rollin, the element of greatness in the heroes of old so throws in the background their flagrant defects, as to leave the impression upon the mind that the pagan was superior to the Christian world—a fallacy which a more accurate knowledge would promptly dispel.

These manifold blemishes could not be removed, even from a work of acknowledged excellence, by mere emendation. Hence after serious efforts to preserve Fredet's Ancient History, the writer was led to abandon the attempt, and to compose the present work.

PREFACE.

Our age has witnessed important revolutions in the field of Ancient History. The deciphering of the Egyptian hieroglyphics; the recent discovery and interpretation of the cuneiform records of Assyria; the excavations made in Troas, Greece, and elsewhere; finally, a more critical study of Greek and Latin authors, have thrown on many points of ancient history—both sacred and profane, an entirely new light. To embody in a moderate-sized compendium, adapted to the wants of Colleges, Academies, and Schools, the results of modern research thus far obtained, is the object of the present work. A glance at the Table of Contents will show the simplicity of its plan.

After a brief account of the Prehistorical Age drawn from *Genesis*, Ancient Egypt—"the first nation that has a history"—is treated. Then come in order the Phœnicians and the Hebrews; the Chaldeans, Assyrians, and Babylonians; the Medes and the Persians; the Greeks and the Macedonians; lastly, Ancient Rome: the separate account of each being continued till its absorption by some stronger power. As for those nations which played but a secondary part in the world,—such as Ethiopia, Lydia, Armenia, Pergamus, Pontus, and Parthia, in the east; Sicily, Spain, Gaul, Britain, and Carthage, in the west—their history is interwoven with that of the countries with which they were more closely connected. Thus has all useless repetition been avoided, clearness secured, and room obtained for a sketch of the progress of art and letters, a description of government and manners, an account of religion and education, and the introduction of many points peculiarly useful to the student of the ancient classics.

While the history of civilization—letters, institutions, arts, manners—occupies much of the space usually allotted to feats of war, the author has not forgotten that a book for the young derives its chief interest from descriptions of battles, lively anecdotes, and the animated narration of important events. A mere summary of historical facts fails, as experience proves, to enlist the attention of the pupil.

The history of each people is preceded by such geographical details as are deemed necessary for the better understanding of the subsequent narrative. Besides separate maps of the empires of Alexander and Augustus, of Egypt, Palestine and Phœnicia, Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, Greece, Italy, and Gaul, there are plans of the cities of Rome, Athens, Jerusalem, and Syracuse, as also of the battle-fields of Marathon and Thermopylæ.

The headings in bolder type, which under each chapter introduce the separate paragraphs, are so worded as to facilitate the work of the class-room, naturally suggesting the questions to be asked.

Should some of the earliest portions of ancient history, above all that of Egypt, or some further chapters,—those, for instance, on the military organization or government of Rome, the account of Grecian and Roman literature, prove too serious for younger students, they may be reserved for more advanced classes. In like manner, should the book be found too long, the Third Part—The Hebrews, or the Israelites—might be made the subject of the Bible History class. This branch, though generally studied apart we have thought advisable not to omit, since it is the history of God's chosen people, and the liveliest picture of early antiquity we possess.

In conclusion, the book, from beginning to end, is of an elementary kind, never aspiring to original research; and the writer claims no merit to himself beyond what he hopes will be found in the order, arrangement, and choice of materials. Where older writers were deemed sure guides, they have been followed; for later developments, the works of our contemporaries—G. Rawlinson, J. Kenrick, Grote, Merivale, Wm. and Ph. Smith, Lenormant, Vigouroux, Couren, Cantu, and others—have been largely employed. To several of his fellow-professors at St. Charles's College, the author is under great obligation for valuable aid, and especially to his friend, Mr. J. B. Tabb, by whom the Ms. has been carefully revised.

ST. CHARLES'S COLLEGE,
ELLICOTT CITY, MD.

June 30th, 1886.

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PART I.

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CHAPTER I.

FROM THE CREATION TO THE FLOOD.—B. C. ?=3308:

THE CREATION OF THE WORLD.—‘In the beginning,* God created the heavens and the earth,’ that is, the matter, or elements, out of which the celestial bodies and the terrestrial globe were afterwards made. For a length of time which the Bible leaves undetermined, the primitive elements of matter existed in a chaotic state, until by various steps, which Moses describes as the works of successive *days*† or periods, the different portions of the universe were brought into being. On the first day, was created light; on the second, the firmament; on the third, after the separation of the earth from the sea, the herbs and trees; on the fourth, the sun, moon, and stars; on the fifth, the fishes and birds; on the sixth, the

* *Genesis* i, 1. The sacred text assigns no date for the epoch of the creation, and thus allows free scope for all scientific hypotheses.

† The Hebrew word for day, *yom* means also an indefinite period, in which sense modern interpreters generally regard it as used in the present instance.

higher animals and Man; and on the seventh, 'God rested from his works.' Such is the Biblical, and only authentic account of the Creation. Though written for the sole object of showing, in a popular form, that God is the Author of all things, and nowise meant for a rigorously scientific exposition of the dogma of Creation, the Mosaic narrative is in wonderful agreement with all the best ascertained facts of astronomy and geology.

THE CREATION OF ADAM (B. C. ?4963*). — After the earth had been prepared and adorned for the dwelling-place of our race, 'the Lord God formed man of the slime of the earth, and breathed into his face the breath of life,' that is, animated his body with a soul, or spiritual substance. This soul God endowed with understanding and free-will; and to man, thus made in his image and after his likeness, he gave dominion over all created things. He placed him in the delightful region of Eden, in a spot which the Septuagint call 'Paradise'—a word of Persian origin, designating an extensive tract of pleasure-land, rather than an ordinary garden. In that blissful abode, 'the Lord God caused to grow every tree which is pleasant to the sight and good for food—the tree of life also, and the tree of knowledge of good and evil.' Thither God brought to Adam the beasts of the earth and the fowls of the air; and Adam gave them names according to each one's nature, or distinctive traits. Of the exact situation of the terrestrial paradise nothing is certainly known. What seems to be the best supported opinion places it in Armenia, not far from the sources of the Euphrates and the Tigris.

THE CREATION OF EVE.—Then the Lord God cast a deep sleep upon Adam; and, while he slept, he took one of his ribs, of which he formed a woman, and brought her unto him. And when Adam awoke and saw her, he said: "This now is bone of my bone, and flesh of my flesh; she shall be called Woman, because she was taken out of man.† Wherefore a man shall leave father and mother, and shall cleave to

*According to the Benedictine chronology, which is founded on the lxx. The Hebrew text and the Vulgate give B. C. 4004; the Roman Martyrology, B. C. 5199. See p. 20.

†From the above recital shines forth the truth of the unity of the human race; inasmuch as God first created but one single individual, Adam, i. e., *man*, and then out of him drew his partner, Eve, or *life*, 'the mother of all the living.'

his wife; and they shall be two in one flesh. And they were both naked, Adam and his wife, and they were not ashamed"—so perfect was the state of innocence in which our first parents were created.

MAN'S PROBATION AND FALL.—Adam, as has been said, was placed by God 'in the paradise of pleasure,' or garden of Eden. This garden man was 'to dress and keep' as an agreeable occupation, rather than a laborious task; and abundant scope was given for gratifying every lawful taste: "Of every tree of paradise thou mayest eat." Yet to remind him that he had a master, a restraint was laid upon his appetite and self-will: "Of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat; for in the day that thou eatest thereof, thou shalt surely die." But, despite the awful penalty by which it was enforced, our first parents allowed themselves to transgress the law. Deceived by Satan,* the chief of the fallen angels, who addressed her under the form of *the serpent*, Eve "took of the forbidden fruit, and did eat, and gave to her husband, and he did eat; and the eyes of them both were opened." They began to perceive the disorder of rebellious nature; and, conscious of their sin, they tried to hide themselves from God's presence among the trees in the garden. But the Lord summoned them before him to hear their sentence. The woman was made subject to her husband, and condemned to bring forth her children in sorrow; man was doomed to a life of toil; and both were put in mind of death, which awaited them at a future day: "Dust thou art, and into dust thou shalt return." They were then driven out of the paradise of pleasure; and Cherubim, armed with flaming swords, were stationed at the entrance to prevent their return. Thus did our first parents, by their disobedience, lose the state of primitive innocence and grace, bring a train of spiritual evils into the world, and doom themselves with their posterity to misery and death.

THE PROMISE OF A REDEEMER.—God, however, would not leave our first parents without hope; and divine justice was tempered with mercy. The very curse pronounced upon the serpent, which the devil made use of to deceive the woman, contained the promise of a Redeemer: "Thou art cursed above all the beasts of the earth. I will put enmity

*Satan used the serpent's tongue as an instrument to form the sounds which reached the ears of the woman.

between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed ; she* shall crush thy head, and thou wilt lie in wait for her heel." Here we have the *first prophecy of the Messiah*. To the woman God promises that of her shall one day be born a Savior, who, after suffering from the malignity of the serpent, or devil, shall destroy his works and power, rescue man from the slavery of sin, and become 'to all that obey him, the cause of eternal salvation.'

CAIN AND ABEL.—After their banishment from Eden, Eve bore her first-born son, Cain. Her second son was named Abel. The latter was a keeper of sheep ; the former, a tiller of the ground.† In course of time, it came to pass that they offered sacrifices unto the Lord. Cain brought of the fruits of the earth ; Abel, of the firstlings of his flock and of the fat thereof. But the two oblations were not presented in the same spirit, and so the Lord signified his willing acceptance of Abel's offering ; but Cain's was rejected, on account of the state of mind in which it was brought. At this 'Cain was exceedingly angry.' He would not pardon his brother for being better than himself ; and, when they were in the field together, he fell upon him and slew him. In punishment of his crime, the ground was cursed for him again ; and he was condemned to be 'a fugitive and a vagabond upon the earth.'

THE POSTERITY OF CAIN.—Cain received his doom in a hardened spirit of impenitence. "My iniquity," he exclaimed, "is greater than to receive pardon." Having gone out from the presence of the Lord, he directed his steps to the east of Eden, and settled in the land of Nod, that is, banishment. There he built a city, and called it Henoah, after his first-born son. His next descendants to the fifth generation were Irad, Maviael, and Mathusael. The son of Mathusael, Lamech, was the first to violate the original unity of marriage. His address to his two wives (*Gen. iv. 23-24*), is the earliest known example of poetry, and it also shows that he committed the second murder.

*Modern critics are agreed that the true reading is *it*, referring not to the woman but to her *seed*. The words *thy head* and *thou*, it is needless to say, have an especial, if not exclusive reference to the devil, the real author of the Temptation and cause of the Fall.

†Thus were the two arts which are most necessary for the support of human life, cultivated from the very beginning of the world.

ORIGIN OF THE MECHANICAL AND LIBERAL ARTS.—Of Lamech's three sons, Jabel 'was the father of such as live in tents and of herdsmen;' Jubal 'was the father of them that play upon the harp and the organ;' and Tubalcain 'was a hammerer and artificer in every work of brass and iron.' Here we have pointed to us the first origin of the mechanical and liberal arts. But these words are far from conveying an adequate idea of the perfection which the arts and sciences reached before the Flood. For what may we not think of the capabilities of men who were taught by such a master as Adam, and whose personal experience embraced a period of nearly 1000 years!

THE RACE OF SETH.—**LONGEVITY OF THE PATRIARCHS.** Instead of Abel, whom Cain slew, God gave to Eve another son—Seth, whose descendants were Enos, Cainan, Malael, Jared, Henoch, Mathusala, and Lamech, the father of Noah.* Among these patriarchs, Henoch stands conspicuous as one who led a life of close communion with his Maker. When he was 365 years old, his faith was rewarded by a special favor: 'He walked with God, and was seen no more;† having been 'translated that he should not see death.' Mathusala, his son, lived longer than any other man, and reached the extraordinary age of 969 years. Before the Flood, the span of human life was nine or ten times what it now is. The true causes of such longevity are not known. By some it is attributed to the greater purity of the atmosphere, and the superior wholesomeness of the food yielded by the primitive soil.

PERVERSION OF THE HUMAN RACE.—Cain, wandering and impenitent, became the father of a posterity wicked like himself. But to Seth whom he 'begot to his own image and likeness', Adam handed down the promises of mercy, which had been given to him by God. Faith in these promises became the distinguishing mark of the descendants of Seth; and, in contrast with the race of Cain, or 'sons of men', they are called in Scripture 'sons of God.' Among them, the primitive simplicity of a pastoral life and devotional habits long prevailed. But at last, 'the sons of God, seeing that the daughters of men were fair, took to themselves wives of all

*Thus we see by how few steps, and yet by how many contemporary teachers, the traditions of primeval history were handed down from Adam to Noah.

†Hebrews xi, 5.

whom they chose; and this mingling of races resulted in the thorough corruption of the descendants of Seth. Violence and godlessness prevailed everywhere; and impurity became so general, that the lust of the antediluvian age is referred to by St. Peter and St. Jude, as a pattern of the wickedness of the last days, which shall again make the world ripe for destruction.

UNCERTAINTY OF THE BIBLICAL CHRONOLOGIES.—Very different are the dates assigned by historians to the Creation of man, the Flood, and the Call of Abraham; and yet all are derived from the same source—the Biblical genealogies (*Gen.* v, xi), as they are also obtained through the same process, viz., by adding together the years during which the patriarchs lived not contemporaneously. The discrepancy arises from these years not being set down uniformly* in the various texts. The primitive figures of *Genesis* have, in course of time, been altered; and thus it has become impossible to fix with certainty the true dates. Besides the genealogies of *Genesis*, there are, in the rest of the sacred books, various other numerical statements, affording the elements for a continuous chronology down to the birth of Christ. But here also it happens that the figures are not found to agree. Owing to all these discrepancies, more than 200 chronologies have been composed, all founded on biblical data variously combined, or modified according to the different readings of the sacred texts. Which of them comes nearest to the truth, is a question on which the Catholic Church has not pronounced; and, although she adopts the Vulgate as her authentic version of the Scriptures, guaranteeing its substantial accuracy as a translation of the original and its immunity from all doctrinal error, she by no means vouches for its numerical indications. In the early centuries of the Christian era, between five and six thousand years were universally reckoned, by both Greek and Latin writers, as having elapsed from the creation of Adam to the coming of Christ. When desired by the Emperor to fix an era, or convenient starting point for historical computation, the Fathers of the

*The Hebrew text, and its Latin translation by St. Jerome—the Vulgate, reckon 1656 years before the Flood; some ancient Mss. of the Greek version of the Septuagint (lxx) allowed as many as 2262; the Samaritan Pentateuch has only 1307. From Noah to Abraham, the lxx count 1172 years; the Latin and Hebrew, 292; and the Samaritan, 942.

6th Ecumenical Council, held at Constantinople in A. D. 680, assigned *B. C. 5509 as the date of the creation of man. This date the Greek Church still retains. In the west, the two chronologies the most generally received in modern times have been that of Usher, the Protestant archbishop of Armagh, with B. C. 4004 for its starting point, and the Benedictine with B. C. 4963. The latter is followed, in this manual, down to the establishment of royalty among the Israelites, where concurring Assyrian, Babylonian, and Egyptian documents show it to be erroneous.

The discrepancies found in the various texts or ancient Mss. of the Scriptures, ought not to surprise us. Mistakes of copyists are nowhere so easy as in numbers, especially where letters are used as numerical signs, since the context here affords little or no safeguard against error; and God, not designing the Bible to be a repository of *scientific* data, has not wrought miracles to preserve the Biblical figures unaltered. It is enough for our faith, that, in all their essential parts pertaining to *religious teaching*†, the various sacred texts perfectly agree, and show such character of unity as attests their fundamental and permanent integrity: no ancient book has reached us in so perfect a state of preservation as the Holy Bible.

Nothing as yet, in the actual stage of historic or scientific discoveries, proves that no man's existence on earth is to be

*This is of course a decision of mere historical convenience, not respecting either faith or morals. The eras of Alexandria and Antioch have respectively B. C. 5503, and B. C. 5493, thus nearly coinciding with that of Constantinople.

†The subject matter of Holy Scripture consists partly of truths and facts recorded on account of their intrinsic value for our instruction in Faith and Morals, partly of facts which have no doctrinal value of their own, and are in consequence recorded not for their own sake, but for the sake of what is intrinsically important, on account of the historical connection which binds them together. The creation of the world and all its constituent parts, the common descent of mankind from Adam and Eve, the peculiar care extended to one family, from which the Redeemer was to spring—these are statements recorded for their own sake, over the pure transmission of which a Special Providence watches. Not so, at least in an equal degree, the precise succession of time according to which the several orders of created substance came into being, the precise ethnic affinities of the tribes which went forth to people the earth, the precise individuals who were the progenitors of Noah or Abraham, the length of time they lived, etc.—*London Tablet*, Jan. 30, 1886.

traced beyond the dates derived from the sacred text as it now stands. But should true science require a wider scope of chronology, the learned are free to carry farther back the epochs of the Flood or of the Creation of man. We must ever bear in mind that all the dates of remote ancient history, whether sacred or profane, are more or less doubtful, and often purely conjectural. It is only about the time of the destruction of the Kingdom of Israel, in 722 B. C., that, owing to the convergence of several independent testimonies, a perfectly safe basis for chronology is reached.

CHAPTER II.

FROM THE FLOOD TO THE DISPERSION OF MEN.--

B. C. 3308-?.

NOAH (B. C. 3908-2958) BUILDS THE ARK.—‘God seeing that the wickedness of men was great, and that all the thought of their heart was bent upon evil at all times, repented that he had made man’, and said: “I will destroy man and beasts, birds and reptiles, from the face of the earth.” Noah, however, who was ‘a just and perfect man,’ found grace in the eyes of the Lord. He was commanded by God to build an ark, or vessel, of vast dimensions, wherein himself and his three sons—Sem, Cham, and Japheth, his wife and their wives, and certain specified animals, would be preserved from the impending destruction. A hundred or a hundred and twenty years did Noah spend in constructing the ark. It was a sort of immense floating house, which contained a number of ‘nests,’ or small apartments, arranged in three tiers, one above another. The ark is computed to have been 547 feet long, 92 feet broad, and 54 feet high, that is, con-

siderably larger than any vessel now in existence. Noah was then 600 years old.

THE FLOOD (B. C. 3308).—‘When Noah had done all things which the Lord had commanded,’ he went into the ark with his sons, his wife, the wives of his sons, and the animals. Then ‘all the fountains of the great deep were broken up, and the floodgates of heaven were opened, and the rain fell upon the earth forty days and forty nights.’ And the water increased, till it rose fifteen cubits above the summit of the loftiest mountains; ‘and it destroyed all substance which was upon the earth, both man and beast, and the creeping things, and fowls of the air: Noah only remained, and they who were with him in the ark.’ After 150 days, the waters began to subside; and, on the 17th day of the 7th month, they left the ark aground upon one of the mountains of Ararat, or Armenia. On the first day of the tenth month, the tops of the mountains appeared. Forty days afterwards, ‘Noah sent out a raven which went forth and did not return. He sent forth also a dove after him; but she, finding no resting-place, came back again; and he put forth his hand, and caught her, and brought her into the ark.’ In another seven days, the dove was sent out again, and returned bearing an olive-leaf—a sign that even the lowest trees were uncovered. Finally, on being let out for the third time at the end of a week, ‘she returned not any more unto him; and Noah, opening the covering of the ark, looked and saw that the face of the ground was dry.’

THE UNIVERSALITY OF THE FLOOD MERELY RELATIVE.—Ancient authors generally believed the Deluge to have been strictly universal, and to have covered the whole earth without the exception of one single spot. But an ever-increasing number of theologians maintain, that it was universal only so far as man was concerned, and extended merely to all *the then known world*. Indeed, if it be proper to understand passages of Scripture as the author, and those whom he addressed, understood them, what is more natural than to restrict the meaning of the words—‘the whole earth, all the mountains, and animals’—used in the Mosaic description to the earth, mountains, and animals as known by Noah, Moses, and the Hebrews? They assuredly did not attach to the geographical universality of the globe the meaning which that expression implies since the discovery

of America and Australia.—The hypothesis of a partial deluge,* has the double advantage of harmonizing better with the present state of the natural sciences, and of precluding many objections raised against the Mosaic recital, among others, those drawn from the difficulty of collecting, housing, and transporting back animals which dwelt beyond the seas. Those which lived in regions not yet inhabited by mankind, being left undisturbed, need not be taken into account, in reference to the Flood, Noah, and his ark.

NOAH'S SACRIFICE.—After being in the ark one year and ten days, Noah went out of it with every living thing that was within. His first act, on leaving the ark, was to take a couple of every clean bird and beast, and to offer them as a burnt-offering. This sacrifice was acceptable to the Lord; and he promised that he would not any more curse the earth, or destroy the creatures that dwelt upon it: "While the earth remaineth, seedtime and harvest, cold and heat, summer and winter, night and day, shall not cease."

GOD'S BLESSING, PRECEPTS, AND COVENANT.—To Noah and his sons God then repeated the blessing pronounced on Adam and Eve: "Increase, and multiply, and fill the earth." He added: "Let the fear and dread of you be upon all the beasts of the earth, and upon all the fowls of the air. All the fishes of the sea are delivered into your hand; everything which moveth and liveth, shall be food† for you. Even as the green herbs have I delivered to you all things, but flesh with blood ye shall not eat. For the blood of your lives I will require from every beast, and at the hand of man will I require the life of man. Whoever shall shed man's blood, his blood shall be shed: for to the image of God man was made. Behold I establish my covenant with you and with your seed after you. And this is the sign of my covenant with you: my bow shall appear in the clouds, and I will remember my covenant with you, and the waters shall no more be a flood to destroy all flesh."

NOAH'S BLESSING AND CURSE.—Noah began his new life as a husbandman. "He tilled the ground, and planted

*We should not confound the above interpretation of a partial deluge with an opinion lately started, that the flood extended only to those regions wherein lived the mass of mankind, but spared some tribes that had already reached Ethiopia and Mongolia.

†Till now fruit and vegetables had constituted the sole food of man; henceforth the use of flesh was allowed.

a vineyard. And, drinking of the wine, he became drunk, and he was uncovered in his tent." His second son, Cham, the father of Canaan, on perceiving this, jestingly "told it to his two brothers without. But Sem and Japheth put a cloak upon their shoulders; and, going backward, with their faces turned away, covered their father's nakedness. And Noah, awaking from the wine, when he had learned what his younger son had done to him, said: Cursed be Canaan! a servant of servants shall he be to his brethren. Blessed be the Lord God of Sem! be Canaan his servant. May God enlarge Japheth; and may he dwell in the tents of Sem, and Canaan be his servant!" The subsequent history of Canaan shows the fulfillment of the curse. He became the slave of Sem, when Israel took possession of his land; and, when Tyre fell before the arms of Alexander, and Carthage succumbed to her Roman conquerors, he became the slave of Japheth. The blessing upon Sem is seen in the history of Abraham and of his descendants, the chosen race, or the people of God. The blessing upon Japheth, the ancestor of the great European nations, is illustrated in their subjugation of the rest of the world, and especially in the wide-spread diffusion of their—the Christian—religion. "Noah lived after the Flood 350 years. And all his days were 950 years: and he died."

THE TOWER OF BABEL* AND CONFUSION OF TONGUES. To Sem, Cham, and Japheth 'sons were born after the flood,' and they began again to fill the earth. How long they tarried in the highlands of Armenia, is a matter of doubt. It is generally supposed that they† removed early to the fertile plains of Sennaar‡—the southern part of Mesopotamia, since known as Babylonia. There they discovered the art of making brick from the argillaceous soil, and of cementing it with the mineral bitumen, or asphalt. Here, too, they so multiplied, that they found it necessary to disperse. But, before parting, they said: "Come, let us make a city and tower, the top whereof may reach heaven; and let us make our name famous." This undertaking, inspired by vanity,

*The historic Babylon rose close to, if not precisely on, the same spot as the Babel Tower. Babylon is the Greek form of Babel.

†Some think that only Sem and his children, with a part of the posterity of Cham, are meant in the passage of *Genesis xi*, 2. 'When *they* removed from the east.'

‡Or Shinar, 'the land of the rivers.'

displeased Almighty God. "He confounded their tongue, that they might not understand one another's speech. And they ceased to build the city. And therefore the name of it was called *Babel*, because there the language of the whole earth was confounded; and thence the Lord scattered them abroad upon the face of all countries."

THE THREE GREAT HUMAN FAMILIES.*—The chief seat of the race of Cham (the swarthy) was in Africa. Of his sons, *Mesraim* peopled Egypt; *Chus*, Ethiopia; and *Phut* with *Lubim* (whence Libya), the countries to the west of Egypt and Ethiopia. The Canaanites and the Philistines, the primitive Cretans and Cypriots, as well as the inhabitants of some districts in Asia Minor, were also his children. In fine, his descendants mingled with the Semitic races on the shores of Arabia, and along the Tigris and the Euphrates. The sons of Sem occupied: Aram, Syria; Arphaxad, Chaldea; Assur, Assyria; Elam, Elymais; and Joctan, Arabia.

From Japheth sprung: Gomer, the father of the Celtic race; Magog, of the Scythic and the Teutonic; Madaï, of the Bactrians, Medes, and Persians; Javan, of the Pelasgic, Hellenic, and Italian races; Thubal, of the Iberians; Mosoch, of the Cappadocians; Thiras, of the Thracians and Slavonians. Japheth is believed to be the father of more than half the human family. The posterity of his brothers were the first to reach their political development; but his own descendants have long since attained an uncontested superiority over the rest of mankind. Being the dominant race both in Europe and in the valley of the Ganges, they are often designated as the great Indo-European family of nations. They are also called *Aryans* from Ariana,† the primitive seat of the race.

POSTDILUVIAN CIVILIZATION.—Numberless monuments disappeared with the Flood, and a thousand discoveries were swept away. But the bulk of the antediluvian civilization

* *Gen.* x; the ethnographic table it contains is the oldest document of the kind. Every fresh advance of linguistic and historical studies serves but to place its correctness in clearer light.

† A country of Asia, lying east of the Caspian Sea and north of the Hindoo Koosh and Paropamisan Mountains. Linguistic studies have of late furnished additional evidence of a family relation among the peoples mentioned in tenth Chapter of *Genesis* as sprung from Japheth.

was transmitted by Noah and his sons to their posterity. Such of their descendants as continued to dwell in the land of Sennaar, or enjoyed, in more distant countries, the possession of rich lands and the blessing of peace, not only retained the elements of civilization thus handed down,* but by slow and patient steps regained what had been lost. The rest of mankind, on the contrary, owing to the sterility of the soil, prolonged wars, or other causes, gradually fell into a state of ignorance and barbarism.

DECREASE OF HUMAN LONGEVITY—GENERAL IDOLATRY AND CORRUPTION.—After the Flood, a decrease in the duration of human life became noticeable. Whether in consequence of noxious vapors which diminished the purity of the atmosphere, or because the earth, deteriorated by the waters of Deluge, produced less wholesome fruits and vegetables, or for some other reason, none of the postdiluvian reached the great age of the antediluvian patriarchs. Reduced first by a sharp descent to less than 500 years, human longevity fell gradually, in the course of a few generations, below 200, and continued to decrease till restricted to its present short duration.—Another and worse change was the lapse of Noah's offspring into idolatry and corruption. Forgetting the true God, men abandoned themselves without restraint to their worst passions, and prostituted to vile creatures the homage and adoration due to the Creator alone.

*This explains the marvel of finding the people of Egypt and Chaldea, in the early infancy of their existence as nations, in possession, not only of recondite astronomical truths, but of the perfection of mechanical and architectural skill, as well as of chemical knowledge displayed in the various compounds used by them in different arts.



PART II.

THE ANCIENT EGYPTIANS.

FROM THE DAWN OF THE MONARCHY, TO THE PERSIAN
CONQUEST IN 527 B. C.

CHAPTER I.

THE LAND, LANGUAGE, AND EARLY CIVILIZATION OF EGYPT.

THE LAND OF EGYPT AND THE NILE.—Egypt may be said to consist wholly of the valley of the Nile below the First Cataract. The average breadth of the valley above Memphis (or Cairo), is only seven miles; but, below this point, the plain expands into the Delta, which is about 100 miles from north to south, and 200 along the coast of the Mediterranean.

The fertility of Egypt is proverbial. It is the result of the annual overflowings of the Nile, which leave a rich deposit capable of producing extraordinary crops with hardly any cultivation. According to Herodotus, there were parts of Egypt where it was unnecessary to use either plough or hoe. The seed was scattered on the alluvial deposit, and trodden in by beasts—sheep, goats, or pigs,—after which the husbandman had nothing to do but simply to await the harvest.

EGYPTIAN WRITING: HIEROGLYPHIC—HIERATIC—DEMOTIC.—The Egyptians had three sorts of letters, and consequently of writing: the *hieroglyphic* (sacred carvings), the *Hieratic* (priestly characters), and the *Demotic* (popular), sometimes called *enchorial*. The hieroglyphics are representations of objects borrowed from nature or purely

imaginary, as the heavenly bodies, the human form and its various parts, animals, fishes, reptiles, plants, vegetables, articles of dress, furniture, vases, instruments, etc. The number of hieroglyphic signs as counted by Mr. Brugsch, in 1872, exceeds 3000. By the ancient Egyptians this writing was chiefly used for inscriptions on their monuments, being either engraved in relief, or sunk below the surface, and not unfrequently decorated with a variety of colors. For less ornamental purposes they employed the hieratic characters, or abridged hieroglyphics, which differ from hieroglyphics proper as our *small letters* from *capitals*. About the 7th century B. C. the hieratic writing was simplified. The hieroglyphic forms which it retained, were almost entirely dropped, and it was brought nearer the alphabetic system. This new kind of cursive writing, known as the demotic—the last native form, rapidly superseded the hieratic, and continued in use till the 3d century B. C., when in turn it yielded to the Greek alphabet. From that time, the number of persons who could read the old Egyptian characters grew less, until all knowledge of their signification was altogether lost.

THE ROSETTA-STONE.—In A. D. 1799, during the French occupation of Egypt, Lieutenant Bouchard unearthed, near Rosetta, a slab of black granite, bearing an inscription written both in hieroglyphic and in demotic letters, with a Greek translation. By means of this and his own surprising powers of intuition, the learned Champollion at last found the key which has unlocked the hieroglyphic writings. Before his death, in 1832, he succeeded in fixing the value of 260 phonetic hieroglyphics. Other savants, with laudable zeal, have since continued his works, and deciphered also the hieratic and demotic writing.

THE DECIPHERING OF THE EGYPTIAN LANGUAGE.—The ability to distinguish the separate Egyptian characters would have proved of no avail, had not the Coptic language supplied the means of understanding the meaning of the words. The Copts are the remnants of the old Egyptian population, that have survived through all the dynastic changes of centuries, under the successive rule of the Persians, Greeks, Romans, Arabs, and Turks. The language which they continued to speak* till within 250 years ago, without being

*To this day it is the liturgical language of the Egyptian Monophysites.

absolutely identical with the old Egyptian, is its legitimate descendant, and bears to it the closest resemblance. It is mainly through its affinity with the Coptic that the old Egyptian language has received its interpretation.

EARLY CIVILIZATION OF THE EGYPTIANS.—The exuberant fertility and easy working of the soil of Egypt, together with the long peace enjoyed by the settlers after their coming into the country, enabled the Egyptians to retain and improve all the arts of civilization which they had brought from Asia. At an early period, they erected large cities with magnificent palaces and temples, and built themselves elaborate tombs, the walls and surfaces of which they adorned with sculptured reliefs and pictures of their own deeds, or covered with inscriptions. In those tombs and in the mummy-cases of the dead, they also enclosed rolls of paper made of the papyrus reed,* containing all sorts of records—historical and official, religious and literary. To the existence of these records, and to her monumental inscriptions, Egypt owes her place as the first country that has a history.

UNSETTLED CHRONOLOGY—MANETHO'S LIST OF KINGS.—The ancient Egyptians had no era; each sovereign dated his annals by his regnal years. Nor have there as yet been gathered from the monumental records and older writings sufficient data whereby to construct a real chronology† of early Egyptian history. Manetho's‡ *List of Kings*, arranged in 30 *Dynasties*, with the number of years for each reign, is altogether unreliable, being both inconsistent in itself and often contradicted by the monuments. Besides, it is doubtful what dynasties were contemporaneous or consecutive.

*Down to the time of the Saracenic invasion, the banks of the Nile were covered with this reed—the *papyrus*, the Latin name of which gives us our word *paper*, and its Greek name *byblus*, the word for *book* perpetuated in our *Bible* (*The Book*). The inner membrane of the papyrus was spread out into leaves, and these were joined with gluten into a long strip, which could be rolled into a volume (Lat. *volumen*, a roll).

† "It is only from the beginning of Dynasty xxvi—Later Saïte Monarchy, (B. C. 650)—that it rests on data which leave little to be desired as to their exactitude."—*Brugsch*.

‡An Egyptian priest, who, under Ptolemy Philadelphus, compiled from records laid up in the temples a history of the native kings. The 'list,' with a few fragments, is all that has been preserved.

Manetho grouped his 30 dynasties under three heads: the Old Empire, the Middle Empire, or period of the Shepherd Kings, and the New Empire, which extends down to the Grecian conquest.

EPOCHS OF EGYPTIAN HISTORY.—Ending the history of the Ancient Egyptians with their subjugation by Cambyes, in 327 B. C. that is with Manetho's xxvi dynasty, we have adopted the following division into 4 periods: 1st, the Memphian Monarchy; 2nd, the First Theban Monarchy, (B. C. 2500-2120), and the Shepherd Kings (B. C. 2120-1900); 3d, the New Theban Monarchy (about B. C. 1900-1100); 4th, the Kingdoms of the Delta, the Ethiopian Pharaohs, and the Later Saïte Monarchy (B. C. 1100-527). Each of these periods will form the subject of a separate chapter.

CHAPTER II.

THE MEMPHIAN MONARCHY.*

RISE OF THE MEMPHIAN MONARCHY.—Egypt is said to have been peopled by *Mesraim*,† a son of Cham, if not by that patriarch himself. Like many other countries in their earliest political state, it appears to have had at first a number of petty kings, who each reigned over a single city with its surrounding territory, or *nome*. In course of time, a change took place; the city of Memphis began to acquire a certain preeminence over the neighboring states. To Menes‡ ancient historians ascribe the foundation of Memphis, whose site he gained by raising a dike, which confined the Nile to its channel in the middle of the valley. But, in

*This period embraces Manetho's first ten dynasties.

†Mesraim is also the *Semitic* name of Egypt. The *native* name of the country, *Khem* (black or brown), is identical with that of the patriarch Cham. The ancient Egyptians were of that Asiatic race which is called *Hamitic*, a name denoting at once a swarthy (not negro-black) complexion, and a supposed descent from Cham, or Ham.

‡In Egyptian, Mna, or Menai.

reality there remains nothing which can be traced back to the time of Menes; and modern critics doubt or even deny his personal existence. On all hands, however, it is admitted that the Memphian kingdom early attained an eminent degree of strength and civilization. The evidences of this progress are found, not indeed in Memphis itself, which is now but a heap of shapeless mounds; but in its vast necropolis,* and above all in those imperishable tombs of the Memphian kings—the pyramids.

THE PYRAMIDS AND PYRAMID KINGS.—The pyramids, 66 in number, stand in several groups along the western margin of the valley of the Nile, over a space of 70 miles. The three large ones of *Ghizeh*, which form part of the necropolis of Memphis and are referred to Manetho's 4th dynasty, are the most interesting of all. The first, or Great Pyramid, was built by Cheops (*Khufu* or *Shufu*); the second, which is nearly as large, by Cephren (*Shafra*); the third, which is much smaller but of choicer materials, by Mycerinus (*Menkaura*, or *Mencheres*).

The Pyramid of Cheops is the vastest monument in the world, or, as Dean Stanley expresses it, 'the nearest approach to a mountain that the art of man has produced.' The account of its execution was thus told Herodotus† by the Egyptian priests. "Cheops closed the temples and forbade his subjects to sacrifice, compelling them instead to labor—one and all—in his service. 100,000 men worked constantly, and were relieved every three months by fresh laborers. Ten years were employed in making the causeway for the conveyance of the limestone blocks from the quarries on the other side of the Nile. The Pyramid itself was twenty years in building." At the time of the Saracenic invasion, it was still intact, its base being a square of 764 feet,|| and its height

* City of the dead, or cemetery; it extends for more than 15 miles along the foot terraces of the Libyan range.

† Herodotus devotes a whole book of his *History* to an account of Egypt. Unable to read the hieroglyphic and hieratic writings, he could not control the statements of his informants—chiefly priests of Memphis and Saïs, and must often have been imposed upon. But his own truthfulness is unquestioned. "Such as think the tales told by the Egyptians credible," he says, "are free to accept them for history. For my own part, I propose to myself, throughout my work, *faithfully to record* the traditions of the several nations."

|| It covers 13 acres of ground, twice the area of St. Peter's at Rome.

about 483—dimensions which represent 89,000,000 cubic feet of masonry and a weight of 6,848,000 tons. What labor and skill were needed to procure, polish, and pile up such an amount of cut stone, these figures sufficiently show. Indeed one such work alone tells of vast resources, great mechanical skill, a long period of peaceful security, and unlimited command of naked human strength; while, in its projector and accomplisher, it denotes an elevation of thought approaching to genius, with resolution and strength of mind of the highest order. It is certainly most wonderful, that, in Egypt, almost at the commencement of its history and among a people uninstructed from without, a king should conceive and effect a design so vast—a structure which, after the lapse of so many ages, is counted still among the chief wonders of the world, remaining the most prodigious monument of human construction.* From inscriptions recently discovered, it is shown that Cheops built a temple to Isis, whom he styles his mother; and that he composed the Sacred Books, which continued to be highly valued in later ages. But the calamities which such constructions as his necessarily entail upon the people, caused an ill repute to attach to his memory.

Shafra, the author of the 'Second Pyramid,' showed, in designing his tomb, an ambition hardly inferior to that of his predecessor. He probably built also the small temple behind the great sphinx, a structure entirely composed of huge granite blocks, smoothly polished, and fitted together with a skill which astonishes the modern architect.

Menckeres, or *Menkaura*, who is said to have been distinguished for religion, justice, and kindness of heart, relinquished, as opposed to his people's happiness, the magnificent ideas of Cheops and *Shafra*. As designed and executed by himself, the 'Third Pyramid' seems to have been a square of no very great proportions. A later sovereign, perhaps Queen Nitocris, enlarged it to its present dimensions, and covered it to half its height with the beautiful casing of red granite for which it is especially admired.

We need not say more of the pyramid builders. It is quite enough for the glory of their period, that it carried to

*In the opinion of the most eminent astronomers of our own day, this Pyramid is not, like the others, a mere mausoleum, but a monument embodying the highest truths and presupposing the highest attainments in astronomical and mathematical science.

perfection its own style of architecture. Besides their pyramids, the kings of that age erected solid and enduring temples,—one of which has been lately exhumed.

SOCIAL LIFE UNDER THE MEMPHIAN MONARCHY.—Nor is it alone the pyramids and temples that attest the advanced civilization which existed under the Memphian Monarchy. In the rock-hewn sepulchres, dating from this period, pictures and hieroglyphics have been found, showing the social state at that time. Land-owners and the various officials of the age are depicted therein. The colossal figure of the owners of the tomb, armed with the stick is the most prominent. Next comes the task-master, ready to inflict the bastinado, and the scribe with his tablet and pen in hand, entering the account of the various products which the overseer, by the hands of his slaves, presents to the master. Drovers of oxen, thousands in number; whole herds of cattle, milked at one time; trains of servants, laden with provisions; table piled with bread, fruit, and meat—are the characteristics of prevailing abundance and prosperity.

From the same pictures we are led to infer that field-sports—hunting, fowling, and fishing—were eagerly pursued. The chief in-door amusements were concerts and dances performed, in presence of the master and mistress of the household and their guests, by hired musicians and dancing girls.

A curious feature of the representations is the number and variety of domestic animals—donkeys, dogs, apes, antelopes, gazelles, geese, ducks, tame storks, and pigeons—all depicted with remarkable fidelity to nature. The camels, giraffes, elephants, horses, so common in Egypt at a later date, are not seen on these monuments.

FIRST EVIDENCE OF A UNITED EGYPT.—The extent of Egyptian territory ruled by the great pyramid kings and the other monarchs of Manetho's iv and v dynasties is doubtful. Of princes who held sway over the whole Nile valley, and made extensive military expeditions, we meet the first evidence with dynasty vi. These may, therefore, be supposed to be the first kings of United Egypt as we find it in that day, and to have undertaken their foreign conquests only after the increase and consolidation of their power at home.

DISMEMBERMENT OF THE MEMPHIAN MONARCHY.—The sixth dynasty is mainly composed of a group of four monarchs, who bore the names of *Teta*, *Pepi* or *Merira*

Memnra, and *Nerferkara*. To this period also belongs Queen Nitocris, the only Egyptian female that is known to have held the government in her sole name. About the time of her death, anarchy appears to have set in. The Memphian Monarchy was dismembered. Out of its ruins several small states were formed, until, in central Egypt, a new power developed itself at Thebes, which ended by absorbing the rival kingdoms. No means exist of measuring the interval between the decadence of Memphis and the rise of Thebes to political preeminence. No monuments belonging to dynasties vii, viii, ix, and x have yet been discovered, and of this period nothing is known.

CHAPTER III.

THE FIRST THEBAN MONARCHY (?B. C. 2500-2120),

AND THE SHEPHERD KINGS (?B. C. 2120-1900).*

SITUATION AND RISE OF THEBES.—Of all the eligible sites for a great city along the course of the Nile, few could be found superior to that where once stood the famous city of Thebes.† Here, for the first time since quitting the Nubian desert, does the Nile enter upon a wide and ample space; on either side the hills recede, and a broad, green plain of the richest alluvium spreads out on both banks. Here, too, there open, to the east and to the west, lines of route offering great advantages for trade, on the one hand

* This period embraces Manetho's xi, xii, xiii, xiv, xv, xvi, and xvii dynasties.

† Called by its inhabitants *Apt*, *Apet*, *Apé*, or, with the feminine article, *Tapé*, which form the Greeks represented by Thebai, whence our Thebes. After it became the great seat of the worship of Cham (*Ham*), or Amun (*Amen*), it received the sacred names of *P-amen Amun-ei* (the abode of Amen). Hence, the Hebrew prophets call it *No-Ammon* or simply *No*. Hence, also, its classical name of *Diospolis the Great*; for the Greeks regarded the Egyptian Amun as their Jove, and styled him *Zeus Ammon* (in Latin, *Jupiter Ammon*.) •

with the Lesser Oasis* and the tribes of the interior of Africa, on the other with the western coast of the Red Sea and the spice region of the opposite shore.

In this favored position, partly on the left, but principally on the right bank of the Nile, had grown up probably from a remote antiquity, the flourishing city of Thebes. Long content with a secondary position, it became, after the dismemberment of the Memphian Monarchy, not only the capital of an independent kingdom, but the chief seat of the second and most brilliant Egyptian civilization.

TRADE AND COMMERCE UNDER DYNASTY XI.—The political importance of Thebes dates from the kings of the xi and xii dynasties. The monumental traces of dynasty xi appear to show a series either of six or eight monarchs, who bear alternately the names of *Enantef* or *Antef*, and *Menthept* or *Mentuhotep*, and are followed by a *Sankhkara*. The tomb of Antef the Great shows him standing among his dogs and served by his chief huntsman. *Mentuhotep* II is exhibited in the act of worshipping Khem† (Cham); he sank wells in the valley of Hammamât, to provide water for the caravans which passed to and fro between Coptos and the Red Sea. Sankhkara, not content with the land-trade, which had now for some time enriched the Theban monarchs, and brought them the treasures of the African interior, established a regular line of traffic, by way of the Red Sea, with the fertile and productive region known to the Egyptians as *Punt*—either Happy Arabia, or rather the

* The term oasis—which is now the familiar appellation of those islands in the sea of sand where a stream of water bursts out, and gives life to some herbage and palm-trees, before it is again lost in the desert—is of Egyptian origin, and was first applied to the fertile spots which break the vast expanse of the Libyan Desert.

Three of these were of considerable size : the *Lesser Oasis*, west of Middle Egypt ; the *Greater Oasis*, or *Oasis* simply, with a city of the same name (now El Khargeh), west of Upper Egypt, and seven days' journey from Thebes ; and, much farther west, and in a more northerly position than either of these two, the *Oasis of Ammon*, which the ancients called simply Ammon, or Ammonium. Here, amidst the Libyan natives, a ruling tribe, kindred to the Ethiopians, established a sanctuary of Amun, with the most famous of his oracles, by which Alexander was afterwards saluted as his son.

† This is the first recorded instance of the worship of Ammon, destined to become, in the best time of Thebes, most decidedly the leading god of the entire Egyptian Pantheon.

modern territory of the Somauli. In Punt, the Egyptian traders found an entrepôt at which they were able to procure not only the products of the Somauli country itself, but all those which nations of the far east brought from Arabia, Persia, and perhaps even India, to be exchanged for the commodities of the region of the Nile. Sankhkara's new line of traffic continued during the whole of the Egyptian period, and even up to Greek and Roman times.

THE MONUMENTS AND CONQUESTS OF DYNASTY XII.—This great dynasty was inaugurated by *Amenemhat*, a man full of activity and energy, who maintained peace at home and caused his name to be respected abroad. In his old age, he associated to himself his son *Usurtasen*, a youth of high military capacity. *Usurtasen* is remarkable for his structures and for his conquests. Of the former the best known is the obelisk* of pink granite, at Heliopolis, which still stands on the spot where it was originally set, at least thirty-seven centuries ago. It is the earliest monument of the kind possessing any remarkable grandeur, that is known to us. At Thebes, he continued the construction of the great temple of Ammon, which his father had begun. At Tanis, at Abydos, and at Eileithyia, he erected shrines which were adorned with carvings, inscriptions, and colossal statues. Under him, the southern boundary of Egypt was advanced probably as far as the Second Cataract.

THE SESOSTRIS LEGEND.—Of *Usurtasen*'s son and grandson, *Amenemhat* II and *Usurtasen* II, little is known. But the third *Usurtasen* was one of the most distinguished monarchs of the twelfth dynasty. The conqueror of the 'miserable Kush,' he permanently attached to Egypt the tract known as Northern Nubia, or the entire valley of the

* An obelisk is a tall, four-sided pillar, gradually tapering as it rises, and cut off at the top in the form of a flat pyramid. The shaft, in the Egyptian obelisks, is hewed out of a single block of granite. Some of these monoliths were more than 150 feet high; they were generally covered with inscriptions and hieroglyphics. They are thought to have been meant as symbols of the sun's rays, and dedicated to the Sun-god. Of the style of these monuments the American student may see an example in the Central Park, New York. This is one of the two obelisks known as Cleopatra's needles. They were originally set up at Heliopolis by Tothmes III. Augustus transferred them to Alexandria, where they remained until their recent removal, the one to America, the other to England.

Nile between the First and the Second Cataract. The forts built by Usurtasen III to protect his conquests, are still visible on either bank of the Nile, and bear the names of Koommeh and Semmeh. He took care to have his deeds commemorated, and the record of them, 'graven with an iron pen in the rock forever.' Subsequently, temples were built in his honor, he was put on a par with the gods Totun and Kneph; mythic details clustered about his name—and the Sesostris legend grew up,

LAKE MÆRIS.—The productiveness of Egypt, as already intimated, is wholly dependent upon the overflow of the Nile. This inundation is remarkably regular. Now and then, however, the rains in Abyssinia upon which depends its annual overflow, fall less abundantly, and the rise of the river is varied accordingly. Whenever it fails of its average height, the upper valley lies parched and dry, and is wholly unproductive. On the contrary, when the rain is excessive, the consequences to the country are no less disastrous. The mounds erected to protect the cities, the villages, and the pasture lands, are washed away; cattle are drowned; houses collapse; human life itself is imperilled. To counteract these two opposite dangers, Amenemhat III accomplished the great work of hydraulic engineering which was known to the Greeks as *Lake Mæris*.* Taking advantage of a natural depression in the desert, to the west of Egypt, he constructed a vast artificial basin, covering an area of about 480,000,000 square yards. A dyke 27 miles long, with an average height of 30 feet,† formed the boundary of the reservoir to the north and west, while southward and eastward it extended to the range of hills which separates the basin of the Fayoum and the Nile Valley. Through a canal cut partly in the rock, the surplus water of the Nile was conveyed into the lake, thus affording a sensible relief in times of high flood. Through the same canal, when the Nile was low, a large tract of land along the Libyan range, which otherwise must have remained unproductive, was easily inundated. At the same time, by means of the water of this lake, about three-fourths of the Fayoum region might be

* This appears simply to be a name derived from *Meri*, the Egyptian word for *lake*.

† It is said to have contained a mass of materials amounting to three-sevenths more than the cubic contents of the Great Pyramid of Ghizeh.

kept under constant cultivation. There was a system of sluices and flood-gates, whereby the flow of the water was regulated as the varied interests of agriculture required.

THE LABYRINTH.—While engaged in the completion of this great work of utility, Amenemhat III also undertook some constructions of an ornamental character. Such was the palace which the Greeks and the Romans called a 'Labyrinth', and believed to be an architectural puzzle. It comprised, we are told, 3000 chambers, half above ground, and half below. It had, besides, many colonnades and courts, covered with sculptures. At one corner was a pyramid 240 feet high, and, according to modern measurement, 300 feet square at the base. This immense edifice is supposed to have been constructed for the use of congresses of the Egyptian magistrates.

INCREASE OF LUXURY.—The impetus given to commerce by the monarchs of the twelfth dynasty, brought about an increase of luxury. Palaces were painted, and adorned with gold; and carpets were spread upon their floors. Varieties in dress were introduced. While the simple linen tunic still contented the great mass of men, some wore, besides, a cape and a second tunic over the first, or even a long robe reaching nearly to the ankles. Bracelets and anklets, inlaid with precious stones, came into use. Field-sports were pursued with increased ardor. In moving about their estates, the grandees had themselves carried in highly ornamented litters. At home, they amused their leisure hours by beholding the feats of professional tumblers, who were generally fair-haired and of light complexion, and are thought to have been Libyans from the northern part of Africa.

SEPULCHRES AT BENI-HASSAN.*—The above details are mainly drawn from the paintings on the walls of the sepulchral grottoes at Beni-Hassan, which belong to this age. While these pictures strongly resemble those of the Memphian monarchy, they clearly show progress in the greater number and perfection of agricultural and manufacturing appliances. Where formerly flocks of sheep were seen treading the seed into the soil, now the patient ox draws the plough. Here the wine-grower dresses the vine; there he presses the savory juice from the grape. Men reap the flax, and women weave the fibres into fine linen. On one wall are depicted

*On the eastern side of the Nile, in Middle Egypt.

sheaves of wheat, in carts like those still used by the *fella-hin*;* on another the building and lading of large ships, the fashioning of costly woods into elegant furniture or of precious stuffs into garments—in a word, all the busy scenes of husbandry and navigation, commerce and handicraft.

Here first appears the military element—of which there is no trace in the tombs of Memphis; while the negro-slaves attest the forays into Nubia, and the aquiline features, lighter complexion, and peculiar dress of some of the figures, indicate the foreigner from Arabia and Palestine. Most Egyptologists refer Abraham's journey into Egypt to the time of the twelfth dynasty; and some of them, on the faith of a picture in one of the Beni-Hassan tombs, have ventured to assign it to the reign of Usurtasen II.

THE HYKSOS CONQUEST.—How long the Theban monarchs of Dynasty xiii continued to hold sway over the whole of Egypt, is not known. In course of time, an independent dynasty of native princes—the fourteenth of Manetho arose in the western Delta, and reigned at Xoïs. This disintegration of Egypt invited attack from without. Under a leader named *Set*, invaders from Syria,† the Hyksos or Shepherds, so called on account of their nomadic habits, overran Egypt. They spread everywhere, burning the cities and demolishing the temples,‡ but made, however, no permanent settlement much beyond Memphis. After subjecting the country at large, they allowed the Theban kings to retain a qualified sovereignty over Upper Egypt. The rest they ruled from Memphis at their own discretion.

*Egyptian peasants.

†Probably the Hittites, with allies from the countries along the route.

‡To their ravages may be attributed the almost utter obliteration of all the public monuments of the earlier dynasties, to the twelfth inclusive, excepting the Pyramids, the obelisk of Usurtasen at Heliopolis, and a few remains in the Fayoum and at Thebes. Of the ancient records of the country, only the inscriptions of unopened tombs, with the papyruses therein buried, escaped. It is supposed that professing a religion which was monotheistic, or nearly so, the conquerors took an extreme aversion to the Egyptian polytheism, and vented their hatred by an indiscriminate destruction of all the temples.

THE SHEPHERD KINGS.*—The government of the Shepherd kings was at first barbaric and cruel. But, by degrees, the conquerors suffered themselves to be subjected by the superior civilization of the natives, and adopted their arts, their official language, their titles, and the general arrangement of the court ceremonial. Of the individual monarchs belonging to the Hyksos line, little is known. *Set* placed garrisons in every considerable city, and fixed the tributes to be paid by the Egyptians. The bulk of his troops—340,000 men—he stationed in a great fortified camp at Avaris, on the eastern frontier, to repel any attack which might be made in that quarter. Every summer he visited the camp, to train the soldiers in military exercises. Concerning the successors of *Set* until *Apepi*, or *Apophis*, we know nothing of importance. *Apepi*, who was the last monarch of the line seems, for some cause or other, to have taken a dislike to his princely vassal of Thebes, and to have provoked a quarrel with him by unreasonable demands. As the Theban resisted, compulsion was resorted to. But the warlike energy of the Hyksos had declined. Instead of reducing the untractable vassal, they were first driven out of Egypt Proper, then shut up within the limits of Avaris, and finally compelled to evacuate the country.† It is believed that the arts and letters of Egypt were carried into Syria by these expelled Hyksos, and thence diffused by the maritime Phœnicians over neighboring Greece.

JOSEPH AND APEPI (B. C. 2090).—It is at present the general opinion that Joseph was brought into Egypt under *Apepi*. From the history of this patriarch given in *Genesis*, we see how complete was the Pharaoh's‡ despotism under whom he served. The prince's will is absolute; the Egypt-

*To the Shepherd Rule Eusebius assigns only one dynasty, the xvii, with 103 years, Josephus, two, with 501 years, and Julius Africanus, three, with 953 years: and yet those authors purport to copy Manetho!

†It must not be supposed that the whole mass of the Shepherd invaders were driven, with their warriors, from the soil of Egypt. Many were permitted to remain as cultivators of the soil which they had long occupied, in a condition very like that of the Hebrews.

‡The word *Pharaoh* is not a name but a royal title, which is thought to mean 'the son of Ra'—Ra signifying the Sun-God. Ra long occupied but a subordinate position among the Egyptian deities. Under Dynasty xviii, Ra became identified with Ammon, and rose in rank.

ians are serfs; the policy which made Pharaoh owner of the land, seems the last stroke in the subjugation of the country, especially of Upper Egypt. On the other hand, the Pharaoh of Joseph's time is no savage nomad, but a mild, civilized, and somewhat luxurious king. He holds a grand court, surrounded by cup-bearers, bakers, and attendants; he sits upon a throne, or rides in a chariot; wears a gold ring, is clothed in fine linen, and has royal gifts to bestow upon his favorites; he uses the common language of the country, and differs but little from the native Egyptian monarchs.

CHAPTER IV.

THE NEW THEBAN MONARCHY.*—ABOUT B. C. 1900-1100.

CHIEF RULERS OF DYNASTY XVIII.—The native Egyptian monarch who drove out the Hyksos, and became the founder of the eighteenth dynasty, bore the name of *Aahmes*, which signifies child of the moon. He was distinguished for his valor and activity, and inaugurated those splendid works which have immortalized his dynasty. The most remarkable of his successors were *Thothmes I*; Queen *Hatasu*, a woman of extraordinary energy, and of a masculine mind;† *Thothmes III*, one of the greatest of Egyptian warriors and patrons of art; and *Amenhotep III*, or *Amenophis*, who, as a builder, was hardly inferior to any of his dynasty.

WARS AND CONQUESTS OF DYNASTY XVIII.—In the south, the Theban kings of this dynasty effected the entire subjugation of Ethiopia, as far at least as the capital city of Napata. Their conquests in Asia, whither they pursued the retreating Hyksos, embraced not only the maritime plain of Western Palestine with Syria, but even the whole of Assyria, which was still occupied by petty states. Thothmes III claims Ninive and Babylon as belonging to his empire; he certainly forced them to pay him tribute. Some recent

*It embraces dynasties xviii, xix, xx.

†She reigned conjointly with her brother Thothmes ii, and acted as sole monarch during the minority of her second brother, Thothmes III.

historians make him also master* of the whole Mediterranean. But it seems more probable that his fleets traversed only the extreme eastern portion of the Levant, and that his maritime dominion did not extend further than the coasts of Syria, Cilicia, and Cyprus. Egypt, anyhow, became under the Pharaohs of this dynasty the first of the great eastern empires.

TEMPLE OF AMMON, AT KARNAK.†—Aahmes profited by the peaceful end of his reign to inaugurate the restoration of those public edifices which had suffered either from natural decay or from hostile attack, during the last two or three centuries. The enterprise thus initiated was pushed forward by his successors, and Queen Hatasu brought to completion several works, which still excite the traveller's admiration. In the great temple of Ammon, at Karnak, she erected obelisks, which equal, alike in size and delicacy of workmanship, those of any other monarch. She built a temple, sustained on four steps, which is quite unique among Egyptian shrines, and is now known as that of *Deir-el-Bahiri*. This she connected with the older erection of Usurtasen and with the Nile, by long avenues of crio-sphinxes in a posture of repose.

After devoting full eighteen years to military expeditions, Hatasu's younger brother, Thothmes III, turned his attention to inscriptions, obelisks, and buildings. With an elaboration worthy of all praise, he recorded, at *Karnak* and elsewhere, several campaigns, enumerating all the particulars of the booty which he bore away, and of the tributes which he exacted of the nations under his rule. The great temple of Ammon was the special object of his care. The

*Through the Phœnicians, who, they say, submitted to him on easy terms, and placed their naval forces at his disposal. But there is no evidence that the Phœnicians were then a great maritime state.

†On the ancient site of Thebes, four villages now mark the four corners of a quadrangle, measuring two miles from north to south, and four from east to west, within which lie the remains of the *monumental* city. This was probably the extent of the royal and sacred quarters of ancient Thebes. East of the Nile are *Karnak* on the north, and *Luxor* (El-Uqsor) on the south; while *Kurneh* and *Medinet-Abou* occupy the corresponding sites west of the river. At these four angles are four great temples, and the whole of the quadrangle appears to have been completed by four connecting avenues lined with sphinxes and other colossal figures.

central sanctuary built by Usurtasen of common stone he replaced by the present granite edifice. To the temple on the south he added propylæa, in front of which he erected two, or perhaps four immense obelisks; and in the rear, he constructed a magnificent apartment of dimensions previously unknown in Egypt, the Hall of Pillars.

More than twenty temples in various cities of Egypt, Nubia, and Ethiopia, were also his work. Altogether Thothmes III is said to have left more monuments than any other Pharaoh, excepting Rameses II.

TEMPLE OF AMMON AT LUXOR.—For the scale and number of his buildings and sculptures, Amenophis III is almost equal to Thothmes III. Besides various other elegant constructions, he erected, at *Luxor*, the great temple of Ammon, one of the most magnificent in all Egypt, which he connected with the sacred quarter of *Karnak* by an avenue of sphinxes, wearing the sun's* disk on their heads. On the opposite bank of the Nile, he reared another temple in connection with which he erected his two most remarkable works—the twin Colossi.

THE TWIN COLOSSI.—The princes of dynasty XIII adorned their buildings with statues of the gods or of themselves, which were colossal and full of dignity. The largest are the twin *colossi* of Amenophis III just referred to, which are still to be seen before the ruins of the temple, the entrance to which they once guarded. These sitting figures, representing the king himself, were carved, each out of a single block of solid reddish sandstone. Their present height above the pavement is 60 feet; and the original height, including the tall crown worn by the Egyptian kings, must have been nearly 70.

THE 'VOCAL MEMNON.'—A peculiar fame has attached to one of these statues, called by the ancients the '*Vocal Memnon*' from the sounds which it gave forth at sunrise. The Greeks supposed it to represent Memnon, the son of Aurora; and the sounds were interpreted as his greeting to the sun, his father. It is thought that they were first emitted after the shattering of the statue by an earthquake, in B. C.

*During this reign the theory that the material sun was the sole proper object of worship, and ought to supersede the other state gods, began to spread. But Amenophis IV was the first openly to bring forward the disk-worship as the sum and substance of the state religion, and to enforce it upon his subjects.

27, and that they ceased upon the repair of the image by Septimius Severus, about A. D. 196. The sound may have been the result of the sun's rays, either on the stone itself, or on the air contained in its crevices.* There seems to be no sufficient reason to attribute it to a fraud on the part of the Egyptian priests.

DYNASTY XIX: SETI I.—The most remarkable princes of dynasty XIX were the founder, *Rameses* (child of Ra), and his son and grandson, *Seti I* and *Rameses II*. The war records of Seti I show him to have reestablished the empire won, and subsequently lost, by the preceding dynasty. He claims to have recovered the ancient boundaries of the empire, including Mesopotamia.

HALL OF COLUMNS.—Great as were Seti's military triumphs, they were eclipsed by his architectural works. The grand Hall of Columns in the temple of *Karnak*, with its 154 pillars, was almost entirely constructed by him. So vast, so lavishly ornamented, so well proportioned is this hall, that it has been pronounced not only the most beautiful of all the edifices grouped together at Karnak, but one of the eight or ten most splendid of all known architectural constructions.

SETI'S TOMB.—The erection of the Hall of Columns by no means exhausted the genius of its constructor. He raised or embellished many other temples, and built for himself a most magnificent tomb. In this, the lavish profusion of the painted sculptures, and the exquisite care with which everything, down to the minutest hieroglyph, is finished, excite the admiration of the beholders; while the mystic character of the scenes represented, and the astronomical problems involved in the roof-pictures of the 'Golden Chamber,' add an element of deeper interest than any comprised within the range of mere art. Egyptologists deem Seti's tomb far the most interesting of all those wonderful rock-sepulchres which form so important a portion of the extant Egyptian monuments.

RAMESES II.—HIS WARS AND RAZZIAS.—Associated to the throne at the age of ten, Rameses II surnamed Meriamen (beloved of Amen), became early accustomed to com-

*Musical sounds produced by change of temperature are frequently given forth both by natural rocks and by quarried masses of certain kinds of stone; and their occurrence has been placed on record by eminently scientific persons, Humboldt, Jomard, de Rosière, and others.

mand. As his father grew old and infirm, the conduct of affairs passed more and more into his hands, until at last—probably when he was about twenty-eight years old—he entered upon the full sovereignty. He is, of all the Egyptian kings, the one widest known.* Yet his military achievements have been greatly exaggerated. He barely maintained the limits of the Egyptian power established by Thothmes III and recovered by Seti I. His longest war, that with the Khita, or Hittites, ended with a treaty of peace which bears a very amusing resemblance to those of our day—perpetual amity, alliance offensive and defensive, extradition clauses, equality of commercial privileges, and so forth. The acknowledgement of the Hittite empire shows the decline of Egyptian power. In reality, Rameses Meriamen owes his fame less to his warlike achievements than to the number and character of his monuments. To the erection of these he devoted his chief attention, throughout his long reign. One, and perhaps the main, object of his military operations, was the acquisition of captives to be employed in those vast constructions by which he strove to immortalize his name. During his early years, Asia furnished the bulk of these unfortunates. Later, when his Asiatic wars were terminated, man-hunts were organized on a monstrous scale, throughout the whole country of the Soudan. Nearly every year, records are found of razzias, which start from Ethiopia, and return dragging after them thousands of captive blacks.

GREAT WORKS OF RAMESES II.—These may be divided under the two heads of works of utility and works of ornament. To the former class belong his Great Wall from Pelusium to Heliopolis, his canal from the Nile to the Red Sea, and many cities. Among these, conspicuous stands the new Tanis, where he established his residence. His works of ornament consist of temples, colossal statues, obelisks, and his tomb.

The most remarkable of the temples erected by Rameses are the building at Thebes, once called the Memnonium, but now commonly known as the *Rameseum*; and the largest of the two rock temples of *Ipsambul* or *Abu-Simbel*, in Nubia. This last edifice 'is the finest of its class known to exist anywhere.'† Its façade is formed by four huge colossi,

*Some have considered him the Sesostris of Herodotus.

† Ferguson, *History of Architecture*.

each 70 feet in height, representing Rameses himself seated on a throne, with the double crown of Egypt on his head. Nothing, it is said, can exceed their calm majesty and beauty. Colossal images of gods, likewise cut in the native rock, and elaborately painted, adorn the interior of the temple. The façade of the smaller sanctuary at the same place, exhibits also rock-hewn figures of great size. Four of them represent Rameses himself, the other two, his queen, Nefer-tari-mitenmut. All these however are not, strictly speaking, statues, but rather figures carved in the rock. Of actual statues Rameses erected many. The most beautiful was the image of himself in granite, 54 feet high, which adorned the court of the Rameseum, the bust of which is now in the British Museum. The features, though of so huge a size, are finely chiseled, and marked by an expression of dignity and self-satisfaction.

In the ornamentation of his buildings, Rameses especially affected the employment not only of colossi, but also of obelisks. Of the latter, some that have ceased to exist, adorned his sun-temple at Heliopolis; and two were added by him to the *Luxor* edifice, one of which has long attracted the admiration of all beholders in the commanding position that it now occupies on the *Place de la Concorde* at Paris.*

The bas-reliefs on the walls of the Rameseum exhibit interesting details of a siege, curiously like what we see on the Assyrian sculptures, and what we read of in Greek and Roman tactics. The besieged town is surrounded by a double ditch, over which are bridges. The assailants are provided with a *testudo*, with its wicker roof protecting the *terebra*, or boring-pike. In one place the pioneers are seen attacking the gates with axes, in another the scaling-ladders are applied; and, all the while, the archers clear the wall of its defenders.

RAMESES II, A PATRON OF LETTERS.—Rameses II was a magnificent patron of letters, as well as of art. In one of his palaces has been discovered a sacred library, the volumes of which filled a great hall and suite of nine smaller rooms. Nine chief men of learning were attached to his person. At their head was a certain *Kagabu*, as Master of the Rolls, a man 'unrivalled in elegance of style and diction.' From the

* It is of a beautiful Syenite granite. It has an elevation of 77 feet, and is exquisitely carved and proportioned.

pen of this Master,* we still possess the oldest fairy tale in the world, a moral story resembling that of Joseph and Putiphar's wife, composed for the king's son, Menephtha. From the pen of another scribe, the poet Pentaour, we have an epic,† also the most ancient known, which celebrates in the true vein of heroic hyberbole a personal exploit of Rameses.

RAMESES II, THE OPPRESSOR OF ISRAEL.—The identity of Rameses II with the Pharaoh who oppressed the Israelites, is now admitted. While the Thothmeses and Amenhoteps, secure in their conquests abroad, seem to have cherished the Semites of the Delta as useful subjects, 'the new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph,' finding it necessary to recommence the Syrian and Mesopotamian wars, took alarm at this vast population kindred to his enemies. The fear, not only of their actual hostility, but of losing their services as slaves, dictated the means used to keep them in subjection. He required them to build the wall before mentioned from Pelusium to Heliopolis, and oppressed them 'with hard bondage,' requiring from them 'mortar, bricks, and all manner of service in the field.'

To his subjects he was likewise harsh and despotic. Existing documents prove that he ruled his numerous harem‡ with a cruelty worthy of the wretch who ordered the male children of Israel to be murdered; and they give examples of the tyranny which he exercised over the judges, though the law of the land made them independent and inviolable.

CONDITION OF THE PEASANTRY.—The state of the peasantry is described in a correspondence between *Ameneman*, the chief librarian of Rameses II, and his pupil, the poet Pentaour. "Have you ever figured to yourself what is the life of the peasant? Even before he has put the sickle to the crop, the locusts have blasted a part of it. Then come the rats and birds. If he is slack in housing his grain, thieves take it from him. Anon, the tax-gatherer arrives.

* He may have helped to train Moses, the king's adopted grandson, in 'all the learning of the Egyptians.'

† The Egyptian historical pieces in verse, which have been dignified with the name of Epic Poems, are very short, not extending to much above 120 lines.

‡ He appears to have had two or three principal wives, and perhaps as many as 20 concubines. He was the father of 59 sons and at least 60 daughters.

His agents are armed with clubs ; he has negroes with him, who carry whips of palm branches. They all cry, 'Give us your grain !' and he has no easy way of avoiding their extortionate demands. Next, the wretch is caught, bound, and sent off to work without wages at the canals ; his wife is taken and chained ; his children are stripped and plundered."

MENEPHTHA—INVASION OF EGYPT FROM LIBYA.—Rameses II was succeeded by his fourteenth and eldest surviving son, Menephtha. In the fifth year of Menephtha's reign, a Libyan chief, Marmain, invaded Egypt with a numerous army, composed in part of native Africans, in part of foreign auxiliaries or mercenaries.* At first, the strangers were everywhere successful ; and the calamities which followed in their train, are described, in a contemporary document, as surpassing anything that Egypt had suffered even in the times of the Shepherd kings. Menephtha, who, in accordance with a pretended vision, kept himself shut up in Memphis, at last collected an army capable of encountering the enemy in the open field, and sent it under his generals against the invaders. A battle was fought, in which the Libyans and their allies were routed with great slaughter. The mass of the invaders were driven out ; but to some of them lands in the Delta were assigned.

MENEPHTHA AND MOSES—THE EXODUS (B. C. 1645).—Not many years after this event, Moses appeared before the court at New Tanis, for permission to conduct the Hebrews into the desert, to sacrifice to the Lord. Menephtha refused, and not only increased the task-work of the Israelites, but exacted more than they could perform. Moses, by a series of plagues, at last subdued the obstinacy of the Pharaoh. The children of Israel quitted Egypt, and entered the desert. But Menephtha had scarcely yielded when he repented of his weakness. Gathering a hastily mustered force—horse, foot, and chariots, he followed the Hebrews, whom he found at the seaside. But the Lord delivered them out of his hands. He caused his people to pass through the sea as on the dry ground ; and, when the Egyptians pursued after them, they were swallowed up by the returning waves : 'neither did there so much as one of them remain.'

* By some, these are supposed to have been Achæans, Etruscans, Sardinians, Sicilians, and Ligures.

This catastrophe headed the period of decline, and the glorious rule of dynasty XIX closed in obscurity.

ARCHITECTURE UNDER DYNASTIES XVIII AND XIX.—Egyptian architecture reached its perfection under those two dynasties. The Theban edifices were almost exclusively their work; and intelligent travellers are struck by these, far more than by any other monument of the Pharaohs. Many, perhaps most, visitors are disappointed by the Pyramids. There is scarcely one whose heart is not stirred with a thrill of admiration, as he contemplates Karnak and Luxor. What gives the Theban palace-temples this preeminence, is the striking combination of mass and size with a profusion of ornamentation. In extent, they nearly equal the greatest of the pyramids, and impress the beholder hardly less by their gigantic proportions. They were, in point of elaborate adornment, almost unparalleled. Avenues of sphinxes, colossi, and obelisks led to buildings with vistas of gateways, courts, colonnades, and pillared halls, adorned within and without with painting and sculptures. Here were seen gods, and kings, and battle-scenes, and the graceful forms of all vegetable life.

DYNASTY XX.—RAMESES III.—Conspicuous among the kings of dynasty XX is Rameses III, whose glorious reign threw a dying lustre over the last years in which Egypt had an empire. Rameses III expelled foreign invaders, restored the ancient boundaries in Western Asia, encouraged mining operations and trade, stimulated production, dug a vast reservoir in the country of Aina; and, according to his own account, 'planted trees and shrubs over the whole of Egypt, to give the inhabitants rest under their cool shade'.

PIRATICAL HORDES.—During the reign of Rameses III a number of widely separated people, partly dwellers in Asia Minor, partly inhabitants of the coasts and islands of Europe, combined to attack at once by sea and land, first Syria, then Egypt. The '*Tanauna*, *Shartana*, *Sheklusha*, *Tulsha*, and *Uashesh*', united their squadrons into a fleet, while the '*Purusata* and *Tekaru*,' advancing in countless numbers along the land, burst forth from the passes of Taurus, spread themselves over Northern Syria, and plundered the entire country of Khita, as far as Carchemish. Thence descending upon Palestine, on their way to Egypt, they were confronted by the gallant Rameses, who defeated them with immense slaughter. The allied fleet, however, undismayed by the

failure of the land army, at once made sail for the nearest mouth of the Nile, intending to ascend the stream and ravage the country. Fortunately, there were Egyptian ships to oppose them; and Rameses, hurrying to the scene of danger, arrived in time to take part in the great battle which frustrated the last hopes of the confederates, and placed Egypt once more in safety.

MONUMENTS OF RAMESSES III.—Rameses III made an addition to the great temple of Ammon at *Karnak*, and erected shrines in various places. But, of all his constructions, the most magnificent was the *southern Ramesseum*, or temple of Ammon, which he built at *Medinet-Abou*, and adorned with painted sculptures of his memorable exploits. Here are to be seen the pictures of battle-scenes, marches, and sieges. Here is the treasury, on the walls of which are recorded the king's riches. Here is the calendar of feasts for the first five months of the Egyptian year, which shows that more than one day in five was held to be sacred. Though less imposing than the structures at *Luxor* and *Karnak*, the temple of Rameses III at *Medinet-Abou* has considerable merit in sculpture and architecture. It is under Rameses III that we find the most luxurious chairs and sofas, the richest dresses, the most gorgeous river-boats, the most elaborately carved musical instruments.

DECLINE OF EGYPT.—With Rameses III ended the period of Egyptian preeminence and glory. After him a long line of successors of the same name, with one *Meri-Tum*, occupied the royal palace, and wore the royal crown. But Egyptian history, during this period, is little more than a blank—no military expeditions, no great buildings reared, art quite forsaken, literature silent. With the growing power of the Assyrian monarchy, and the occupation by the Philistines of the maritime plain of Palestine, Egypt was thrown back upon her natural limits. Meanwhile, a greater share in her internal government was gradually assumed by the high-priests of Ammon, until at last one of them, Her-hor, advanced himself into the rank of King of Upper and Lower Egypt.

CHAPTER V.

THE KINGDOMS OF THE DELTA (ABOUT B. C. 1100-750).—

THE ETHIOPIAN PHARAOKS (ABOUT B. C. 750-650).—

THE LATER SAÏTE MONARCHY (B. C. 650-527).

DYNASTY (TANITE) XXI (about B. C. 1100-940).—The reign of the first Priest-king, *Her-hor*, appears to have been troubled by no internal disturbances. Under his grandson, *Pinetem*, who fixed his court at Tanis in the Delta, a pretender of the Rameside family arose at Thebes, and at first gained many partisans. But the disaffected returned to their duty, and the son of *Pinetem* quietly succeeded to the throne. No monument yet discovered throws light upon his government or that of his successors. We know only that at this time friendly relations were established between Egypt and Palestine, where an important kingdom had been set up by David and inherited by Solomon; that a monarch of the Tanite line gave one of his daughters in marriage to the latter prince; and that a brisk trade in horses and chariots was carried on between the Egyptians on the one hand and the Syrians and Hittites on the other.

SESAC I (B. C. ?940-918), or *Sheshonk*, the founder of the twenty-second dynasty, is the first Pharaoh that is mentioned in scripture by his personal name. When Jeroboam, fleeing the vengeance of Solomon, sought refuge in Egypt, Sesac befriended him; and later, upon his representation, was induced to attack the kingdom of Judah. At the head of 1200 chariots, 60,000 horse, and footmen 'without number,' he invaded Palestine, entered Jerusalem, plundered the temple, and made Roboam a tributary. The record of this expedition is engraved on a wall of the great temple of Ammon at Karnak.

DISINTEGRATION OF EGYPT.—The reigns of the descendants of Sesac were undistinguished. At last, their authority was confined to the city and territory of Thebes. Meanwhile, the twenty-third and the twenty-fourth dynasty of Manetho reigned at Tanis and at Saïs; a certain *Tafnekht* held

Memphis with the western Delta; and other cities set up rival kings. These divisions enabled *Piankhi*, the Ethiopian monarch, by degrees to establish a sort of suzerainty over the whole of Egypt.

THE CITY OF BUBASTIS.—Bubastis, the capital of Egypt under the twenty-second dynasty, was the sacred city of *Bast* or *Pasht**, the goddess of fire. Herodotus, who saw Bubastis at the height of its prosperity, gives a pleasant description of its annual festivity—the greatest in all Egypt, to which as many as 700,000 men and women came from all quarters in boats, amidst the noise of pipes and castanets, singing and clapping of hands, and contests of rude raillery with the villagers along the banks. He says that more grape-wine was consumed at this festival (for barley-wine was also largely made in Egypt) than in all the year besides. Bubastis stood, raised above the reach of inundation by a high embankment, on the Pelusiac or easternmost branch of the Nile, where the lofty mounds of *Tel-Basta* (the Hill of Pasht) look down upon the ruins of the great temple of the goddess in the low site described by Herodotus.

ETHIOPIA.—THE NATIVES.—Ethiopia proper became, after its subjection by the great Theban kings of dynasty XII, deeply imbued with Egyptian civilization. The Theban monarchical institutions, the priesthood and worship of Ammon, were introduced together with Egyptian arts, manners, customs, and mode of life. Nor was there a great difference of race between the two nations. The Ethiopians were of darker complexion than the Egyptians, and possessed probably a greater infusion of Nigritic blood. But both peoples sprung from a common stock,—Mesrain and Chus were brothers.

NAPATA.—When the decline of Egypt enabled the Ethiopians to regain their independence and reclaim their ancient limits, there grew up at Napata, in Ethiopia, a monarchy kindred to the Egyptian in language, religion, and civilization. The city itself had a thoroughly Egyptian aspect, and Egyptian ideas prevailed among its inhabitants. The Theban god, Ammon-Ra, was recognized as the supreme deity of the country; and the power of the

*The animal symbol of Bast was the cat. Her statues have the head of a lion. The Greeks identified her with Artemis, and resorted much to her oracle.

priesthood became no less great at Napata than at Thebes.

THE ETHIOPIAN PIANKHI RULER OF EGYPT (about B. C. 750).—It is thought that during the troubles which resulted in the substitution of the Sesacs to the dynasty of Her-hor, a branch of the latter family transferred itself from Thebes to Napata; and, intermarrying with the principal Cushites of the place, was accepted as a royal house. As Egypt became more and more disorganized, the power of these princes grew relatively greater, till one of them, Piankhi, resolved to turn the divisions of the neighboring kingdom to his own advantage. Encouraged by the old Egyptian party which prevailed in Upper Egypt, and which was averse to the religious innovations and foreign influences ripe in the Delta, Piankhi marched from Napata at the head of his army; and, having been welcomed at Thebes as a deliverer, took Memphis by force, defeated the petty kings of Lower Egypt, and caused himself to be acknowledged lord paramount of the whole valley of the Nile. Among the native princes whom he left in possession of their crown, but who owed him allegiance, the two most powerful were Tafnekht, the ruler of Saïs and Memphis; and Osarkon, who kept his court in Bubastis. Upper Egypt seems to have been completely absorbed into the kingdom of Napata, and to have had no subordinate or tributary monarch. Indeed such was the identity of religion and manners between the inhabitants of Upper Egypt and the Ethiopians, that to the former the latter would seem hardly so foreign as their own countrymen of the Delta, where the population was largely mingled with Semites and Libyans, and where foreign gods had long been worshipped. In fact, the internal conflict, during the Ethiopian rule, was much less between Egypt and Ethiopia, than between Ethiopia and Thebes on the one hand and the principalities of the Delta on the other.

REVOLT OF TAFNEKHT.—Towards B. C. 735, some fifteen years after the conquest, Tafnekht threw off his allegiance; and several other subject-monarchs, imitating his revolt, brought him their forces to swell the number of his army. Piankhi, however, soon reduced all the rebels. But he made a mild use of his victory and allowed the conquered chiefs to resume their several governments and to exercise the same power as before.

SABACO I.—After the death of Piankhi, Egypt revolted a second time. The leader of the rebellion, on this occasion,

was Bocchoris, a native of Saïs, and perhaps a son of Taf-nekht. Bocchoris was unable long to withstand the superior forces of Ethiopia. Sabaco, who had succeeded Piankhi, used his rights as conqueror to the full. No longer content to rule the land as its suzerain, he transferred his residence to Egypt, and assumed the direct government of the country, except in some parts of the Delta where he still allowed native princes a certain share of authority.

BATTLE OF RAPHAIA (B. C. 719).—The time had come when Asia was to retaliate the injuries of the great Pharaohs of the 18th dynasty. For above a century and a half, the power of Assyria had been in the ascendant. Her armies, crossing the Euphrates, had brought Upper Syria, Phœnicia, Hamath, and Damascus under subjection. The territories of Israel and Judah, the only remaining barrier between Egypt and Assyria, were in their turn on the point of being absorbed. Sabaco saw the peril of the situation. He encouraged Osee, king of Israel, to defy the power of Syria. He himself, in B. C. 719, meeting the advancing tide of Assyrian conquest on the southern limits of Palestine, engaged Sargon in a great battle, at Raphia; but was completely defeated, and forced to do homage to the conqueror.

END OF ETHIOPIAN RULE (B. C. 650).—Sabaco was succeeded (B. C. 712) at Thebes by *Shabatok*, his son; and, at Napata by *Tirhakah*, his nephew. It was with these princes that Hezekiah negotiated, when the existence of the kingdom of Judah was threatened by Sennacherib. The troops which they brought to the assistance of the Jews, were worsted at Altaku (B. C. 701); and only the miraculous slaughter of 185,000 Assyrians mentioned in Scripture, saved Egypt from invasion. After the death of Shabatok (B. C. 698), Tirhakah, transferring his abode from Napata to Memphis, established himself as sole ruler of Egypt, and sought even to regain the suzerainty of Syria and Palestine. But he was attacked (B. C. 672) by Asarhaddon, defeated, and compelled to take refuge in Ethiopia. Egypt was split up by the conqueror into twenty governments, over which rulers, some Assyrian, but most of them Egyptian, were appointed. Twice Tirhakah, issuing from his native fastnesses, expelled the foreign garrisons, and reestablished his authority; but twice he was forced back into Ethiopia. *Rutamen*, his successor, resumed the task of maintaining the Ethiopian power in Egypt, and failed. The next king of Napata however, *Miamen-*

Nut, for a time proved more successful. But, before long, the Egyptian sub-kings, forming a confederacy, shook off the foreign yoke; and about the year B. C. 650, the Ethiopian rule came to an end.

DEPRESSED STATE OF EGYPT.—The long struggle of the Ethiopians and the Syrians for the mastery over Egypt, inflicted on that country an amount of injury scarcely to be estimated. During the rapid advances and retreats executed by the armies of both powers, in a succession of campaigns, cities were taken and retaken, and many of the inhabitants massacred or carried into captivity. Such was the case with Memphis, Saïs, Mendes, Tanis, Heracleopolis, Hermopolis, Hasebeck, and most of the other towns. But none appears to have suffered so much as Thebes. This great city, then the most magnificent in the world, passed into a by-word for depression and decay. In his last invasion of Egypt, Assurbanipal ‘sacked it to its foundations.’ Thebes never afterwards recovered her splendor and importance. Yet, in the country at large, under the Saïtic monarchs of the next dynasty, an unlooked-for revival of prosperity soon took place.

LATER SAÏTE MONARCHY (B. C. 650-527).—PSAMMETICHUS.*—The prince, who reunited Egypt into a single monarchy, was Psammetichus, the founder of the great twenty-sixth dynasty. His sway, at first, extended only over Saïs and its immediate neighborhood. But, by the aid of foreign auxiliaries, chiefly Carians and Ionian Greeks, whom he obtained from Gyges, king of Lydia, Psammetichus defeated the combined forces of his brother monarchs, and established himself ‘lord of the two Egypts, the upper and the lower country.’ To strengthen himself on the throne, he permanently engaged the services of the same mercenary troops to whom he owed his crown, and settled them in two great fortified camps on either side of the Pelusiac branch of the Nile below Bubastis. Not content with thus departing from the traditional policy of Egypt in military matters, he gave an impetus to foreign commerce. “He received with hospitality,” says Diodorus, “the strangers who came to visit Egypt. He loved Greece so much that

*“In what follows,” says Herodotus at this point, “I have the authority, not of the Egyptians only, but of others also who agree with them.”

he caused his children to be taught its language.* He was the first of the Egyptian kings who opened to other nations emporia for their merchandise, and gave security to voyagers. For his predecessors had rendered Egypt inaccessible to foreigners, by putting some to death, and condemning others to slavery."

Saïs.—**THE FEAST OF LAMPS.**—As sole ruler of Egypt, Psammetichus continued to reside at Saïs. The site of the city was specially suited for the policy which he inaugurated. Saïs was situated about forty miles from the sea, on the westernmost branch of the Nile. By that branch lay the direct route of the Greeks into Egypt; and on it stood Naucratis which was assigned for their abode. Saïs had a special attraction for the Athenians from the identification of its patron goddess, Neith, with their own Athêné: their civic hero Cecrops, was said to be a native of Saïs; and the Egyptian priests invented many stories to make the connection closer. Pythagoras, Solon, and Herodotus, resorted to Saïs to learn the sacred traditions. The great historian has left a minute description of the Temple of Neith, with its tombs of the Saïte kings, and an account of what must have been the most beautiful of the yearly festivals of Egypt. "At Saïs, when the assembly takes place for the sacrifices, there is one night on which the inhabitants all burn a multitude of lights around their houses in the open air. They use lamps, which are flat saucers filled with a mixture of oil and salt, on the top of which the wick floats. These burn the whole night, and give to the festival the name of the Feast of Lamps. The Egyptians who are absent from the festival, observe the night of the sacrifice, no less than the rest, by a general lighting of lamps; so that the illumination is not confined to the city of Saïs, but extends over the whole of Egypt."

CONQUESTS OF PSAMMETICHUS.—Psammetichus no sooner saw his power firmly established in Egypt, than he resolved to profit by the decline of Assyria, and recover the empire of Western Asia. At the very outset, he met with a stubborn resistance under the walls of Azotus, the key to the great military route. Herodotus tells us that he besieged that city

*We learn from Herodotus, that Psammetichus made systematic provision for the use of Greek by entrusting Egyptian children to the care of his Greek soldiers. The children thus instructed became the parents of the entire class of interpreters in Egypt.

for 29 years, before he could take it. But it is not probable that he blockaded it continuously during all that time. He may have attacked it frequently, or indeed annually; and his efforts may have been crowned with success only in the 29th year from the date of his first assault. From Azotus he proceeded northwards along the Syrian coast, and reduced both Philistia and Phœnicia to a species of vassalage.

SECESSION OF THE WARRIORS.—In the early part of this reign, an event took place which greatly reduced the native military strength of Egypt. The Egyptian warrior class, which was chiefly concentrated in three localities—near Pelusium, on the *Lacus Mareôticus*, and at Elephantiné—had seen with vexation the settlement of the Carians and Ionians in their new camps. Fresh favors heaped upon the strangers heightened their discontent; and, when Psammetichus, in the invasion of Philistia, gave his mercenaries the post of honor on the right wing, the native soldiers deserted in a body to the number of more than 200,000. They made their way up the Nile to Ethiopia, which they regarded as the refuge of the institutions of old Egypt. Here they were heartily welcomed by the reigning monarch, from whom they received liberal grants of land.

NECHAO (B. C. 611—596): HIS FLEETS AND SHIP-CANAL.—After a reign of more than 50 years, Psammetichus was succeeded by his son Neku, the Pharaoh Nechao of Scripture, one of the most energetic of Egyptian rulers. His first efforts seem to have been directed towards the construction of a powerful navy. By his orders ship-building was actively pursued in the Egyptian ports of the Mediterranean and the Red Sea; and soon two fleets were completed, such as Egypt had never before possessed.

Meanwhile another work was attempted by the enterprising monarch. Seti and Rameses had established water communications between the two Egyptian seas by means of a canal carried from the Nile to the Gulf of Suez. This canal Nechao wished to reopen, and even to construct on a grander scale.* Thus his two fleets could be easily united, and employed against either Phœnicia or Arabia. But the enterprise proved more difficult than had been expected. From whatever causes, thousands of laborers—120,000,

*This enterprise will call to the reader's mind that achieved, in A. D. 1869, by M. de Lesseps—the opening of the Suez Canal.

according to Herodotus—perished in a few months; and compassion for his subject's woes, or fear of their resentment, induced the monarch reluctantly to forego his purpose, and leave his great work unaccomplished. Herodotus says that he desisted on account of an oracle which warned him that 'he was laboring for the barbarians.'

CIRCUMNAVIGATION OF AFRICA.—Foiled in this attempt, Nechao sought some other means of uniting his two navies. He despatched from a port on the Red Sea a body of Phœnician mariners, with orders to go around the African continent, and return to Egypt through the Pillars* of Hercules and the Mediterranean. "The Phœnicians accordingly, setting out from the Red Sea, sailed into the Southern Ocean. When autumn came, they went ashore, and sowed the land, where they happened to be, and waited for harvest;† then, having reaped the corn, they put to sea again. Two whole years thus went by; and it was not till the third that they doubled the Pillars of Hercules and arrived in Egypt. In this way was Libya (Africa) first known."‡ But so much time was consumed by the voyage, that the discovery || proved of no practical service to Nechao.

EXPEDITION TO CARCHEMISH (B. C. 608).—Wishing to secure his share of the spoils of the Assyrian Empire, Nechao set out (B. C. 608) to seize Carchemish, the key of the Euphrates. On his way thither, he was confronted, near Mageddo, by a hostile force under Josiah, king of Judah. This prince had taken advantage of the fall of Ninive, and the consequent unsettlement of Western Asia, to reunite under his sway the greater part of the old kingdom of David. In vain did Nechao seek to conciliate him. A battle ensued in which the Jewish army was defeated and Josiah mortally wounded. From the scene of his triumph, the victorious Egyptian pursued his march through Galilee, and Cœlesyria to the Euphrates. Having reached the goal of his expedition, and subdued the whole country as far as Carchemish, he left a garrison in that stronghold, and returned to Egypt. On his way back, finding Joachaz, the son of Josiah,

*The rocks of Gibraltar and Ceuta, at the straits of Gibraltar.

†This would require about three months in that climate.

‡Herod., iv. 42.

||The feat of rounding the Cape of Storms, performed in B. C. 610, is not known to have been repeated until A. D. 1497—by Vasco de Gama.

in possession of the crown at Jerusalem, he deposed him; and, in his place, enthroned his elder brother Joakim, on whom he imposed a tribute.

COUNTER-EXPEDITION OF NABUCHODONOSOR (B.C. 605).—This recovery of the boundary of the Euphrates was but a dying gleam of military glory for the Saïte Pharaohs. The empire of south-western Asia was destined for Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon. In B. C. 605, that young prince, already reigning conjointly with his father Nabopolassar, crushed the Egyptian army at Carchemish; marched on to Jerusalem, where he received the submission of Joakim; and, at one blow, stripped Nechao of all his Asiatic conquests. The subsequent revolts of Judea and Phœnicia against Babylon, and the prolonged resistance of Tyre, saved Egypt from an immediate invasion. But Nechao, in the emphatic language of Scripture, ‘came not again any more out of his own country.’

APRIES*: NABUCHODONOSOR IN EGYPT (B. C. 568).—Apries, the second successor of Nechao, was so fortunate as to subdue Ethiopia. His next endeavor was to reestablish Egyptian influence over those Asiatic regions recently occupied by Nechao. For this purpose, he first encouraged Sedekiah, king of Juda, to throw off the Babylonian yoke. He then led an army into Judea, which compelled Nabuchodonosor to suspend for a time the siege of Jerusalem (B. C. 586). Finally he attacked Syria, and sent expeditions against Sidon, Tyre, and Cyprus. His successes so elated him that he ‘believed there was not a god who could cast him from his eminence.’ But the vengeance of the king of Babylon, for being delayed, was only more terrible. In his 37th year (B. C. 568), Nabuchodonosor invaded Egypt; overran the whole country ‘from Migdol to Syêné’ and the border of Ethiopia, despoiled the shrines of Ammon in Thebes and of all the gods of Egypt; made captive a large portion of the people; deposed and executed Apries; and, remodeling the government, left Egypt a subject and tributary state—‘the basest of kingdoms, which would never more exalt itself to rule over nations.’

AMASIS (B. C. 568-529), whom Nabuchodonosor made king of Egypt in the room of Apries, began his reign under

*The *Pharaoh Ephree* of Jeremiah, the *Vaphris* of Manetho, whose name is read on the monuments as *Wahprahat* (the sun enlarges his heart).

discreditable circumstances, holding his crown as a Babylonian feudatory, and bound to the payment of a tribute. Content with this subordinate position, until the decline and fall of Babylon gave Egypt wholly into his hands, he applied himself to foster that material prosperity which too often consoles a rich country for the loss of liberty. His marriage with the daughter of Psammis confirmed his place in the Saïte dynasty; and he won the respect of his subjects by his genial and elastic spirit, combined with singular good sense, and a regular and just government. Of these qualities Herodotus gives some amusing illustrations.

“At first, the Egyptians held him in small esteem, as being of no illustrious family; but he succeeded in conciliating them by his address. Among his treasures, he had a golden foot-pan, in which his guests and himself were accustomed to wash their feet. Of this vessel he caused an image of a god to be made, and set up the statue in the most conspicuous part of the city. Thereupon the Egyptians flocked to the image, and paid it the greatest reverence. Amasis then called an assembly, and explained how the statue which they now so greatly revered, had been made of the foot-pan wherein they had been wont formerly to put all manner of filth. ‘And truly’ he went on to say, ‘the same had happened to him as to the foot-pan. If he was a private person formerly, yet now he had come to be their king; he therefore required them to honor and respect him.’ By this means he won over the Egyptians, so that they thought fit to obey him. His mode of life was this: from early dawn to the time of the full-market (about 9 A. M.), he assiduously dispatched the business brought before him; during the remainder of the day, he drank and joked with his guests, passing the time in witty and sometimes loose conversation. It grieved his friends that he should thus demean himself, and accordingly some of them chid him on the subject, saying to him, ‘O King, thou dost but ill guard thy royal dignity, whilst thou allowest thyself in such levities. Thou shouldst sit in state upon a throne, and busy thyself with affairs the whole day long. So would the Egyptians feel that a great man rules them, and thou wouldst be better spoken of. But now thou conductest thyself in no kingly fashion.’”

“Amasis answered them thus: ‘Bowmen bend their bows, when they wish to shoot; unbrace them, when the shooting

is over. Were they kept always strung, they would break, and fail the archer in time of need. So it is with men. If they give themselves constantly to serious work, and never indulge a while in pastime or sport, they lose their senses, and become mad or moody. Knowing this, I divide my life between pastime and business.' ”

CONDITION OF EGYPT.—Herodotus tells us that, under Amasis, Egypt enjoyed the greatest prosperity, and that it contained 20,000 inhabited cities. The foreign and commercial policy of the Saïte monarchs was carried out most fully by this prince. Besides a permanent abode at Naucratis, below Saïs, he assigned to the Greeks sites for their temples, and contributed money and works of art to the sanctuaries of Greece. He even took for one of his secondary wives a Grecian lady of Cyrene, whom he treated with especial favor.

This high prosperity and Greek influence are attested by the monuments of the age, which have a grace and refinement unsurpassed in Grecian art. But the foreign relations of Amasis, and the consciousness of power attained during a long reign, tempted him to a policy which may have hastened the conquest of Egypt by Cambyses—an event to be related in connection with the history of Persia. It occurred in B. C. 527 or 525, under Psamatik III, son of Amasis, and with it ended Egyptian independence.

CHAPTER VI.

THE INSTITUTIONS, RELIGION, AND ARTS OF EGYPT.

CLASSES OF THE EGYPTIANS.—The Egyptians were divided into the privileged classes and the common people. The privileged classes consisted of the *priests* and the *warriors*, who, with the king, owned the whole soil of Egypt. The priests ranked first, and their office was hereditary. They kept the annals, civil as well as religious, and were the depositaries of all that learning which formed ‘the wisdom of the Egyptians.’ To their service in the temples was added

a course of minute ritual observances. They shaved the head and body every other day, washed in cold water twice each night, and wore robes of linen and shoes of papyrus. Besides the rent of their lands, they received daily rations of cooked food, and contributions of oxen, sheep, and wine; fish they were not allowed to eat. They were exempt from taxation.

The soldiers formed the second class. Their profession also was hereditary. They lived upon the produce of their lands, the cultivation of which appears to have occupied their leisure. When on duty in the field, or employed about the king's person as his body-guard, they received special pay and rations. Foreign auxiliaries, at first, held but a subordinate position. Later on, a change took place; the reliance of Psammetichus on his Greek and Carian mercenaries broke up the native military system, and ultimately left Egypt an easy prey to Persia.

The rest of the people comprised, speaking generally, the classes of *shepherds* or *herdsmen*, *agriculturists*, and *artisans*. The pictures on the monuments and in the tombs show us the old Egyptians engaged in all the agricultural and pastoral operations; in the manufactures of glass, pottery, metal-work, and textile fabrics; in the handicrafts of shoemaking and carpentry, masonry and building, carving and statuary; in the occupations of shop-keepers, public weighers and notaries, fowlers, fishermen, brick-makers, common laborers, and other avocations too many to enumerate. There was not, among them, that restriction to one profession, nor prohibition of intermarriage, which marks the true system of caste, as in India; but still professions were usually hereditary.

THE KING AND THE ROYAL PRINCES.—At the head of the state was the King, who, in consequence of the popular belief in his divine descent, stood immeasurably above his subjects. But from this very opinion they had of him, arose one class of restrictions on his power. The divine Pharaoh must observe in his own life an order worthy of a god; and of this the priests were the interpreters. His occupations were arranged for every hour in the day; his food and the quantity of his wine, his exercises and his pleasures, were all minutely set down in one of the books of *Thoth*. He was diligently instructed by the scribes in the moral precepts, and in the histories of eminent and virtuous men,

contained in the sacred books. He was bound to use his power according to the law ; and, on the other hand, a solemn formula, daily pronounced by the priest, exempted the king from all accusation, and fixed the injury and penalty on those who had been his ministers and who had taught him wrong. The succession of the crown was hereditary ; and the princes of the royal blood were distinguished by appropriate titles and insignia. As the king was at once priest and soldier, so the princes were initiated into the learning of the priests, and they followed the military profession.

LEGISLATIVE POWER—CRIMINAL CODE.—Legislative power seems to have been vested in the king ; and several Egyptian monarchs had the reputation of wise legislators. The Greeks regarded the laws of Egypt as the expression of the highest wisdom. The general tenor of the criminal code may be inferred from the following details : voluntary murder, though committed only on a slave, was punished with death, as also perjury and a culpable refusal to defend a person attacked by assassins. False and slanderous accusers underwent the same chastisement that would have been inflicted on the accused person, if found guilty. Those who used false measures, had both hands cut off. Soldiers who deserted their standard or otherwise failed in their duty, were punished with degradation ; but they could redeem their honor by subsequent good conduct. Great infamy was attached to insolvency. No loan was obtained, except upon the delivery of one's father's embalmed body, as a pawn to the creditor ; not to redeem it, was a sort of impiety which deprived the culprit of the honors of burial.

JUDICIAL AND CIVIL ADMINISTRATION.—Egypt enjoyed the blessing of a judiciary independent of the crown. All trials were conducted in writing, and with very solemn forms. The judges were probably of the priestly order. There was a supreme court of thirty ; ten members being sent from each of the three cities of Memphis, Heliopolis, and Thebes.

The civil administration was conducted by an army of officials, belonging to the great corporation of the Scribes, a branch of the sacerdotal order. Their official orders and reports are among the most interesting of the existing papyri. The chief departments were those of public works, war, and finance. Taxes were collected in kind—the three divisions of arable lands, marshes, and canals paying their

dues in corn, cattle, fish. Each *nome* had a governor, whom the Greeks called *Nomarch*, and under him were local magistrates called *Toparchs*.

THE RELIGION OF EGYPT.—Religion was the great bond of the Egyptian society. It permeated the whole existence and life of the people, being in a thousand ways wound up with their literature and science, their arts, laws, and customs. Its foundation was an original faith in the unity of God, perverted into polytheism by the impersonation of his attributes. As these were variously selected by the priesthood as objects of worship, in different parts of the country, a varied polytheistic system grew up. All the deities, at first, were local; most of them ever remained such, but some became common to all Egypt.

EGYPTIAN PANTHEON.—*Ammon*, *Khem*, *Ra*, *Phthah*, and *Osiris*, were the chief divinities of the Egyptians. To the learned and the initiated, they were not really separate and distinct beings, but represented—*Ammon*, the divine incomprehensibility; *Khem*, the generative power in nature; *Ra*, the supreme God acting in the sun and warming the earth; *Phthah*, the creative hand; and *Osiris*, the divine goodness.

Ammon was the great god of Thebes. We have seen how the Theban kings vied with one another in erecting temples in his honor, or embellishing his shrines. His calendar was crowded with festivals, one day in five being held sacred. *Ra*, the sun in his meridian splendor, and *Khem*, became, in course of time, identified with *Ammon*.

Phthah, the shaper and framer of the material universe, was the special god of Memphis; but he was adored, and figures of him are found, in all parts of Egypt.

Osiris, the personification of the divine goodness, the judge of the souls of men upon their entrance into Hades, enjoyed a worship still more universal than *Phthah*; while he also had special cities which were peculiarly devoted to him. *Isis*, his wife and sister, shared with him the recognition of all the Egyptians.

Among the secondary deities, may be mentioned *Horus*, the 'rising sun,' a child of *Osiris* and *Isis*; *Neith*, the personification of the divine intellect, who was the special goddess of *Sais*; *Bast* or *Pasht*, the wife of *Phthah*, revered at Thebes and Memphis, but chiefly at *Bubastis*, which was wholly dedicated to her; and, lastly, *Thoth*, the god of let-

ters and the lord of truth, who acted an important part in the judgment of the dead. Thoth was like Osiris, though in an inferior degree, an object of universal worship throughout Egypt.

The Egyptian pantheon included many other secondary gods, a few of whom, as *Set-Nubi* and *Apepi*, seem to have been personifications of evil. It also contained a large number of inferior deities, resembling the Greek and Latin *dæmones* and *genii*; *Anubis*, *Amset*, *Astes*, etc., belonged to this third or lowest order of gods.

TRIADS OF DEITIES.—A curious feature of the Egyptian religion, was the preference shown for the worshipping of gods in triads, or sets of three. In almost every important town, there was such a triad, which received the chief worship of the inhabitants. At Thebes, for instance, it consisted of *Ammon-Ra*, *Maut*, and *Chonsu*; at Memphis, of *Phthah*, *Seckhet*, and *Tum*; at Abydos, of *Osiris*, *Isis*, and *Horus*, the most popular deities of all Egypt. The members of a triad were not on a par. The first god had a decided pre-eminence; the last occupied a thoroughly subordinate position; and the middle deity was generally a goddess.

WORSHIP.—Worship comprised three things—prayer, praise, and sacrifice. Sacrifice was of two kinds, bloody or unbloody. Unbloody sacrifice was the more usual. It consisted of bread, flour, cakes, oil, honey, fruit, incense, and wine. Flowers, also, were offered in bouquets, in basketfuls, and in garlands—the lotus and papyrus being among the plants in highest favor.

SYMBOLS OF THE GODS AND ANIMAL WORSHIP.—The Egyptians early sought to trace resemblances in certain animals to certain attributes of the Divine Nature; and thus were led to assign to particular deities the heads of these creatures, or even their entire form. In this way, the ram became the symbol of Ammon; the bull, of Phthah; the hawk, of Ra and Month*; the ibis, of Osiris; the sacred beetle, of Khepra†; and many others.

In this symbolism, we may trace the origin of that quasi-divinity which the Egyptian people attributed to a variety of beasts, birds, fishes, reptiles, and insects. The worship of many animals was purely local; and creatures consecrated

* *Month* was the piercing power of the sun's beams.

† *Khepra*, the creator, or the creative energy of the sun.

in one *nome* were hunted down in the next. The hawk, ibis, and white cows, were revered throughout Egypt, as the symbols of Ra, Osiris, and Athor. The cat, which was sacred to Bast, was held in like honor; and, under one of the last Ptolemies, when the fate of Egypt hung on the friendship or anger of Rome, the king himself could not save a Roman soldier, who had killed a cat, from the enraged people.

In each locality where any kind of animal was sacred, some individuals of the species were attached to the principal temples, where they had their special shrines or chambers, and their train of priestly attendants, who carefully fed them, cleaned them, and saw generally to their health and comfort. But it was only in three cases, viz., of the bull Apis at Memphis, the bull Abnevis at Heliopolis, and the goat at Mendes, that the sacred animal was believed to be the actual incarnation of a deity.

THE BULL APIS.—Apis, the supposed incarnation of Phthah, and held in most honor, was revealed by certain marks—a white triangular spot on the forehead, a half-moon upon the back, and a swelling in the shape of a scarabæus on the tongue. He was kept in a splendid building; and to be one of his priests was deemed most honorable. When he died, all Egypt went into mourning; and, when a new Apis was manifested, the land gave itself up to festivity and joy. The dead Apises were embalmed, and buried in a vast subterranean sepulchre† set apart for this purpose. This same practice of embalming and preserving their bodies, was extended to all sacred animals.

BELIEF IN THE IMMORTALITY OF THE SOUL.—The doctrine of the immortality of the soul was ever retained in Egypt. Hence the practice of embalming, which was accompanied with prayers for the preservation of the vital germ in the uncorrupted body. Hence those symbols of the future life and resurrection depicted in Egyptian tombs. Hence, upon the coffins, those representations of the judgment of the dead, under the figure of weighing the souls. This awful ceremony is conducted by Osiris and his 44 assessors in the hall of the twofold justice. The balances are held by Horus and Anubis. A figure of the deceased is

†Its discovery by M. Mariette has yielded the most important results for Egyptian history and chronology.

placed in one scale, to be weighed against an image of Thoth in the other; and the same deity registers the result. The reprobate is condemned to annihilation. He is beheaded by Horus on the *nemna*, or infernal scaffold, and devoured by a monster with the head of a hippopotamus. But, before his annihilation, he is subjected to a long course of torments, and returns to act as an evil genius upon earth, where his abode is in the bodies of unclean animals. The justified, after expiating his venial sins by a long series of ordeals, labors, and conflicts with monsters in *Ker-netet*, the Egyptian *Hades*, shares the bliss of Osiris, and is finally identified with that deity.

RITUAL OF THE DEAD.—The exposition of this doctrine, and all the rites and ordeals connected with it, are contained in a great religious book, which is the most important of the remains of Egyptian literature. This work, which was gradually compiled, from the earliest to the latest age of the monarchy, is entitled the *Ritual of the Dead*. But its Egyptian title was *The Manifestation to Light*, viz., the book revealing light to the soul. Incidentally to its main subject, it supplies a code of Egyptian morals, in the declarations made by the soul, before its judges, of the sins it has abstained from, and the good deeds it has done. Among the latter we read, "I have given food to the hungry; I have given the thirsty to drink; I have furnished clothing to the naked."

MORAL DEPRAVITY.—The theoretic perfection of the Egyptian moral code must not blind us to its exceedingly lax practice. With this profound knowledge of what was right, so much beyond that of most heathen nations, the morals of the Egyptians were rather below, than above the common level even of pagan times and countries. The women were notoriously immoral, and the men openly impure. Though industrious, cheerful, and not wanting in family affection, the Egyptians were cruel, vindictive, treacherous, prone to superstition, and profoundly servile. The use of the stick was universal; inferiors and slaves everywhere performed their work under fear of the rod. Among the upper class, sensual pleasure was looked upon as the end of existence. False hair was worn; dyes and cosmetics were used; dress was magnificent; equipages were splendid; life was passed in feasting, sport, and a constant succession of enjoyments.

EGYPTIAN LITERATURE.—The inscriptions and papyruses hitherto discovered and deciphered, already form a mass of literary matter, embracing a great variety of subjects—historical and religious compositions, poems, travels, epistolary correspondence, romances, orations; treatises on morals and rhetoric; collections of proverbs; catalogues of libraries; books on astronomy, mathematics, and medicine; and various other works. But the literary excellence of these productions is not equal* to their extent or variety. The historical compositions are written in a forced and stilted, or in a dry and wholly uninteresting style. The romances are full of most improbable adventure. The scientific treatises, geometry excepted, exhibit no great degree of proficiency. Poetry, however, was in a more advanced state, though the pieces are generally short. The epistolary correspondence presents much that is both amusing and instructing.

EGYPTIAN ART—ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, PAINTING.—The art in which the ancient Egyptians most excelled, was architecture. The meaning of this art, in Egypt, is everywhere apparent. Its inspiring motive was religion. Its purpose was monumental. Its prevailing characters are stability, repose, dignity, and grandeur. Egyptian edifices look like the work of men, who, believing in the immortality of the soul and of the body, sought to give eternity to matter. That they have endured for periods reaching to 4,000 years and upwards, is the best proof of the excellence both of their materials and of their form and structure.

In general, Egyptian sculpture was symbolical, rather than the direct imitation of nature. It affected an attitude of repose, expressive of religious peace. In the representation of the human form, it suppressed details rather for the sake of simple majesty, than from ignorance or want of skill. For we often find the execution of details, in figures of animals, carried well-nigh to perfection. The great works of the best age, carved from the most intractable of stone, evince the highest technical skill, as well as untold labor.

In the art of painting, the Egyptians never rose to eminence. With them, painting was almost confined to the

* It is just to observe that the Egyptian language is still imperfectly understood; and that the true force of many expressions in the original not only cannot be rendered in a modern translation, but is often missed even by the advanced scholar. Hence no final judgment can yet be passed on Egyptian literature.

coloring of the bas-reliefs, and to the decorations of buildings. They used scarcely any colors but white, black, red, blue, yellow, and green. They were ignorant of the rules of perspective. Yet, in the varied scenes of daily life depicted on the walls of tombs, some figures are well drawn, and the general effect is not unpleasant.



PART III.

THE PHŒNICIANS.

FROM THE DAWN OF THEIR HISTORY TO THEIR SUBJUGATION
BY THE ASSYRIANS.

PHŒNICIA.—Phœnicia is nothing more than a narrow strip of coast, which lies among the foot-hills of the chain of Lebanon. Its northern limit is usually fixed at the island of Aradus; the southern, at White Cape, about six miles below Tyre, and sometimes at Mount Carmel. As Phœnicia lay out of the military road* from Egypt to the Euphrates or to the valley of the Orontes, its situation secured for it comparative tranquillity, amidst the almost incessant wars to which the possession of Syria gave rise.

ITS RESOURCES.—Besides its advantageous position for commerce, Phœnicia had abundant resources within itself. Situated in the fairest part of the temperate zone, between the breeze of the Mediterranean and the heights of Lebanon, with a surface varying from level plains, through undulating hills, to high mountains, it possesses a climate and productions equally remarkable for excellence and diversity. The soil is fertile. When under proper cultivation, the lowlands bore rich crops of corn; and the olive, vine, and fig-tree, were proverbial products of Phœnicia. Its forests, which cover the sides of the mountains, and which furnished timber

* This road struck inland from the maritime plain of Palestine, south of Damascus; while that which led to Hamath and the valley of the Orontes—the land of the martial Hittites—and in later ages to Antioch, passed through Cœlesyria, behind Lebanon. This great mountain rampart severed the Phœnician coast from the constantly disputed region of Syria.

for the Phœnician navy, consist of pine, fir, cypress, and evergreen oak, as well as of the cedar of Lebanon.*

The coast of Phœnicia supplied important fisheries. Most famous of all was the fishery of the *murex*, the molusk from which was obtained the Tyrian purple. The writings of the Assyrian kings often mention the skins of sea-calves, which they procured from Phœnicia, to use as hangings and coverings in their palaces. Nor ought we, in this connection, to forget the worship of the Fish-god, which prevailed along the whole coast.

CITIES OF PHŒNICIA—THEIR RELATION TO EGYPT.—The chief cities of Phœnicia were: Aradus, Simyra, Orthosia, Tripolis, Gebal (*Byblus*), Berytus, Sidon, Sarepta, Tyre, and Acco (*Ptolemais*). They at no time formed a single centralized state, or a complete political union. Their varying relations to one another will appear from the ensuing history. The most ancient settlements of the Phœnicians on the Syrian coast, are referred to the period immediately preceding the time of Abraham; those emigrants came from the shores of the Persian Gulf. From the first, they turned their attention to maritime commerce, and soon began to apply themselves to distant voyages. From the great Theban kings of the 18th and 19th dynasties, they purchased peace by placing their maritime enterprise and manufacturing industry at the service of the Pharaohs. The tributes, the arts, and the riches of Phœnicia, are often mentioned in the hieroglyphic inscriptions of this age; in no records do the Phœnicians appear as enemies of Egypt. Doubtless the Egyptian kings, who needed their services, treated them with favor, and granted them valuable privileges in order to secure their fidelity. They themselves, with true mercantile spirit, preferred to reap the material advantages arising from the protection of a great empire, rather than to indulge their pride by an empty assertion of independence. Provided that their trade flourished, and they retained their laws, religion, manners, and customs, the Phœnicians appear to have submitted to a state of vassalage with scarcely any opposition.

*The cedar of Lebanon is now confined to one solitary grove, consisting of no more than about 400 trees, of which some 12 are very large and old, 50 of middle size, and the rest younger and smaller.

THE PHŒNICIAN ALPHABET.*—An important result of the intercourse between Egypt and Phœnicia was the Phœnician alphabet, which we use to this day. From the multitudinous characters—ideographic, syllabic, and alphabetic—of Egyptian writing, the practical Phœnicians borrowed just what was sufficient for mercantile transactions—the small group of symbols used by the Egyptians as alphabetic letters. This treasure the Phœnicians not only communicated to their immediate neighbors and kinsfolks, but to the islands and coasts of Greece. Greek legend preserved to the last the tradition that the alphabet had been the gift of Cadmus, the Phœnician ‘from the East.’ Beyond the alphabet and probably the use of weights, measures, and coined money, Europe owes little to Phœnicia,

SUPREMACY, COLONIES, AND COMMERCE OF SIDON.—The policy of Egypt towards her subject-states, made her suzerainty quite compatible with the existence of a native dynasty of Sidonian kings, who themselves exercised sovereignty over most of the Phœnician cities. The highest commercial prosperity of Sidon, belongs to this very period of the supremacy of the Pharaohs. She, at that time, planted colonies in Crete, Cyprus, and Asia Minor, and formed naval stations at Rhodes, Thera, and Cythera. Her merchants were found along the shores of Thrace, by the rivers of Colchis, and among the mountains of Caucasus, bartering with the natives for their gold and silver, their iron, lead, and tin, the last of which was needed for the bronze implements, weapons, and armors then in use. For these, and other products of their voyages, the Phœnician navigators found markets in Egypt, and especially on their own coast, whence caravans traded with Syria and the regions beyond the Euphrates.

DECLINE OF SIDON.—About the time of Rameses II, when the Pelasgo-Tyrrhenians began to acquire their naval supremacy in the Mediterranean, the maritime power of Sidon declined proportionately. The Philistines, too, soon grew strong enough not only to deprive the Phœnicians of much of the land traffic with Egypt, Assyria, and Arabia, but even to vie with them at sea. There is a tradition that, toward the end of the 13th century B. C., the Philistines, under the leadership of Ascalon, sent a fleet against Sidon,

* A. H. Sayce, in the *Contemporary Review*.

took that city by storm, and razed it to the ground. Though Sidon was rebuilt, it never recovered its ancient position. Henceforth the supremacy belongs to Tyre.

SUPREMACY OF TYRE.—The conquests of the Israelites and the Philistines, on the south, and of the Aramæan Syrians on the north and east, appear to have caused the Phœnician cities to unite in a league, under the Supremacy of Tyre.* Whilst each town preserved its own government for local affairs, the king of Tyre, as suzerain, decided all business respecting the general interests of Phœnicia, its commerce, and its colonies. But, in this, he was assisted by deputies from the various states; and the annual embassies to the temple of Melcarth henceforth assumed a political character.

FLEETS, SOLDIERS, AND COLONIES OF TYRE.—The population of Tyre being wholly inadequate to all the requirements of commerce, industry, and national defence, the Tyrians hired strangers to man their fleets, to form their garrisons, and to serve in their armies. They recruited their soldiers chiefly from among the Aradians (or Arvadites) and the Liby-Phœnicians. Tyre had also in her service Persians, Lydians, and Ethiopians. The first voyages of the Tyrians to the west, are contemporary with their rise to political superiority. From Utica, their chief settlement in Africa (founded B. C. 1158), they proceeded westward along the coast of Numidia (Algeria) and Mauritania (Morocco), and founded the famous colony of Gades (Cadiz). This was the great emporium for their commerce with the south of Spain—perhaps the Tarsis of Scripture, whence, besides honey, wax, and pitch, they obtained the gold, silver, iron, lead, copper, tin, and cinnabar of the Andalusian mines. Besides Gades, they founded Calpé and Carteia (Gibraltar and Algesiras) on the Straits, and Malaca (Malaga) with Abdera and many other settlements on the southern coast of Spain. These remote colonies were connected with the mother-country by the midway station of Melita (Malta), and that of Caralis (Cagliari) in Sardinia. The Tyrians had also commercial factories on the coast of Sicily. Thus they commanded all the shores of the western Mediterranean, except the great bay between Spain and Italy, of which the

* Tyre stood on a small island, about half a mile from the shore. About 3 miles to the south, on the main-land, was *Sarra*, afterwards Palætyrus (old Tyre). The name of Tyre was derived from *Tsur* or *Tzor*, the Phœnician word for rock.

Tyrrhenians were masters. The naval power of the latter was not broken, till both Carthage and the Sicilian Greeks were strong enough to encounter them with success.

HIRAM.—Tyre first appears distinctly as a powerful kingdom, about B. C. 1,000. Her king, Hiram, is represented in close amity with David, to whom he sent carpenters and masons to build his palace. The alliance of Phœnicia with Judea, perpetuated under Solomon, was based on a community of interests. The Philistines and the Syrians were the enemies alike to Israel and Phœnicia, and both countries were protected by the conquests of David. While the Jewish kings enjoyed the fruits of Phœnician commerce, Phœnicia depended on the agricultural wealth of Palestine.

HIRAM'S GREAT WORKS.—In the fragments of Phœnician historians, the reign of Hiram is mentioned as the epoch at which Tyre reached her climax. He rebuilt, with unexampled splendor, the great temple of Melcarth and the adjacent shrine of Astarthé. By means of an artificial embankment, and by connecting Tyre with the sacred islet of Melcarth, he more than doubled the extent* of the city. He surrounded it with strong ramparts, dug a new harbor, and built for himself a magnificent palace. These works were completed in time to enable Hiram and his trained artificers to aid Solomon in rearing those which he undertook at Jerusalem.

FOUNDATION OF CARTHAGE.—The death of Hiram was followed by intestine troubles of many years' continuance. At last, Ethbaal, the priest of Astarthé, established a new dynasty at Tyre. Jezabel, a daughter of this monarch, was married to Achab, with disastrous results to both the Hebrew kingdoms. It was during the above mentioned troubles that occurred the flight of Dido, or Elissar, and her foundation of Carthage. The wish of her dying father, Matgen, had been that she should reign conjointly with her younger brother Piimeliun (Pygmalion). But the populace, desirous of changing the aristocratic form of government, proclaimed her brother sole monarch, and surrounded him with councillors of the democratic party. Elissar, excluded from the throne, married Zicharbaal (Sichæus), the high-priest of Melcarth, whose position placed him at the head of the aristocracy. But Piimeliun caused his rival Zicharbaal

*It was now three quarters of a mile long, and a half mile broad.

to be assassinated; whereupon Elissar, with the chiefs of the aristocracy, formed a conspiracy to avenge her husband. Disappointed of her object, she left the city with her partisans, fled* to Africa, and bought on the Libyan shore the old Sidonian colony of Cambé. Her settlement was called *Kiryath-Hadeshath* (the new city), which became in Greek *Carchedon*, and in Latin *Carthago*.

RELATIONS OF THE PHŒNICIANS WITH THE ASSYRIANS.—From the time of Ethbaal, the great kings of the old Assyrian monarchy began to extend their power as far as Phœnicia. "The kings of Tyre, Sidon, Gebal, and Aradus," says Assurnasirpal, "humbled themselves before me; from them I received tributes which consisted of silver, gold, tin, bronze, instruments of iron, stuffs dyed purple and saffron, sandal-wood, ebony, and seal-skins." Salmanasar II also and his grandson Rammannirari III enumerate among the countries paying them regular tribute, 'the whole of Phœnicia, the lands of Tyre and of Sidon.' The fall of the Old Assyrian monarchy restored Phœnicia to independence. But the founder of the New Monarchy, Tiglath-pileser II, again exacted the tribute, and among the kings who submitted to him, are mentioned those of Tyre and Gebal.

SARGON'S SIEGE OF TYRE (B. C. 720-715).—A few years later, while Sargon was at war with Egypt and Ethiopia, the Phœnician states once more shook off the yoke of Assyria. But Sargon, after his decisive victory at Raphia, forced them again into submission. Insular Tyre alone defied him and stood the first of its three memorable sieges.† The Assyrian pressed into his service the fleets of his Phœnician vassals. The Syrians were attacked by sixty ships of their late confederates, Sidon, Acco, and Old Tyre. Putting to sea with only twelve vessels, they gained a complete victory over the enemy. Sargon then left his generals to reduce Tyre by blockade. But the constancy of the besieged triumphed over all the efforts of the assailants. After five years the siege was abandoned (B. C. 715).

TYRE THE VASSAL OF ASSYRIA AND EGYPT (B. C. 700-608).—Under Sennacherib however, Ethbaal, king of Tyre, yielded himself a vassal to the Assyrians; and, excepting

*From this circumstance she received the name of Dido, the Fugitive.

†The other two were those of Nabuchodonosor and Alexander the Great.

short intervals of successful rebellions, the tribute continued to be paid down to the fall of the Assyrian empire. The recovery of Egyptian supremacy in western Asia by Nechao (B. C. 608), confirmed the virtual independence of the Phœnician cities. They welcomed this vigorous Pharaoh as a deliverer from the Assyrian yoke; and their fleet, placed as of old at the service of Egypt, was employed in the maritime adventures which have been related in the reign of Nechao.

SIEGE OF TYRE BY NABUCHODONOSOR (B. C. 598-585).—The period of peace and prosperity just referred to, was of short duration. 'Tyre, the crowning city,' the city 'of perfect beauty, whose merchants were princes, whose traffickers were the honorable of the earth;' whose prince said in the pride of his uplifted heart, 'Behold I am God, I sit in the seat of God,'—Tyre, steeped in all the vices of a commercial people, was about to be punished for her unbounded indulgence in luxury and sensual pleasure. The instrument of the divine wrath upon the Syrians was Nabuchodonosor. How obstinate was the resistance which he experienced, may be inferred from the words of Ezechiel (xxix), "Nabuchodonosor, king of Babylon, hath made his army to undergo hard service against Tyre; every head was made bald, and every shoulder was pealed. For the service that he hath done me against it, I have given him the land of Egypt, because he hath labored for me, saith the Lord God." Despite all his efforts, which were continued for thirteen years, it would seem that Nabuchodonosor failed to capture the island city, though he took and destroyed Old Tyre on the main-land. Insular Tyre was admitted to a capitulation on moderate terms. But her king, Ethbaal, with all the chief inhabitants, was led away captive; and Baal, a creature of Nabuchodonosor, installed in his place as vassal of Babylon. From this time it is Sidon, not Tyre, that is found at the head of Phœnicia.

PRESENT STATE OF TYRE AND SIDON.—The subsequent history of the Phœnician cities under their successive masters—the Greeks, the Romans, the Arabs, the Latin crusaders, and the Turks—will be related in connection with that of those nations. Of Tyre and Sidon it is enough to say here that they continued to flourish as seats of learning, as well as of commerce and manufacture, till their occupation by the Egyptians at the end of the crusades. Tyre was

still famous in the 12th century for its manufactures of glass. But on the day on which Ptolemaïs was taken by the sultan of Egypt, A. D. 1291, its inhabitants, putting to sea, abandoned their island city to be occupied freely by the invaders. The modern city hardly contains 4000 inhabitants. Most of the houses are mere hovels; the streets are narrow, crooked, and filthy. The ancient mistress of the sea, at the present day, possesses only a few crazy fishing-boats, and her whole trade consists in a few bales of cotton and tobacco, with a few boat-loads of mill-stones and charcoal. Sidon (*Sayda*) never sank so low. It is still a place of considerable traffic. In its neighborhood are tombs, with many sarcophagi, which are among the most interesting monuments of old Phœnicia.

PART IV.

THE HEBREWS, OR ISRAELITES.

FROM THE CALL OF ABRAHAM, B. C. 2296, TO THE FALL
OF JERUSALEM, B. C. 587.

CHAPTER I.

ABRAHAM, ISAAC, JACOB, AND JOSEPH.*—B. C. 2296–2003.

CALL OF ABRAM (B. C. 2296).—After the Flood, the world soon fell into profanity and idolatry. God, seeing himself generally forgotten, resolved to set apart a whole people among whom the true worship and doctrines of religion might be preserved, together with the promise and hope of the Redeemer. Abram, a descendant of Sem, was the father of this chosen people. At the call of God, he left the place of his nativity—Ur of the Chaldees; and, crossing the ‘great river,’ the Euphrates,† came into the land

* *Genesis*, XI—L.—Nowhere is found so vivid a picture of the manners of remote antiquity as in *Genesis*. This circumstance, and the interest which naturally attaches to the history of the *chosen* people, account for the copiousness of details which follows.

† Hence the Canaanites gave him the name of ‘*Hebrew*’—*the man who has crossed the river*. His descendants were called Hebrews after him, and *Israelites* after Jacob, whom the angel sur-named *Israel*. The word *Jew* did not come into use till after the separation of the Ten Tribes, and designated first a member of the kingdom of Judah; but, after the return from captivity, it was applied to all the Israelites.

of Canaan, with his wife Saraï and his nephew Lot. At Haran, in Mesopotamia, where Abram first sojourned after quitting Ur, God had promised him, "I will make of thee a great nation, and I will bless thee, and in thee shall all the families of the earth be blessed." At Sichern, his first halting-place in the land of Canaan, God appeared to him again, and said, "To thy seed will I give this land."

ABRAM IN EGYPT.—Some time after this, a famine which was felt in the land of Canaan, drove Abram into Egypt. Fearing that the Egyptians might kill him to obtain possession of his wife, who was 'a fair woman to look upon,' he caused Saraï to pass for his sister.* Soon the king took her into his house; and for her sake bestowed extraordinary favors upon her supposed brother. Warned of his mistake by plagues sent upon him and his household, the king restored Saraï to Abram, and sent him out of Egypt.

ABRAM'S SEPARATION FROM LOT.—Abram, 'who was now very rich in cattle, gold, and silver,' began to feel the evils of prosperity. The land could not support his own cattle and Lot's, and contentions arose between their herdsmen. Abram, therefore, said to Lot: "Let there be no quarrel, I beseech thee, between me and thee and between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen; for we are brethren. Behold the whole land is before thee. Depart from me, I pray thee; if thou wilt go to the left hand,† I will take the right; if thou choose the right hand, I will pass to the left." And Lot chose for himself the country about the Jordan, and dwelt in Sodom. After he had departed, the Lord said to Abram: "Lift up now thine eyes, and look from the place where thou now art northward, and southward; and eastward, and westward. For all the land which thou seest, to thee will I give it, and to thy seed forever. And I will make thy seed as the dust of the earth."

ABRAM'S RESCUE OF LOT.—Abram now removed to the oaks of Mambré near Hebron, and there built an altar to the Lord. This became his usual abode. The plain of the Lower Jordan was then occupied by five cities—Sodom, Gomorra, Adama, Seboim, and Bala, which were tributary to

*According to the Oriental form of speech, near female relations were so called: she was his niece.

†The Hebrews and Arabs named the cardinal points from the position of the body, when the *face* was turned to the east; the *left hand*, therefore, means the *north*, and the *right hand* the *south*.

Chodorlahomor, king of Elam. In the 13th year of their subjection, they revolted against Chodorlahomor, who marched against them with three allied kings, and in the battle which ensued the rebels were defeated. The conquerors then proceeded to ravage the cities of the plain, and Lot and his family were among the captives. When the news was brought to Abram, he took 'of the servants born in his house 318 well armed,' and, sallying forth from Mambré, pursued the victors to Dan.* Then, dividing his company, he rushed upon the Elamites by night, smote them, and rescued Lot and his family with all the spoil.

MELCHIZEDEK.—On his return from the slaughter of Chodorlahomor, Abram was met by Mēlchizedek, king of Salem and priest of the Most High God, who, bringing forth bread and wine, blessed him, and said: "Blessed be Abram by the Most High God, who created heaven and earth!" And Abram gave him tithes of all the spoils; but he kept no part of the booty to himself, lest any one might say: "I have enriched Abram."

BIRTH OF ISMAEL.—"After these things, the word of the Lord came to Abram in a vision, saying, Fear not, Abram; I am thy protector and thy reward exceedingly great. Look up to heaven, and number the stars, if thou canst: so shall thy seed be. Abram believed God, and it was accounted to him for justice. And God made a covenant with him, saying: To thy seed will I give this land, from the river of Egypt even to the great river Euphrates." Abram, however, was still childless; so Saraï, who thought herself barren, persuaded him to take her handmaid, Agar, an Egyptian, as a secondary wife. "And Agar brought forth a son to Abram, who called his name Ismael."

COVENANT OF CIRCUMCISION; THE NAMES OF ABRAM AND SARAÏ CHANGED.—Thirteen years after the birth of Ismael, in Abram's 99th year, the Lord appeared to him, and said: "I am the Almighty God; walk before me, and be perfect. I will multiply thee exceedingly; thou shalt be a father of many nations. Neither shall thy name be called any more Abram: but thou shalt be called Abraham,† because a father of many nations have I made thee; and kings shall come out of thee. And therefore thou shalt keep

*50 leagues off.

†*Abraham* means father of a multitude; *Abram*, exalted father.

my covenant, and thy seed after thee in their generations. This is my covenant which ye shall observe between me and you, and thy seed after thee : all the male-kind of you shall be circumcised." God said also to Abraham : "Saraï thy wife thou shalt not call Saraï, but Sarah* ; and I will bless her, and of her I will give thee a son, whom I will bless, and he shall become nations, and kings of peoples shall spring from him."—The selfsame day was Abraham circumcised, and Ismael his son, and all the men of his household—as well they who were born in his house as the bought servants and strangers.

DESTRUCTION OF SODOM AND GOMORRA.—The sins of Sodom and Gomorra became so multiplied, and were so grievous in the sight of the Lord, that he resolved to destroy them for their wickedness. But, for the sake of Abraham, he spared the patriarch's nephew, Lot. Two angels came to Sodom, who said to Lot: "Whatsoever thou hast in the city, bring them out of this place, because the Lord hath sent us to destroy it." Lot told his sons-in-law of the impending destruction, but they despised his warning. He himself, with his wife and two daughters, was reluctantly dragged from the doomed city. Then 'the Lord rained upon Sodom and Gomorra brimstone and fire out of heaven; and he destroyed these cities and all the country about, with all the inhabitants and all things which spring from the earth.' The plain, which before was fruitful 'as the garden of Jehovah,' became henceforth a scene of perfect desolation. Lot's wife, for looking behind during her flight, was changed into a pillar of salt; his daughters gave birth to two sons, Moab and Ammon, who were the fathers of the Moabites and Ammonites.

BIRTH OF ISAAC (B. C. 2266)—AGAR AND ISMAEL ARE CAST FORTH.—"And the Lord visited Sarah, as he had promised, and she conceived and bare Abraham a son in her old age, when he himself was a hundred years old. The child was named Isaac"—*laughter*, from the joy which his birth caused his parents. 'Abraham circumcised him the eighth day, as God had commanded him; and Sarah gave him suck. And the child grew and was weaned; and Abraham made a great feast on the day of his weaning. And, when Sarah had seen the son of Agar the Egyptian mocking

*Saraï, *my princess* ; Sarah, *princess*.

her own son, she said to Abraham: Cast out this bondwoman and her son; for the son of the bondwoman shall not be heir with my son Isaac.' Her request was very grievous to the patriarch. But, comforted by God's renewed promise, that of Ismael he would make a nation, he gave Agar some bread and a bottle of water, and sent her away with the child. In the desert, an angel of the Lord comforted her; and God "was with her child, and he grew, and dwelt in the wilderness, and became an archer. And his mother took a wife for him out of the land of Egypt." The Bedouin Arabs are descended from Ismael. In them is verified, as in him, the prophecy which foretold his character and destiny: "He will be a wild man; his hand will be against every man, and every man's hand against him."

OFFERING OF ISAAC (B. C. 2241).—God had yet a crowning trial to make of Abraham's faith and obedience. "Take now thy son," he said to him, "thine only son, whom thou lovest, and go into the land of vision, and offer him there for a burnt-offering upon one of the mountains which I will show thee." So Abraham, rising up in the night, saddled his ass, and took with him two young men and Isaac his son, and, when he had cut wood for the burnt-offering, he went his way to the place which God had told him. And, on the third day, lifting up his eyes, he saw the place afar off. "Abide ye here with the ass," he said to his young men, "while I and the lad go yonder and worship." And he took the wood for the burnt-offering, and laid it upon Isaac his son; and he himself carried in his hands fire and a knife. And as they two went on together, Isaac said; "My father, behold fire and wood; where is the victim for the holocaust?" "God will provide himself a victim for a holocaust, my son," said Abraham; and when they had reached the appointed place, he built an altar, placed the wood upon it, then bound Isaac, and laid him on the altar upon the wood. And he put forth his hand, and took the knife to sacrifice his son. And behold an angel of the Lord from heaven called to him, saying: "Lay not thy hand upon the lad; now I know that thou fearest God, and hast not spared thy only begotten son for my sake." Abraham, on lifting up his eyes, beheld a ram caught in a thicket by his horns, and he took the ram and offered him up for a burnt-offering in the place of his son. As a reward for his obedience, God once more renewed his promise of multiplying his seed as

the stars of heaven, and as the sand which is by the seashore. "And in thy seed," he added, "shall all the nations of the earth be blessed, because thou hast obeyed my voice."

DEATH AND BURIAL OF SARAH.—After this, twelve years passed away, and Sarah died at Hebron; 'and Abraham came to mourn and weep for her. And, after indulging his grief,' he bought for 400 shekels of silver, of Ephron, one of the sons of Heth, the Double-cave of Machpelah as a burying place, with the field in which it stood. Here he buried Sarah; here he himself was afterwards buried; here too were buried Isaac and Rebecca, Jacob and Liah. The sepulchre still exists under the mosque of Hebron, and was first permitted to be seen by Europeans, since the crusades, when it was visited by the Prince of Wales, in 1862.

ISAAC MARRIES REBECCA (B. C. 2226).—Wishing to marry his son Isaac to a wife of his own kindred, Abraham sent his oldest servant to Haran in Mesopotamia, where his brother Nachor had settled. On reaching the place of his destination, the servant stopped without the town near a well, at the time of the evening when the women were wont to come out to draw water, and he prayed: "O Lord the God of my master Abraham, favor me to-day, and show kindness unto my master: and let the maid who will give me drink and to my camels also, be the one thou hast provided for thy servant Isaac." He had not yet ended these words, and behold, Rebecca, the daughter of Bathuel, son of Nachor, Abraham's brother, appeared, having a pitcher on her shoulder, which she went down to fill at the spring. As she was coming back, Abraham's servant met her, and said: "Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher." "Drink, my lord," she answered, and quickly she let down the pitcher upon her arm and gave him drink. "I will draw water for thy camels also," she then added; and, pouring the pitcher into the troughs, she ran back to the well to draw water; and having drawn, she gave to all the camels. Understanding thereby that his prayer was heard, the servant gave her two golden ear-rings and two bracelets of gold, and inquired whether there was any place in her father's home to lodge in. "Of both straw and hay," she said, "we have good store, and a large place to lodge in." Then she ran home, and told her brother Laban. He, going to the stranger, 'brought him into his lodging; and he un-

harnessed the camels, and gave straw and hay, and water to wash his feet, and the feet of the men who had come with him. And bread was set before him.' But the servant would not eat, until he had obtained Rebecca's consent, and that of her relatives, that she should become Isaac's wife. A banquet was made, 'and they ate and drank together;' and on the next morning, setting Rebecca and her maids upon camels, he with speed returned to his master. It was even-tide, when, at the end of their journey, they drew near to the tent of Isaac. Isaac had gone forth into the field to meditate. On lifting up his eyes, he saw the camels coming, and went at once to meet them. "And he brought Rebecca into the tent of Sarah, his mother, and took her to wife; and he loved her so much, that it moderated the sorrow which was occasioned by his mother's death."

DEATH OF ABRAHAM (B. C. 2191).—Besides Isaac and Ismael, Abraham had by a third wife, Ketura, six other sons. These he enriched with presents, and sent them away, like Ismael, to dwell eastward of Bersabee, and they became fathers of Arabian tribes. To Isaac he 'gave all his possessions; and, decaying, he died in a good old age,' having lived 175 years. The name of Abraham, the 'Father of the believers', has ever been held in great veneration throughout a very large portion of Asia, and the title of '*El-Khalil*, *The Friend* (of God), is that by which he is usually spoken of by the Arabs.

JACOB AND ESAU.—For nearly twenty years Rebecca continued barren. At length, through the prayers of Isaac, she became a mother, and brought forth twin sons, Esau (hairy) and Jacob (the supplanter). When the boys grew up, "Esau became a skillful hunter and a husbandman; but Jacob, a plain man, dwelt in tents. Isaac loved Esau, because he ate of his venison; and Rebecca loved Jacob." One day, Esau, returning from hunting in a famished state, found Jacob preparing red pottage of lentils, and quickly asked for some. Jacob seized the occasion to obtain Esau's birthright as the price of the meal. The latter consented, thus bartering away the privilege of being not only the head of his own family—its prophet, priest, and king, but also the father of the *chosen* race, the heir of the promise made to Abraham, that in his seed—the Christ to come—should all families of the earth be blessed.

ISAAC BLESSES JACOB (B. C. 2129).—When Isaac grew old, and his eyes, dim with age, warned him of the near

approach of death, he was anxious to perform the solemn act by which he was to hand down the blessing of Abraham to another generation. Calling to him Esau, his eldest son, he said: "Take thy weapons, thy quiver and bow, and go out to the field, and take me some venison, and make me savory meat, and bring it that I may eat, and bless thee before I die." Rebecca heard this; and, when Esau was gone, she said to Jacob: "Go now to the flock, and fetch me two of the best kids; and I will make them savory meat for thy father, such as he loveth, and thou shalt bring it to him, that he may bless thee before his death." Then she put on him good garments of Esau, and covered his hands and neck with the skins of the kids, and made him carry to his father the savory meat, and the bread she had baked. Deceived by this stratagem, Isaac blessed Jacob, instead of Esau, saying: "God give thee of the dew of heaven, and of the fatness of the earth, abundance of corn and wine. And let peoples serve thee, and tribes worship thee: be thou lord of thy brethren, and let thy mother's children bow down before thee." Esau, on his return, learned from the lips of his father what had taken place; and in his fury hardly refrained from killing his brother.

JACOB'S VISION.—Fearing for the life of her beloved son, Rebecca resolved to send him away to her brother Laban, in Haran. Concealing her chief reason for so doing, she said to Isaac that it would be a trouble to her, if Jacob were to marry one of the daughters of Heth as Esau had done. Isaac then called Jacob, and said unto him: "Go to the house of Bathuel, thy mother's father, and take thee a wife thence of the daughters of Laban thy uncle; and God Almighty bless thee, that thou mayst possess the land of thy sojournment, which he promised to Abraham." On his way to Haran, Jacob coming to a certain place where he wished to rest after sunset, took a stone of which he made his pillow, and then lay down to sleep. "And he saw in his sleep a ladder standing upon the earth, and the top of it touching heaven: the angels also of God ascending and descending by it. And the Lord, leaning upon the ladder, said to him: I am the God of Abraham thy father, and the God of Isaac: the land in which thou sleepest, I will give to thee and to thy seed, and in thee and thy seed all the tribes of the earth shall be blessed." When Jacob awoke out of his sleep, he exclaimed, "How terrible is this place! this is no other but

the house of God and the gate of heaven. He then took the stone which he had laid under his head, and set it up for a pillar, pouring oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of the place Bethel (the house of God); and he made a vow, saying: Of all things which thou, O Lord, shalt give to me, I will offer tithes to Thee."

JACOB'S STAY WITH LABAN; HIS WIVES AND CHILDREN.—After this vision, Jacob proceeded on his journey, and at length came to the neighborhood of Haran. Here, near the well, where 100 years before, Abraham's servant first saw Rebecca, he was met by Rachel, Laban's younger daughter, who was coming to water her father's flock. Jacob made himself known to her, and she ran home and told her father. Laban, 'on hearing that his sister's son was come, ran forth to meet him; and, embracing him and kissing him, brought him into his house.' They then agreed that Jacob should serve his uncle seven years in tending his flocks, and then as his recompense should have Rachel for wife. At the end of that time, however, he received only Liah, Laban's elder daughter, and was made to serve seven years more before he could obtain Rachel. Liah bore him six sons—Ruben, Simeon, Levi, Judah, Issachar, and Zabulon; Rachel, two—Joseph and Benjamin. By the two handmaids, Bela and Zelpha, whom Rachel and Liah gave to Jacob as secondary wives, he had four other sons—Dan and Nephtali, Gad and Aser. These are the twelve Patriarchs.

JACOB RETURNS TO CANAAN. DEATH OF ISAAC.—After 20 years spent in Laban's service, during which time he grew rich in flocks and cattle, Jacob set out to return into the land of his father and kindred. And one night, during the journey, as he was alone in the rear of the caravan, an angel, under the appearance of a man, wrestled with him till morning, without being able to overcome him, but made him lame by touching the sinew of his thigh, which forthwith shrank. Knowing by this that he was struggling with an angel, Jacob requested his blessing. "Thy name," said the angel, "shall no more be called Jacob, but Israel (a prince of God) as a sign that thou hast power with God and with men;" and he blessed him.—During this same journey, Jacob was also met by his brother Esau, with whom he had a pleasant interview, and upon whom he forced a large present of 200 she-goats and 20 he-goats, 200 ewes and 20 rams, 30 milch camels with their colts, 40 kine and 20 bulls,

20 she-asses and 10 of their foals.—At Sichem, he bought for 100 lambs, of the children of Hemor, the field where he had pitched his tents; ‘and, raising an altar there, he invoked upon it the Most Mighty God of Israel.’ Seven years did Jacob live at Sichem; thence he removed to Bethel, where Rachel died in giving birth to Benjamin, and finally to Hebron, where he spent several years with his father, until the latter ‘spent with age, died, and was gathered to his people, being old and full of days: and his sons Esau and Jacob buried him.’

JOSEPH IS SOLD BY HIS BRETHREN (B. C. 2096).—As the first-born of his beloved Rachel and the son of his old age, ‘Israel loved Joseph above all his children; and he made him a coat of divers colors.’ But this partiality awoke the jealousy of his other sons, who ‘hated Joseph, and could not speak peaceably to him.’ Their hatred was increased by the recital of two dreams, foretelling his greatness, which he with childlike simplicity related in presence of his father and brothers. So, one day, when Jacob sent him to inquire after his brethren, they, seeing him approach, said to one another: “Behold, the dreamer cometh! Let us kill him, and we will say: Some evil beast hath devoured him.” Ruben, however, persuaded them to cast him into an empty pit, whence he intended to take him and restore him to his father. But, in Ruben’s absence, Midianite merchants happened to pass by, who were carrying to Egypt, on their camels, the spices and balm and myrrh of the Syrian deserts. To these men Joseph’s brethren sold him for 20 shekels of silver—a type of Him ‘whom the children of Israel did price.’

JOSEPH IS MADE RULER OF EGYPT.—“And Joseph was brought into Egypt, and Putiphar, an officer of Pharaoh, chief captain of the army, bought him; and the Lord was with Joseph, and he found favor in the sight of his master, who made him steward over his household; and the Lord blessed the house of the Egyptian for Joseph’s sake.” The beauty of the youthful slave exposed him to a great temptation from his master’s wife, which, however, he was virtuous enough to withstand. In revenge for this slight, she stirred up the wrath of her husband, and Joseph was cast into the state prison. There he remained for several years, enduring at first very severe treatment. But the same blessing that had raised him in the house of Putiphar, followed him in the prison, the keeper of which gave him the entire

charge of the other prisoners, 'because the Lord was with him, and made all that he did prosper.'—Two dreams which Joseph interpreted for two high officers of the court, caused him to be sent for by the king himself. Pharaoh had seen in a dream seven fat and beautiful heifers devoured by other seven, very lean and ill-looking; and, in a second dream, seven full ears of corn devoured by seven that were thin and blasted. Brought into the presence of Pharaoh to explain his dreams, Joseph told him that the seven fat heifers and the seven full ears marked seven years of great abundance, which should be followed by seven years of famine, denoted by the lean kine and the blasted ears of corn. He then advised Pharaoh to appoint a wise minister, who should store up a fifth part of all the corn of the seven years of plenty, against the seven years of famine. The Pharaoh full of admiration for the wisdom of the Hebrew youth, appointed him forthwith 'ruler over all the land of Egypt.' He then took off his own signet-ring, and gave it to Joseph. Then clothing him with fine linen robes, and putting a collar of gold around his neck, he seated him in the second royal chariot, before which the people were bidden to fall prostrate. He next changed his name to *Zaphnath-Pannea*, which, according to some, signifies savior of the world; and he gave him for wife Aseneth, the daughter of a distinguished Egyptian. She bare Joseph two sons, Manasses and Ephraim.

JOURNEY OF THE SONS OF JACOB INTO EGYPT.—The famine which Joseph had predicted being felt in the land of Canaan, Jacob sent down his sons into Egypt to buy corn there, but kept with him Benjamin, 'lest he suffered harm on the journey.' When Joseph saw his brethren, 'he knew them, but he was not known by them.' He spoke roughly to them; and, after keeping them three days in prison, he sent them away with corn, but detained Simeon as a hostage until they would bring to him their youngest brother Benjamin. Thereupon his brethren began to say to one another: "Because we sinned against Joseph, therefore is this affliction come upon us." On their return home, they told their father all that had befallen them, and asked him to entrust Benjamin to their care. "Me have ye bereaved of my children," he answered; "Joseph is not, Simeon is kept in bonds, and Benjamin ye will take away! No; my son shall not go down with you. If mischief befall him in the land to which ye go, then shall ye bring down my gray hairs with sorrow

to the grave." At length, however, the soreness of the famine forced Jacob to send his sons again into Egypt, and Benjamin with them. When they were introduced into Joseph's presence, his first inquiry was, "Is your father well? is he yet alive?" Then, seeing his brother Benjamin, his mother's son, "Is this," he said, "your younger brother? God be gracious to thee my son;" and he made haste to withdraw, because his heart was moved upon his brother, and tears burst forth. But the better to ascertain the sentiments of his brethren toward Benjamin, he put them to one more trial. Their sacks being filled with corn, they were sent away, but not till his silver cup had been put in the sack of the youngest. Then Joseph dispatched his steward after them, who charged them with having stolen the cup. "God forbid," they replied, "that thy servants should do this thing! With whomsoever shall be found what thou seekest, let him die, and we also will become thy lord's bondmen." The cup was found in Benjamin's sack. Thereupon they rent their clothes, and, returning to the city, cast themselves at the feet of Joseph: "Behold," said Judah, "we are all bondmen to my lord, both we and he with whom the cup was found. Joseph answered: God forbid that I should do so, he who stole the cup shall be my bondman. Go ye away free to your father." Then Judah, coming nearer, explained in the most touching terms how reluctant their father had been to allow his favorite child to go with them. "If he does not see him come back with us," he added, "he will die. I took the lad in charge, and answered for his safety to our father. Therefore I thy servant will stay, instead of the boy, in the service of my lord; and let the boy go up with his brethren. For I cannot return to my father without the boy, lest I be a witness to the calamity which will oppress my father." Joseph was unable to resist this touching appeal. "I am Joseph," he said, weeping; "is my father yet living?" And, as they could not answer for fear and surprise, "Be not afraid," he continued, "nor grieved that you sold me hither. Not ye sent me hither, but God. Hasten back to my father, and say to him: Thus saith thy son Joseph: God hath made me lord of the whole land of Egypt; come down to me, tarry not."

JACOB IN EGYPT (B. C. 2076-2059).—On receiving this message, Jacob's heart fainted, and he believed them not, until he had seen the wagons sent for him; and then his

spirit revived, and he said, "It is enough for me, if my son Joseph be yet living: I will go and see him before I die." Accordingly he started at once with all that he had. Joseph came to meet him in Gessen, 'and seeing him fell on his neck, and wept on his neck a good while.' "Now," said Israel, "shall I die with joy, because I have seen thy face, and leave thee alive." Joseph obtained from the king for his father and brethren the land of Gessen, which was the best pasture-ground in all Egypt. Here Israel lived for 17 years, in comfort and prosperity. Before dying, he made Joseph swear that he would not bury him in Egypt, but would take him to the burying-place of his fathers, in the Promised Land. With his last breath, he predicted to each one of his sons what would befall their posterity, and designated Judah as their future ruler, and as the ancestor of the Messiah. Then, renewing his injunction that he should be buried in the Double-cave over against Mambré, he yielded up his spirit at the age of 147. After a burst of natural grief, Joseph gave orders for his embalming, and kept a mourning of 40 days, according to the Egyptian custom. He then went with all his brethren, and the elders both of Israel and Egypt, and a great military retinue, to bury him at Hebron. Joseph survived his father for 56 years. Having bound his brothers by an oath to carry his remains with them, when they returned to Canaan, he died at the age of 110 (B. C. 2003). He was embalmed, and placed in a sarcophagus, but not buried.

CHAPTER II.

MOSES AND JOSUE—B. C. 1725-1580.

INCREASE AND OPPRESSION OF THE ISRAELITES IN EGYPT.—After the death of Joseph, "the children of Israel increased, and sprung up into multitudes; and, growing exceedingly strong, they filled the land. In the meantime, there arose a new king over Egypt, who knew not Joseph, and who feared that, in the event of a war, they might go

over to the enemy and so escape out of the land." He resolved, therefore, to weaken them by degrees, by forcing them to hard labor and reducing them to slavery. The service which he compelled them to perform, consisted in field-work, and especially in making bricks and building the treasure-cities, *Pithom* and *Ramesses*. Although the lives of the Israelites were bitter with hard bondage and oppression, still they multiplied and grew. Pharaoh then commanded the midwives of the Hebrews to kill the male children at their birth; and, this order being disregarded, he 'charged his people to cast all the new-born sons of the Israelites into the Nile, but to save the daughters.'

BIRTH OF MOSES (C. B. 1725).—During this persecution, a woman of the house of Levi "conceived and bore a son; and, seeing that he was a goodly child, she hid him three months. When she could no longer conceal him, she took a basket made of bulrushes, and daubed it with slime and pitch, and put the babe in it, and laid him in the sedges by the river's brink. And her sister stood afar off, to notice what would be done. And, behold, the daughter of Pharaoh came down to wash in the river; and, seeing the basket, she sent one of her maids for it; and, when she opened it, behold the babe wept. Touched with pity, she said: This is one of the babes of the Hebrews. And the child's sister said to her: shall I go, and call to thee a Hebrew woman to nurse the babe? She answered: Go. The maid went, and called her mother. The woman took and nursed the child; and, when he was grown up, she delivered him to Pharaoh's daughter. And she adopted him as her son, and called him Moses (*drawn out*), because, she said, I drew him out of the water."

MOSES IS COMMANDED TO DELIVER ISRAEL.—Moses was brought up as an Egyptian prince, and was instructed in 'all the wisdom of the Egyptians.' When he was forty years old, he went forth to make himself acquainted with the state of his brethren. The first sight he saw, was an Egyptian overseer beating one of the Hebrews who worked under him. Stung with indignation, 'he slew the Egyptian and hid him in the sand.' When he went out the next day, he saw two Hebrews quarrelling; and his interference was scornfully rejected by the wrong-doer, who asked him, "Who made thee a prince and judge over us? Intendest thou to kill me as thou killedst the Egyptian?" The story

reached the ears of Pharaoh, and he ordered Moses to be put to death. He fled, however, and reached the land of Midian. Here he was welcomed by Jethro the priest of Midian, took Sephora his daughter to wife, and for forty years fed the sheep of his father-in-law. One day, as Moses came with his flock "to the mountain of God, to Horeb, the Lord appeared to him in a flame of fire, out of the midst of a bush which burnt with fire, and was not consumed, and he said : I am the God of thy father, the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. I have seen the affliction of my people in Egypt, and I have come down to deliver them out of the hands of the Egyptians, and to bring them into a land flowing with milk and honey. And I will send thee to Pharaoh, that thou mayst bring forth my people, the children of Israel, out of Egypt."

Agreeably to the divine command, Moses sought the presence of Pharaoh, and said to him : "Thus saith the Lord God of Israel : Let my people go, that they may sacrifice to me in the desert." Instead of complying with the request, the monarch increased the burdens of the Israelites. Then began that memorable contest between the king of Egypt and the King of kings, during which Moses and his brother Aaron performed the series of prodigies which are known as the Ten Plagues of Egypt.

THE TEN PLAGUES OF EGYPT.—The first was the turning of the waters of Egypt into blood ; the second was a plague of frogs ; which swarmed in countless numbers throughout the land ; the third, a plague of gnats, which were as well on men as on beasts ; the fourth, a plague of flies ; the fifth, a grievous murrain upon horses, and asses, and camels, and oxen, and sheep ; the sixth, a plague of biles and swelling blains, both in men and beasts ; the seventh, a terrific storm of hail and lightnings, such as had never been seen in Egypt ; the eighth consisted of myriads of locusts, which ate up every blade of grass and everything green that the hail had left ; the ninth was a three days' darkness, 'even darkness which might be felt,' toward the end of which Pharaoh was warned that, if he did not let the people go, 'all the first-born in the land of Egypt would die.' The king, upon the inflicting of each of the above judgments, to attain its cessation, would promise to let the people go ; but with the removal of the plague 'his heart was hardened,' and, in the end, with threats he forbade

Moses to come again into his presence. "In whatever day thou shalt come into my sight, thou shalt die." This threat was uttered on the 13th day of the Jewish month *Nisan*, on the eve of the Passover.

INSTITUTION OF THE PASSOVER.—None of the plagues which afflicted Egypt, was felt by Israel. During their continuance, Moses thus spoke to his assembled brethren: "On the 10th day of this month, let each household choose a yearling lamb without blemish. This ye shall keep until the 14th, when ye shall sacrifice it, about sunset; and ye shall sprinkle some of its blood on the lintels and door-posts of the houses wherein ye are to eat it. And thus ye shall eat it: ye shall gird your reins, and ye shall have shoes on your feet, holding staves in your hands; and ye shall eat in haste; for it is the *Passover* of the Lord. And I will pass through the land of Egypt that night, and I will smite every first-born of man and beast; but, seeing the token of the blood on your doors, I will pass over you. And the children of Israel did as the Lord had commanded. And it came to pass at midnight, the Lord slew every first-born in the land of Egypt, from the first-born of Pharaoh that sat on his throne, unto the first-born of the captive in the dungeon, and all the firstlings of cattle. And Pharaoh rose up in the night, and all his servants and all Egypt; and a great cry arose in Egypt, for there was not a house in which lay not one dead."

DEPARTURE OF THE ISRAELITES (B. C. 1645).—"And Pharaoh, calling Moses and Aaron, in the night, said: Go, sacrifice to the Lord, as ye say. Your sheep and herds take along with you; and, departing, bless me. And the children of Israel set forward from Ramesses and Socoth, being about 600,000 men on foot, besides children." As an indemnification for the hardships they had endured in Egypt, the Lord ordered them to carry away 'vessels of silver and gold, and very much raiment,' which the Hebrew women had borrowed from the Egyptians. Their march was conducted with order and discipline, and was guided by Jehovah himself, 'who went before them to show the way, by day in a pillar of a cloud, and by night in a pillar of fire.'

PASSAGE OF THE RED SEA.—When Pharaoh heard that the Israelites had fled, he regretted that he had let them go. So, hastily collecting his army, he set out in pursuit, and found them encamped near the Red Sea. The sight of their oppressors struck the Israelites with dismay. "Hast thou

taken us away to die in the wilderness," they cried to Moses, "because there were no graves in Egypt?" "Fear not," he replied; "stand still, and see the salvation of the Lord: he will fight for you." The Lord then said to Moses: Lift thou up thy rod, and stretch forth thy hand over the sea, and divide it, that the children of Israel may go through the midst of the sea on dry ground." Moses did as he was directed, and the water was divided, and the children of Israel went in through the midst of the sea dried up; for the water was as a wall on their right hand and on their left. And the Egyptians, pursuing, followed after them. And now the morning watch came; and the Lord said to Moses: Stretch forth thy hand over the sea, that the waters may come again upon the Egyptians, upon their chariots and horsemen. And when Moses had stretched forth his hand towards the sea, it returned to the former place; and the waters covered the chariots and the horsemen of all the army of Pharaoh, who had come into the sea after them, and not one of them was left alive."

THE ISRAELITES IN THE DESERT.—The Israelites, after crossing the Red Sea, found themselves in a wilderness. Here their provisions were soon exhausted, and they began to murmur, "Would to God, that we had died in Egypt, where we sat by the flesh-pots and did eat bread to the full, instead of being led out to perish in this desert!" God, however, provided for their wants, by sending them in the evening a flight of quails, which filled the camp; and, the next morning, they saw the face of the earth covered with small particles resembling hoar frost. "What is this?" they exclaimed, on perceiving it. "This is the bread," Moses answered, "which the Lord hath given you to eat." This miraculous substance was henceforth their chief food during the forty years they lived in the desert. Every morning they gathered a certain quantity for use during the day; and on the eve of the Sabbath they put in a double supply, because none fell on the day of rest. "And the house of Israel called the name of it *manna*; and it was like coriander seed white, and its taste like flour with honey."

GIVING OF THE LAW AT SINAI.—On the first day of the third month after leaving Egypt, the Israelites came to the wilderness of Sinai. Here they encamped before the mount, but were ordered to remain at some distance and to purify themselves. "And on the third day, behold, thunders were

heard, and lightnings flashed, and a very thick cloud covered the mount, and the noise of the trumpet sounded exceedingly loud. And all Mount Sinai was in a smoke, because the Lord was come upon it in fire ; and all the mount quaked greatly ; and the sound of the trumpet grew by degrees louder and louder, and was drawn out to a greater length." At last, amidst this scene of terror, the voice of God himself was heard giving forth Ten Commandments, by which his people were to live.

THE GOLDEN CALF.—As soon as God had done speaking, the people, overcome with terror, prayed Moses that he would speak to them in the place of God, lest they should die. They then removed afar off, while Moses drew near to the thick darkness where God was. In the course of the six following days, he received a series of precepts which form a practical interpretation of the Ten Commandments. After he had written these words of God in the *Book of the Covenant*, and read them to the people, he was called again into the cloud, and there abode without food forty days and forty nights. During this period, he received instructions from God as to the pattern of the Tabernacle, the form of the Ark, the various kinds of sacrifices, and other ordinances of divine worship ; and, on the fortieth day, the Lord gave him 'two stone tables of testimony, written with the finger of God.'

But, during his prolonged absence, the people had grown weary with waiting. Thinking him dead, they said to Aaron : "Arise, make us gods that may go before us." Aaron weakly yielded to their demand, and asked the people for their golden ear-rings, from which he made a molten calf, the symbol of the Egyptian deity Apis. This the Israelites were worshipping with sacrifices, songs, and dances, as Moses came down from the mount ; and, when he saw it, being very angry, he cast the tables out of his hands, and broke them ; and, laying hold of the calf, he burned it, and beat it to powder, and strewed its dust into the water which the people drank. Then, standing in the gate of the camp, he cried : "Whoever is on the Lord's side come to me ;" and all his brethren of the tribe of Levi rallied round him. He commanded them to go, sword in hand, throughout the camp, and to kill all whom they still found at the idolatrous feast, and there were slain that day about 23,000 men. This terrible execution over, Moses went up again into Mount

Sinai, carrying two tables of stone like those which he had broken. This time also he remained in the mount alone with the Lord, forty days and forty nights, fasting. On coming down, he brought with him the two tables with the Ten Commandments written thereupon by God himself.

THE TABERNACLE SET UP.—Moses now gathered all the multitude of the children of Israel, and asked their free gifts for the tabernacle and its furniture. "Let every one of a willing heart offer to the Lord jewels, gold and silver and brass, skins and woven fabrics and fine linens—blue and purple, spices, oils, and incense; and whichever of you is wise, let him come, and make that which the Lord hath commanded." With a most ready and devout mind, both men and women offered gifts. 'Beseleel, therefore, and Ooliab, and every wise man to whom the Lord gave wisdom and understanding to know how to work artificially,' made the tabernacle, with its furniture and vessels, the cloths of service, and the garments of the priests, after the pattern shown to Moses in the mount. All things being ready, on the first day of the second year the tabernacle was set up, and therein was placed the ark, which contained the tables of the law and some manna.

THE WANDERING IN THE WILDERNESS.—A month after the setting up of the tabernacle, the cloud of Jehovah's presence, which had been resting over it, was lifted up as a sign of departure, and the Israelites set forward on their journey to the Promised Land. Soon, however, the people, growing tired of the manna, recommenced their murmurings; and God, after inflicting sundry chastisements, ordered them to turn back, condemning them to wander 40 years, till all the men of twenty years and upwards had perished in the wilderness.

DEATH OF AARON.—Up to the giving of the Law at Sinai, the priesthood had been the privilege of the eldest born in each family. God, in establishing his Covenant, took the tribe of Levi to his special service; and by his order Aaron and his sons were anointed to the priesthood. More than once Aaron's privilege was disputed; but each time it was confirmed by the miraculous punishment of the rebels. Aaron, therefore, ministered as high-priest before the Lord. But for a slight sin of hesitancy of which he and Moses were guilty, neither was allowed to bring the Israelites into the Promised Land, and Aaron was the first to be gathered to

his people. "Take Aaron and Eleazar his son," the Lord said to Moses, "and bring them up unto Mount Hor. And strip Aaron of his garments, and put them upon Eleazar his son. And Aaron shall die there." Moses obeyed; and Aaron died, and the people mourned for him 30 days.

DEATH OF MOSES (B. C. 1605).—Moses survived Aaron but a short time. Having slaughtered the Midianites, and broken the power of the Moabites, he settled the tribes of Ruben and Gad with half the tribe of Manasses, in the land conquered on the east of the Jordan. Then, as the old generation had all passed away except Josue and Caleb, and a new had sprung up that had not beheld the wonders of Sinai, Moses rehearsed the dealings of Jehovah since the departure of Israel from Egypt, repeating the law, and enforcing it with solemn exhortations and warnings for the future. "And the Lord said to Moses: Behold, thy days approach that thou must die: call Josue, and stand ye at the tabernacle of the testimony, that I may give him a charge. And, as they stood there, the Lord appeared in a pillar of cloud, which stood in the entry of the tabernacle. And the Lord commanded Josue, the son of Nun, and said: Take courage, and be valiant; for thou shalt bring the children of Israel into the land which I have promised, and I will be with thee. Then Moses went up from the plains of Moab upon Mount Nebo, to the top of Phasga, over against Jericho: and the Lord, showing him all the country northward and westward and southward, said to him: This is the land which I swore to Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, saying, I will give it to thy seed. Thou hast seen it with thy eyes, and shalt not pass over to it. And Moses, the servant of the Lord, died there, and He buried him in the valley over against Phogor, and no man knoweth of his sepulchre. And the children of Israel mourned for him 30 days, and they rendered obedience to Josue, the son of Nun, on whom Moses had laid his hands, and who was filled with the spirit of wisdom. But there arose no more prophet in Israel like unto Moses, whom the Lord knew face to face."

CHARACTER OF MOSES.—As a leader, as a prophet, and especially as a lawgiver, Moses stands alone in supreme, unapproachable grandeur. His legislation sufficed for the wants of his people till the coming of Christ; and as it needed no change, it underwent no alteration. The sole business of each successive ruler was to enforce its observance. As

an author, his writings exhibit characteristics of originality not to be found elsewhere. In simplicity and sublime majesty, they are unequalled; and, when reading him, one seems to hear the voice, not merely of an inspired writer, but of God himself.

JOSUE.—Moses, the lawgiver, was succeeded by Josue, the military chief, who was to lead the people into their inheritance, and to give them rest. He belonged to the tribe of Ephraim, and was at this time about 80 years old. He had grown up to mature age in the state of Egyptian bondage; had shared the experience and the trials of the wilderness, as the chosen servant of Moses; and had proved his military capacity in the conquest of the land east of Jordan. A devout warrior, blameless and fearless, who combined strength with gentleness, ever looking up for and obeying the divine impulse with the simplicity of a child, he is one of the few Old-Testament characters on whom is no stain.

PASSAGE OF THE JORDAN.—So soon as the mourning of the Israelites for their great prophet was over, Josue advanced to the very edge of the Jordan. The river was then swollen and overflowed its banks, in consequence of the melting of the snow. But, relying on the protection of the Lord, Josue ordered the priests who carried the ark, to enter the bed of the river; and, as soon as they came into the Jordan, the waters above them stood still, being heaped up like a mountain, and those beneath them flowed down towards the Dead Sea, leaving the channel bare. The priests advanced into the midst of the river with the ark, and there stood girded, till all the people had passed over, when they proceeded to the western bank, and the waters resumed their natural course. This miraculous passage of the Jordan was effected on the tenth of April, the day appointed for the selection of the Pascal Lamb; and, on the evening of the 14th, the people kept the Passover for the first time on the soil of their inheritance, exactly 40 years after their fathers had first kept it when they were leaving Egypt. On the morrow after the Passover, the new generation tasted bread for the first time; the manna ceased, and henceforth they began to eat the fruits of the year.

CAPTURE OF JERICHO.—The great city of Jericho stood but a short distance from the camp of the Israelites. As Josue was meditating how to attack it, the Lord said to him: "Behold, I have given into thy hand Jericho and its king and

all its valiant men. Go round about the city, all ye fighting men, once a day for six days ; and, on the seventh day, the priests shall take the seven trumpets, which are used in the jubilee, and shall go before the ark of the covenant : and ye shall go about the city seven times, and the priests shall sound the trumpets. And when the voice of the trumpet shall give a longer and broken blast, and shall sound in your ears, all the people shall shout together with a very great shout, and the walls of the city shall fall to the ground, and they shall enter in, every one straight before him." So they did, "and they took the city, and killed all who were in it, men and women, young and old. The oxen also and the sheep and the asses they slew with the edge of the sword. Rahab alone with her kindred and goods was spared. The city was burned and all things that were therein, except the gold and silver and vessels of brass and iron, which were placed in the sacred treasury."

THE SUN STANDS STILL.—Of all the peoples of Canaan, they who dwelt in Gabaon alone sought the alliance of the Israelites, which they obtained by a curious artifice. But, when Josue became aware of their deceit, he put them under a curse, and made them bondmen. The Canaanites, on the other hand, formed themselves into a great league to punish the Gabaonites for their defection. The inhabitants of Gabaon then sent for help to Josue. He, marching all night from his camp, surprised the confederates, and 'slew them with great slaughter under the walls of Gabaon, and pursued them up the ascent to Beth-oron, and cut them off all the way to Azeca and Maceda,' while the Lord cast down upon them great hail-stones from heaven, which slew many more than had perished by the sword. It was during this memorable engagement, that "Josue spake to the Lord in the sight of the children of Israel, and said before them : Move not, O sun, toward Gabaon, nor thou, O moon, toward the valley of Ajalon ! And the sun stood still* and the moon stayed until the people had avenged themselves of their enemies. There was not before nor after so long a day, the Lord obeying the voice of a man, and fighting for Israel."

CONQUEST OF THE PROMISED LAND.—The great battle of Beth-oron was followed by the conquest of the south-

* Let us here repeat that the language of Scripture is *popular* not *scientific*, the purpose of Scripture being for 'our instruction,' not our progress in science.

ern half of Palestine. A powerful league was now formed against the Hebrews by the people of the North. But the Lord delivered them into the hands of Josue, 'who smote them until none remained.' Many of the old inhabitants, however, in different parts, held out for quite a while. Nay, whole tracts, lying within the limits which God had originally named, remained unsubdued. These were, speaking generally, the lowlands along the Mediterranean, the coasts of Phœnicia, and the ranges of Lebanon. Though these conquests were not reserved for Josue, he was commanded to include them in the division of the land.

DEATH OF JOSUE (B. C. 1580).—Josue governed Israel for five-and-twenty years. When he felt himself 'going the way of all the earth,' he summoned the heads of the tribes, the judges, and the officers, and said to them: "Be careful to observe all things which are written in the book of the law of Moses. Cleave unto the Lord your God, as ye have done until this day; and then the Lord will take away before your eyes nations that are strong and very great. But, if you will embrace the errors of those nations that dwell among you, know for a certainty that the Lord will not destroy them before your face; but they shall be a pit and a snare in your way, till he take you away and destroy you from off this excellent land which he hath given you." This exhortation and warning Josue repeated to the whole people assembled at Sichem, concluding with these words: "If it seem evil to you to serve the Lord, ye have your choice: as for me and my house, we will serve the Lord." The people answered: "We will serve the Lord our God, and be obedient to his commandments." Thereupon he sent them away, and died, being 110 years old.

CHAPTER III.

THE JUDGES.—B. C. 1554-1050.

GOVERNMENT OF THE ELDERS AND JUDGES.—After the death of Josue, God uttered his commands through the high-priest; and the elders of each tribe governed the peo-

ple. In the efforts made by the several tribes to drive out the heathen nations, Judah took the lead. So long as they lived, who had known the works of the Lord which he had done in Israel, the people remained faithful to the law of Moses. In the next generation, however, they fell into the worship of Baalim, the idols of the country. Then their career of conquest was checked, and they were given into the hands of their enemies. But, though punished, they were not forsaken by God. As often as they repented, he raised up judges, who delivered them from their oppressors. The most illustrious of these Judges were Othniel, Aod, Debhora, Gedeon, Jephthé, Samson, Heli, and Samuel.

OTHNIEL AND AOD.—Chusan Rasathaim, king of Mesopotamia, was the first foreign conqueror that held idolatrous Israel in subjection. After the people had served him eight years, 'they cried to the Lord, who raised them up a deliverer, Othniel, the brother of Caleb. And the spirit of the Lord was in him, and under him the land had rest 40 years.' After his death, 'the children of Israel did evil again in the sight of the Lord, who strengthened against them Eglon, king of Moab; and they served him 18 years. And afterwards they cried to the Lord, who raised them up a deliverer called Aod. By him Moab was humbled, and the land rested 80 years.'

THE PROPHETESS DEBBORA.—"And the children of Israel again did evil in the sight of the Lord, who delivered them up into the hands of the Canaanite Jabin, king of Asor. This prince had 900 chariots armed with scythes, and was at the head of a great confederacy in northern Palestine. For 20 years he grievously oppressed the Israelites, till at last Debhora, a prophetess, who judged Israel under a palm-tree, between Rama and Bethel in Mount Ephraim, sent for Barac of the tribe of Nephtali, and said to him: The Lord God hath commanded thee: Take with thee to Mount Thabor 10,000 fighting men, and I will bring unto thee Sisera, the general of Jabin's army, and his chariots, and all his multitude, and I will deliver them into thy hands." When Sisera heard of Barac's presence upon Mount Thabor at the head of an army, he at once advanced with his whole force to attack him. Then Debhora said to Barac: "Arise, for this is the day wherein the Lord hath delivered Sisera into thy hands. And Barac went down from Mount Thabor; and the Lord struck a terror into Sisera; and the mul-

itude of the enemy was utterly destroyed. Sisera himself leaped from off his chariot, and, fleeing away on foot, sought refuge in the tent of Jael. While he slept, Jael took a nail of the tent, and a hammer; and going in softly and silently, she put the nail upon his temples, and striking it with the hammer, drove it through his brains fast into the ground; and, so passing from deep sleep to death, he fainted away and died. Thus did God that day humble Jabin, king of Canaan, before the children of Israel. They, growing daily stronger, with a mighty hand overpowered their old oppressor, till they quite destroyed him. And the land rested 40 years."

GEDEON.—Once more the children of Israel did evil in the sight of the Lord, and he delivered them into the hand of Midian 7 years. Every year the enemy came up, and 'wasted all things as they were in the blade; and they left nothing at all in Israel for sustenance of life, nor sheep, nor oxen, nor asses. For they and all their flocks came with their tents, and, like locusts, filled all places, wasting whatsoever they touched. And Israel was humbled exceedingly in the sight of Midian, and he cried to the Lord. And the next time the Midianites and Amalekites returned, the spirit of the Lord came upon Gedeon, and he blew a trumpet, and called round him Manasses, and Aser, and Zabulon, and Nephtali; and they came to meet him. And the Lord said to Gedeon: The people that are with thee are many, and Midian shall not be delivered into their hands, lest Israel should glory against me, and say, I was delivered by my own strength. Speak to the people and proclaim in the hearing of all: Whoever is fearful and timorous, let him return. So two-and-twenty thousand men at once returned to their homes; and only ten thousand remained. And the Lord said to Gedeon: The people are still too many; bring them to the water, and they who shall lap the water with their tongues, as dogs are wont to lap, thou shalt retain; but let all the rest go away. Gedeon's number was then reduced to 300. These he divided into three companies, and gave them trumpets in their hands, and empty pitchers, and lamps within the pitchers, and bade them all, at the signal of his trumpet, to sound their trumpets also, and to shout his battle-cry, To the Lord and to Gedeon! at the same time breaking the pitchers which covered their lights. Just as the middle watch was set, they took their posts on three sides

of Midian, and sounded their trumpets and broke their pitchers, and held their lamps in their left hands and with their right the trumpets which they blew, and they cried out: The sword of the Lord and of Gedeon! So all the enemy's camp was troubled; and, howling, the Midianites fled away, and they killed one another. But the men of Israel, gathering together, pursued after Midian, and killed their kings, Oreb and Zeb and Zebbee and Salmana. Thus was accomplished the deliverance of Israel. After governing the people 40 years, Gedeon died; and soon the children of Israel turned again from the Lord, and sinned with Baalim.'

JEPHTE.—The Israelites, in punishment of their multiplied idolatries, were next oppressed by the Ammonites, who attacked them from the east, and by the Philistines on the west. From the long and grievous oppression of the Ammonites they were freed by Jephthé. As this valiant man went forth for battle, he made a vow to the Lord, saying: "If thou wilt deliver the children of Ammon into my hands, whatsoever shall first come forth out of the doors of my house, and shall meet me when I return in peace, the same will I offer a holocaust to the Lord." His expedition was crowned with complete success. But, as he returned into Maspha to his house, his only daughter met him with timbrels and with dances. And when he saw her, he rent his garments, and cried, "Alas! my daughter, thou hast deceived me, and thou thyself art deceived; for I have opened my mouth to the Lord, and I cannot do otherwise." And she answered him: "My father, if thou hast opened thy mouth to the Lord, do to me whatever thou hast promised. Only let me alone for two months, that I may go about the mountains, and bewail that it was not my lot to be a bride and a mother in Israel." At the end of that time, she returned to her father, who 'did to her as he had vowed.'

SAMSON.—The man who began to deliver Israel from the hand of the Philistines, was Samson, of the race of Dan. At an early age, the Spirit of the Lord began to be with him: and the divine inspiration took in him the especial form of vast personal strength, animated by undaunted bravery. At 18, being attacked by a young lion, he tore the animal as he would have torn a kid. Soon after, he went down to Ascalon, and slew there thirty men. At the time of the next harvest, he took 300 foxes, and tying them together, two and two, by

the tails, with a fire-brand fastened between them, he let them loose into the standing corn of the Philistines. The flame consumed not only the corn, but also the vineyards and the olive-yards. Not satisfied with this, Samson made a great havoc among the Philistines themselves also. The people of Judah, to appease their anger, agreed to deliver him bound into their hands. But, when he was brought into their camp, 'the Spirit of the Lord came mighty upon him; and, as the flax is consumed with fire, so the bands with which he was bound were broken and loosed. And, finding a jaw-bone of an ass at hand, he slew with it a thousand men.' Samson next ventured into Gaza. On learning that he was among them, the inhabitants hastened to shut the gate of the city, intending to kill him in the morning. But, rising at midnight, Samson tore away the gate with the posts and bar, and carried them on his shoulders to the top of a hill looking towards Hebron. After this he loved a woman called Dalila, who was bribed by the lords of the Philistines to entice him to tell her wherein his great strength lay. "And when she pressed him very much, and continually hung upon him for many days, giving him no rest, he said to her: A razor hath never passed over my head; if my head be shaven, my strength will leave me." Thereupon she sent for the princes of the Philistines; and, making Samson sleep upon her knees, she had him shaven of his seven locks, and immediately his strength went from him. Then the Philistines took him, put out his eyes, and led him out to Gaza, bound in brazen fetters, and made him grind in the prison. 'And now his hair began to grow again. And the princes of the Philistines assembled together, to offer great sacrifices to Dagon their god, in thanksgiving for Samson's capture; and the people requested that he should be brought forth to play before them. And, after he had played, he said to the lad who guided his steps: Suffer me to touch the pillars which support the whole house, and let me lean upon them. Then, imploring the Lord to restore to him his former strength, he bore with all his might upon the two pillars, and the house fell upon all the lords and all the people, and he died with them. He had judged Israel 20 years.'

SAMUEL.—Hostilities continued between the Israelites and the Philistines, during which the latter generally prevailed. On one occasion, in particular, 30,000 Israelites were slain,

among whom Ophni and Phinees, the son of the high-priest Heli, and the ark was taken. At last, Samuel, who had grown up before the Lord, and whom all Israel from Dan to Bersabee revered as a prophet, called the people to repentance. "If you put away the strange gods from among you, Baalim and Astaroth, and prepare your hearts unto the Lord, and serve him only, he will deliver you out of the hands of the Philistines." The children of Israel obeyed, and, when the Philistines came up against them, the Lord answered the prayers of Samuel by sending a violent storm of thunder, which caused the discomfiture of the invaders. The Philistines were humbled; the cities which they had taken from the Israelites were restored, and the hand of the Lord was against them all the days of Samuel. In his old age he made his sons judges. But they did not walk in his ways. The elders of Israel, therefore, came to Samuel, and said, "Behold thou art old; thy sons walk not in thy ways; now make us a king to judge us, as all nations have. And the Lord said to Samuel: Harken to their voice; they have rejected not thee, but Me, from reigning over them."

CHAPTER IV.

SAUL.—DAVID.—SOLOMON.—B. C. 1050-930.

THE REIGN OF SAUL (B. C. 1050-1010).—In compliance with the divine injunction, Saul, the son of Cis, a man of the tribe of Benjamin, was anointed by Samuel to be the new king of Israel. His majestic appearance, together with his courage and moderation, soon gained him the respect of all. Being informed that the city of Jabes was closely besieged by the Ammonites, he attacked and cut them to pieces. Two years later, he gloriously repelled an invasion of the Philistines, the most persevering enemy of the Hebrews. He likewise conquered several other nations in the neighborhood of his kingdom, but none so completely as the Amalekites, who were nearly all destroyed. Unfortunately, he began about this time to degenerate from his former virtue. For

this reason, the Almighty rejected him; and Samuel, by divine command, anointed David king. Saul's reign was henceforth but one continued series of evils and crimes. He persecuted David, and sought by every means to destroy him. In the last battle which he fought with the Philistines, that on Mount Gelboe, his army was cut to pieces; three of his sons were slain; and he himself, grievously wounded and dreading to fall alive into the hands of the enemy, caused his death by falling on his own sword.

DAVID AT JERUSALEM (B. C. 1002).—After the battle of Mount Gelboe, the men of Judah anointed David king over their tribe, at Hebron. But seven years and a half elapsed before he was fully recognized as king of all Israel. His first care, when he saw his power firmly established, was to attack Jerusalem, the strong city of the Jebusites, whom the men of Judah had never been able to dislodge. Jerusalem consisted of an upper and a lower town. The latter was immediately taken, but the upper city held out. The king then proclaimed to his host, that the first man to scale the rocky height and kill a Jebusite, should be made chief captain of his army. Joab's superior agility gained him the day; and the fastness of Sion was at last taken. To this city David removed the seat of government. He embellished it with many new buildings; and he erected a palace there with the help of workmen sent by Hiram, king of Tyre. He also set up in it a new tent for the ark; and thither the venerable relic was carried on the shoulders of the Levites, amidst the rejoicings of the people. On this occasion, David made a complete arrangement of the musical service; and care was taken by him, that the whole order of divine worship should henceforth, be carried out according to the law of Moses.

VICTORIES OF DAVID.—His own throne and the service of God's sanctuary being thus established, David advanced to the final conquest of the enemies of Israel. By his successive victories over the Philistines, the Moabites, the Syrians, and the Edomites, he carried his frontiers 'from the river of Egypt to the great river Euphrates.' Thus the bounds of the Promised Land were now reached; but these extended limits were preserved only during the reign of David and Solomon—a period of about sixty years. During that time, the kingdom of Israel was no longer a petty state, but truly one of the great Oriental monarchies.

DAVID'S SIN AND MISFORTUNE.—The glory of the first period of David's reign is overshadowed by his great sin, the punishment of which was to render its second part so disastrous. In the midst of his prosperity, yielding to a horrible temptation, he became guilty of adultery and homicide. Rebuked for this double crime by the prophet Nathan, he became sensible of its enormity: "I have sinned against the Lord." But neither his tears nor exemplary penance averted those temporal consequences of sin—the woes denounced on him and his house. His days were embittered by the premature and unhappy death of some of his children, by the wicked lives of others, and especially by the ingratitude, revolt, and tragical end of his son Absalom. This rebellion was no sooner suppressed than it was followed by another, which renewed the king's anxiety; and, afterwards, by the plagues of famine and pestilence that raged among his subjects.

DEATH OF DAVID; HIS CHARACTER.—These domestic and political trials were at length terminated; tranquillity was restored to the nation, and prosperity to the king. He died in an advanced age, after a reign of forty years (B. C. 970), leaving behind him the reputation of a great monarch, a great conqueror, a great prophet, and although for a time a slave to a criminal passion, yet a model for all sincere and humble penitents. To his own people his was the name most dearly cherished after that of their first ancestor, Abraham; and the highest eulogy passed on the best of his successors is, that they followed his example.

SOLOMON'S (B. C. 970*-930) POWER, MAGNIFICENCE, AND WISDOM.—The reign of Solomon marks the climax of the Hebrew state. His father's conquests had carried the Jewish dominions to the borders named in the promise to Abraham. Solomon, in order to facilitate his commercial enterprises, erected Tadmor (afterwards, the celebrated Palmyra) in the desert; and built a superb navy in the ports of Aziongaber and Elath, on the eastern arm of the Red Sea.

*The chronology of the kingly period has ever been the source of special difficulty, varying with the different Biblical interpreters. Of late, however, owing to the recent discoveries in Assyria, the chronological obscurities of this period have been partially cleared up; and we have accordingly brought lower down than was done before, the dates of the reigns of Solomon and his successors.—See *La Civiltà Cattolica*, 1885.

He also strengthened his alliance with Tyre, which at once gave him security in the north and a share in the commerce of Phœnicia. From Egypt he obtained the city of Gazer, thereby gaining the command of the Philistine plain, the ancient highway between Egypt and Assyria. Thus powerful by sea and land, the king of Israel was in truth the greatest of all eastern monarchs.

The magnificence of his court was unrivalled; and the happiness of his subjects uninterrupted. The Israelites, vastly increased in numbers, dwelt safely all his days, 'every man under his vine and under his fig-tree, eating and drinking and making merry.' But all this prosperity was transcended by the king's wisdom and 'largeness of heart,' and knowledge in all the learning of his age. He gave equal attention to the lessons of practical morals and to the facts of natural science. 'He spoke three thousand proverbs, and his songs were a thousand and five; and all peoples and kings of the earth came to receive from his own lips the wisdom of which they had heard.'

BUILDING OF THE TEMPLE.—Solomon availed himself of so many advantages, to build in Jerusalem a temple worthy, by its magnificence, to be the house of solemn worship and the special residence of the Most High. This wondrous structure occupied upwards of 150,000 workmen, and required full seven years for its completion. It was made of costly materials, and adorned with the most beautiful specimens of art. The time chosen for its dedication was the Feast of Tabernacles—the most joyous of the year, rendered doubly so on this occasion by the splendor of the ceremonies, the stupendous sacrifices of 22,000 oxen and 120,000 sheep, and the lengthened prolongation of the festivities to a period of 14 days.

SOLOMON'S OTHER BUILDINGS.—After the dedication of the temple, several years were occupied in the completion of the king's own house, and of his other great works both at Jerusalem and in various parts of his dominions. A separate palace was built for his Egyptian queen, the daughter of Pharaoh. He had also a summer palace in Lebanon, and gardens at Etham, like the 'paradises' of the eastern kings. To these works were added aqueducts to supply Sion with water, and the repair of its walls together with the building of Mello and several store-cities, or dépôts for commerce.

SOLOMON'S IDOLATRY AND DEATH.—Amidst these splendid achievements, the uxorious king, beguiled by luxury and fair idolatresses, was seduced from God's service—a most terrible example of the frailty of the human heart, showing that neither talents, nor wisdom, nor advanced age, nor even the long practice of virtue, can give perfect security against its attacks. Solomon died at Jerusalem, in the 40th year of his reign, and was buried in the royal sepulchre, in the city of David (B. C. 930).

CHAPTER V.

THE TWO SEPARATE KINGDOMS OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.

B. C. 930-722.

THE SCHISM OF THE TEN TRIBES (B. C. 930).—The glory of Solomon's splendid kingdom was not to continue. Already in the latter part of his reign, luxury had brought its usual corruption and weakness. The purity of religion was impaired; the people groaned under taxation, and discontent prevailed. The tyranny and insolence of Roboam, the son and successor of Solomon, completed the ruin of the state, causing ten of the twelve tribes to repudiate his sway and adhere to Jeroboam. By this disruption were formed the separate kingdoms of Judah and Israel.

RELATIVE POPULATION AND STRENGTH OF JUDAH AND ISRAEL.—The kingdom of Israel, or of the Ten Tribes, included about two-thirds of the Jewish population, and embraced more than the same proportion of the land, and that much the best in quality. But the powerful tribe of Judah retained the capital, with the accumulated treasures of Solomon; and all the moral and religious elements of greatness were on its side.

JEROBOAM'S IDOLATRY.—The very first acts of Jeroboam cut off Israel from the worship of Jehovah. Fearing lest his subjects should return to their former allegiance, if they were allowed to adore in Jerusalem, he made them offer their worship to two golden calves, which he set up in the ancient

sanctuaries of Dan and Bethel, at the northern and southern extremities of his kingdom. His example was followed by his successors, of whom, with scarcely an exception, we read, 'he did evil in the sight of Jehovah, and walked in the way of Jeroboam, who made Israel to sin.'

GOD'S WORSHIP MAINTAINED AT JERUSALEM.—The *religious* revolt of Jeroboam drove all the priests and Levites to Jerusalem, where the tribe of Judah was preserved from defection expressly to maintain God's worship at its chosen seat. With the line of David remained the *promise of the kingdom*, leading up to the Messiah; and in that line, the crown was handed down, generally from father to son, while Israel presents a succession of murders and usurpations. In the whole period of 208 years, from the disruption to the captivity of Israel, 12 kings of Judah occupy the same space as 19 kings of Israel; and the moral superiority of the former was still more conspicuous.

ULTIMATE FATE OF THE TWO KINGDOMS.—The two kingdoms were equally distinguished in their final fate. The sentence of captivity was executed upon Israel 135 years sooner than on Judah; and, while the Ten Tribes never returned to their land, and only a scattered remnant of these shared the restoration of Judah, the latter became once more a powerful nation, not free from the faults of their fathers, but worshipping God with great purity, serving Him with heroic zeal, and preparing for the restoration of the true spiritual kingdom under the last great Son of David, Christ Jesus.

ROBOAM (B. C. 930-914).—Besides Judah, Benjamin adhered to Roboam. The united forces of these two tribes were called out by Roboam, who strove to bring back his former subjects to obedience, thus inaugurating a state of war between the rival kingdoms, which lasted for 60 years. He not only failed to subdue the Israelites, but, like his father, he was corrupted by his numerous harem; and both king and people fell into idolatry and vice. The punishment came at once. The country was invaded, Jerusalem taken, and the public treasure carried away by Sesac, king of Egypt.

ABIAS (B. C. 914-912).—Hostilities between the kingdoms of Judah and Israel continued with unabated fury, during the reign of Abias, the son and successor of Roboam. Abias, through the divine assistance, gained a decisive victory over

Jeroboam, killing as many as 500,000 of the men of Israel. Yet, so great a blessing of God's providence could not induce him to persevere in the way of virtue. He imitated the infidelity of his father, and died before completing the third year of his reign.

ASA (B. C. 912-871).—His son Asa was more faithful in the service of God. He used the ten years' peace secured by his father's great victory, to fortify his cities and increase his forces. With these he encountered and routed 'Zara the Cushite' (Ethiopian), who had invaded Judah with a million of soldiers and 300 chariots. The invader is thought to have been a king of Egypt; and, at all events, Asa seems to have thrown off the tributary yoke imposed by Sesac on Roboam. Asa died of the gout, in the 41st year of his reign, having been contemporary with all the first seven kings of Israel—Jeroboam, Nadab, Baasa, Ela, Zambri, Amri, and Achab.

JOSAPHAT (B. C. 871-847).—Under Josaphat, the kingdom of Judah reached a degree of splendor approaching to that which it had possessed under kings David and Solomon. Josaphat raised his army to the extraordinary number of 1,160,000 men.* His power was respected at home and abroad. The Philistines paid him tribute, and the Arabs brought him considerable presents. Josaphat deserved this high state of prosperity by his valor, his fidelity to God, his exertions against idolatrous practices, his zeal for the religious instructions of his subjects, and his impartial administration of justice. He sent priests and Levites throughout the various cities of Judah, to instruct the people in the divine law; and recommended to magistrates the greatest care in the discharge of their important functions.

Towards the end of his reign, Josaphat was unexpectedly attacked by the Moabites, Ammonites, and Edomites. In this emergency he had recourse, as usual, to the divine assistance which had never failed him, and endeavored to secure it by public prayer and fasting. When he approached the camp of his enemies, he found that they had turned their arms against themselves, and destroyed one another to the last. After this fresh mark of God's favor to his people,

*This number will not appear incredible, if we call to mind, that every man capable of bearing arms was obliged to perform military service. Yet it is but fair to add, that a mistake may have crept into the text. The use of letters as numerical signs, in the original, has more than once occasioned errors of copyists.

Josaphat redoubled his works of zeal and piety. He is justly considered one of the most religious monarchs that ruled over the Jewish nation.

. ACHAB (B. C. 875-854) KING OF ISRAEL AND ELIAS.—The name of Achab has attained an evil eminence in the world's history. His fate was decided by his marriage with Jezabel, the daughter of Ethbaal, king of Tyre. By her influence, the worship of Baal and other Phœnician deities was established throughout Israel. Thereupon Elias the Thesbite, said to Achab: "As the Lord liveth, the God of Israel, in whose sight I stand, dew nor rain shall not be these years, but according to the words of my mouth." A drought of three years and six months, with a famine consequent thereon, followed, when Elias again appeared before Achab, requesting him to bring all the prophets of Baal unto Mount Carmel, where they would offer a sacrifice to their gods, whilst he would offer one to the Lord. Achab, therefore, gathered together the prophets unto Mount Carmel. "Call ye on the names of your gods," Elias said to them, "and I will call on the name of my Lord; and the God who shall answer by fire, let him be God." So they called on the name of Baal, from morning even till noon; but in vain. Then Elias said to the people: "Come ye unto me." And he built an altar, and laid the wood in order, and cut the bullock to pieces, and laid it upon the wood, and caused the whole to be profusely covered with water. Then he prayed: "O Lord God of Abraham and Isaac and Jacob, show this day that thou art the God of Israel, and I thy servant. Hear me, O Lord, hear me, that this people may learn that thou art the Lord God." As he ended this prayer, the fire of the Lord fell, and consumed the holocaust; and the people, fallen on their faces, exclaimed: "The Lord he is God, the Lord he is God!" Elias then killed all the prophets of Baal; and, retiring to the top of Carmel, cast himself down upon the earth, put his face between his knees, and prayed, until the heavens grew dark with clouds and winds, and there fell a great rain. Even such signal miracles failed to release Achab from the bondage of his heart and soul to Jezabel. She not only made him persevere in his idolatry, but led him to commit a fresh crime of crying injustice.

NABOTH'S VINEYARD.—The city of Jezrahel was now the favorite residence of Achab. Near his palace was a vineyard, which its owner, Naboth, prized dearly as the inheritance

of his fathers, and which accordingly he would not yield to the king either in exchange for a better or for money. Then Jezabel said to Achab: "I will give thee the vineyard of Naboth the Jezrahelite." So she induced the elders of Israel to condemn Naboth to be stoned, on the evidence of foresworn witnesses, after which she sent Achab to take possession of the vineyard. Here the king was met by Elias, who denounced to him this judgment of God, "Behold I will bring evil upon thee; I will cut down thy posterity. The dogs shall eat Jezabel in the field of Jezrahel. In the place where the dogs licked the blood of Naboth shall dogs lick thy blood, even thine." Terrified by these words Achab humbled himself with fasting and sackcloth. The sentence nevertheless received the full execution, though only after his death.

JORAM, OCHOZIAH, ATHALIA, AND JOAS (B. C. 847-797). Joram, son of Josaphat, whom his father in his lifetime associated to himself in the government of Judah, had for wife the wicked daughter of Achab and Jezabel, Athalia. This princess brought into Judah the same practice of idolatry that had long prevailed in Israel. In punishment thereof, Judah lost her supremacy over Edom; Jerusalem was stormed by the rebel Philistines and Arabians, who massacred or carried off Joram's wives and children, except his youngest son, Ochoziah; in fine, Joram himself died prematurely of a loathsome disease. Joram's successor, Ochoziah, during his short reign, was entirely under the influence of his mother Athalia, till he was killed by Jehu, whom the Lord had caused to be anointed king of Israel in place of Joram, son of Achab and brother to Athalia. No sooner was Ochoziah dead, than Athalia usurped the throne (B. C. 842); and, the more securely to maintain herself in power, she ordered the massacre of all the royal seed. But a new-born son of Ochoziah, Joas, was saved by his aunt Josaba, who hid him 6 years in the house of the Lord. In the seventh year, the high-priest Joiada formed in his behalf a great conspiracy of the priests and Levites and the princes of Judah. Joas was crowned in the temple, and Athalia's cry of treason was stifled in her blood. With her the last of Achab's house perished.

"Joas did that which was right before the Lord, all the days that Joiada the priest taught him." After the death of the pontiff, the princes of Judah persuaded him to restore

idolatry; and, when the high-priest Zachariah, the son of Joiada, remonstrated, he was stoned to death, between the altar and the temple, by the command of the king whom his father had proclaimed on that very spot. The martyr's dying prayer, "The Lord see and require it," began to be fulfilled within a year. Hazael, king of Syria, who had overrun the eastern province of Israel, pillaged Jerusalem, and inflicted all sorts of outrages on Joas and his nobles. Joas was soon after assassinated by two of his officers.

AMASIAH (B. C. 797-773) the son and successor of Joas, at first 'did what was good in the sight of Jehovah;' and his faith was rewarded by a great victory over Edom. But, later, he connived at idolatry; and having wantonly challenged Joas king of Israel, he was defeated, and brought back a prisoner to Jerusalem by the victorious enemy, who pillaged his capital and broke down a considerable portion of the city wall. Fifteen years later, Amasiah, flying from a conspiracy, which his tyranny had provoked, was overtaken and killed at Lachis.

AZARIAH (OR OZIAH), JOATHAM, AND ACHAZ (B. C. 773-727).—Azariah was but 16 years old, when the people of Judah made him king in the room of Amasiah his father. So long as he remained under the influence of 'Zachariah, who understood and saw God, he did what was right in the eyes of the Lord, and the Lord helped him against the Philistines, and against the Arabians, and against the Ammonites; and his name was spread abroad even to the entrance of Egypt for his frequent victories. But, when he was made strong, his heart was lifted up to his destruction.' Despite the high-priest's warning he attempted to usurp the priestly office. But, as he was, holding in his hand the censer to burn incense, he was smitten with leprosy. Azariah remained a leper unto the day of his death; and he dwelt in a house apart; and Joatham his son governed the king's house, and judged the people of the land.'

Joatham 'did that which was right before the Lord, and was rewarded for his piety by signal victories over the children of Ammon. But he could not correct his people of their evil ways. Achaz, therefore, who succeeded him, found them most willing to imitate his idolatry. The divine punishment quickly followed: Achaz and his people were

of the king of Israel, Phakee, who slew of Judah 120,000 valiant men in one day, and moreover carried away to Samaria, besides an immense booty, 200,000 women, boys, and girls. These prisoners, it is true, were released at the command of the prophet Oded. But, soon after, the Edomites came and slew many of Judah, while the Philistines took many of her strong cities; and the kings of Syria and Israel renewed their attacks. In this extremity, Achaz was driven to seek the protection of the powerful Assyrian monarch, Theglathphalasar II. What evils Syria and Israel suffered at the hands of the Assyrian, and at what price Achaz himself bought the protection of his powerful ally, will be related in the history of Assyria.

FALL OF SAMARIA (B. C. 722).—For years past, God's prophets—Jonas, Osee, Amos, Abdias, and others, had kept warning the Israelites of their approaching doom. Already had the whole population east of the Jordan been carried into captivity, and now the time was come for the entire fulfillment of the prophecies of woe. Osee, king of Israel, in reliance on the support of the Egyptian Sabaco, threw off the Assyrian yoke, lately imposed by Theglathphalasar II. But, 'the king of Assyria came up throughout all the land, and went up to Samaria, and besieged it three years, at the end of which time the Lord removed Israel from His face, and they were carried away out of their land into Assyria.' Nineteen kings, belonging to no fewer than seven different families, had reigned over Israel; not one of these princes was faithful to the Lord.

CHAPTER VI.

THE LAST KINGS OF JUDAH.—B. C. 722–587.

HEZEKIAH (B. C. 727–696), the son and successor of Achaz king of Judah, 'did that which was good before the Lord, according to all that David his father had done. He destroyed the high places, and brake the statues to pieces, and cut down the groves, and brake the brazen serpent* which

* It had become an object of idolatry,

Moses had made. He stuck to the Lord, and kept his commandments. Wherefore the Lord was also with him; and in all things to which he went forth, he behaved himself wisely. And he rebelled against the king of the Assyrians, and served him not. He smote the Philistines as far as Gaza, and all their borders.'

In the 24th* year of his reign, however, he was attacked by Sennacherib. The invader first exacted 300 talents of silver and 30 of gold, for the payment of which sum Hezekiah had not only to empty the royal treasure, but to strip the temple of all the precious metal which adorned its doors and pillars. Not content with this, Sennacherib† sent against Jerusalem a strong army under his *tartan* or general-in-chief, supported by two high officers of the court—the *rabsaris* or (chief eunuch) and the *rabshakeh* (chief cupbearer). These, after defying the helpless king, invited the people to accept a complete transplantation. "But the people held their peace. And Hezekiah sent his servants to the prophet Isaiah, who said to them, Thus shall ye say to your master: Be not afraid; the king of Assyria shall not come into this city, nor shoot an arrow into it, nor cast a trench about it. By the way he came, he shall return. And it came to pass that night, that an angel of the Lord slew in the camp‡ of the Assyrians 185,000. And Sennacherib departing went away; and he returned, and abode in Ninive."

MANASSES (B. C. 696-641).—Instead of imitating his father's piety, "Manasses did evil in the sight of the Lord, according to the idols of the nations, which the Lord destroyed from before the children of Israel. And he built up the high places, which Hezekiah his father had destroyed; and he set up altars to Baal, and made groves, and adored all the host of heaven; and he built altars for all the host of heaven in the two courts of the temple. And he made his son pass through the fire, and he used divination, and observed omens, and appointed necromancers, and multiplied soothsayers; and by him his people were seduced to do

*Not the 14th, the year found in the modern editions of the Vulgate.

†Sennacherib was then besieging Lachis, a frontier town of Judah, and a place of great strength.

‡Likely under the walls of Jerusalem, though some say at Lobna, and others at Pelusium. For obvious reasons, the Assyrian annals throw no light whatever on this catastrophe.

evil beyond all the nations which the Lord destroyed before the children of Israel." As, however, many opposed his impieties, "Manasses shed also much innocent blood, till he filled Jerusalem up to the mouth. And the Lord spake to him and to his people; and they would not harken. Therefore he brought upon them the captains of the army of the king of the Assyrians—Asarhaddon; and they took Manasses, and carried him bound with chains and fetters to Babylon." The severity of his imprisonment brought him to repentance; and, being restored to his kingdom, he effected a partial religious restoration.

AMON (B. C. 641--639), the son and successor of Manasses, reigned two years, during which he followed his father's idolatries, without sharing his repentance. He fell the victim of a court conspiracy, leaving an infant son, Josiah, whom the conspirators raised to the throne in his stead.

JOSIAH (B. C. 639-608) was 8 years old, when he began to reign. The deep corruption which prevailed during his minority, is drawn in the blackest colors by Sophoniah and Jeremiah, who, as well as Habacuc, began to prophesy in his reign. But, in the 16th year of his age, Josiah 'began to seek after the God of David his father,' and his zeal was quickened by the high-priest's discovery, in the temple, of the Book of the Lord, which was read, before the king and people, with the force of a new revelation. Josiah, therefore, destroyed all the vessels which had been made for Baal, and for the grove, and for all the host of heaven; broke the idols to pieces, and slew the diviners and the soothsayers and all the priests of the high places. And he 'served the Lord with all his heart, and with all his soul, and with all his strength. Yet the Lord turned not away from the wrath of his great indignation, wherewith his anger was kindled against Judah because of the abomination of Manasses.' Nor was the time far off when he would 'remove Judah also from before his face, as he had removed Israel.' The first in the train of events which now led rapidly to that consummation was the disastrous death of Josiah at Mageddo, whither he had gone to oppose the march of Pharaoh-Necho towards the Euphrates.

FIRST CAPTIVITY OF JUDAH (B. C. 605).—After the death of Josiah, Joachaz ascended the throne, but was shortly deposed by Necho, who gave the crown to Joakim, his brother. Three years later, Joakim was attacked by Nabuchodonosor,

who had just destroyed the Egyptian power in Western Asia, and was compelled to acknowledge the supremacy of Babylon, to pay a heavy tribute, and to deliver a large number of hostages. Among the prisoners sent to Babylon on this occasion, were Daniel and his three companions, who rose afterwards to positions of eminence in the land of their captivity. Daniel, in particular, became the chief of the Chaldean order, governor of Babylon, and the trusted counsellor of the monarch.

THE GREAT CAPTIVITY (B. C. 597).—Joakim after being deposed and led to Babylon, was reinstated in the royal dignity, to reign as a vassal of Babylon. At the end of three years, however, he rebelled, in vain reliance on aid from Egypt. Nabuchodonosor, at first contented himself with sending against his rebellious vassals bodies of Chaldeans, Syrians, Ammonites, and Moabites. But, at the end of 4 years, he marched in person against Jerusalem, where the son of Joakim, Jeconiah or Joachin, had just succeeded his father. The city was invested, and only saved from storm by the surrender of Jeconiah and his mother, his harem, and all his princes and officers, who with all the warriors and skilled artisans were carried to Babylon. This is called the great captivity of Judah.

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM (B. C. 587).—On leaving Jerusalem, Nabuchodonosor gave the crown to Sedekiah, an uncle of Joachin. The reign of this last Jewish king was but one series of intrigues with Egypt and with the captive Hebrews in Babylon. At length, relying on the aid of Pharaoh-hophra (Apries), Sedekiah openly revolted, when Nabuchodonosor came against Jerusalem with all the forces of his empire. The Jews made a desperate resistance, and the city yielded only to famine. By the exasperated conquerors, its magnificent temple, its palaces, and all its houses, were given to the flames; its walls were razed to the ground. Sedekiah beheld his sons slaughtered before his face; his eyes were put out; he was bound with chains, and brought to Babylon with the rest of his people.—Their subsequent fate we shall learn in connection with the history of the Babylonians, Persians, Greeks, and Romans.



PART V.

THE CHALDEANS, ASSYRIANS, AND BABYLONIANS.

FROM THEIR ORGANIZATION AS NATIONS, TO THEIR
SUBJUGATION BY THE PERSIANS IN B. C. 538.

CHAPTER I.

CHALDEA, BABYLONIA, AND ASSYRIA, PREVIOUS TO 1300 B. C.

GEOGRAPHICAL POSITION OF ASSYRIA, BABYLONIA, CHALDEA, AND SUSIANA.—The Greek historians, who regarded Assyria and Babylonia politically as the same empire, with its seat first at Ninive and afterwards at Babylon, include both countries under the name of Assyria. But Assyria lay chiefly on the left bank of the Upper Tigris, between the river and the chain of Zagros, though it also included the right bank to an indefinite extent towards the Euphrates and its tributary the Chaboras (*Khabour*).

Babylonia comprised Lower Mesopotamia, together with the alluvial plain between the right bank of the Euphrates and Arabia—to which the name of Chaldea is more particularly given.

On the eastern side of the Tigris, close to the Persian Gulf, was the land of Elam, also called Susiana from Susa its chief city.

FERTILITY OF ASSYRIA AND BABYLONIA.—In ancient times, Assyria and Babylonia were noted for their productiveness. The upper undulating plains of Assyria, besides their rich timber, afforded beautiful pasture-grounds. The hot and rainless alluvium of Babylonia was of surpassing fertility, when irrigated by the canals which intersected its whole surface. It is the only country where wheat is known to be indigenous, and it is said to have yielded two crops yearly,

with an increase of two or even three hundred-fold, besides an after-pasture for cattle. The date-palm once covered the whole surface of Babylonia with a forest of verdure. This wonderful tree furnished the people with bread, wine, vinegar, honey, porridge, and ropes; with a fuel equal to charcoal, and with a means of fattening cattle and sheep, besides supplying timber for wooden houses, and for the roofs, linings, and partitions of the brick buildings. A Persian poem celebrated the 360 uses of the palm. Indeed, Babylonia was once reckoned among the most fertile countries in the world. It is now almost a complete desert.

EARLY CIVILIZATION IN THE LAND OF SENNAAR.—Though the existing records of Egypt give her precedence in point of time, as a centre of primeval civilization, yet from the notices in Scripture, we may infer that political societies were organized, and cities built, in the land of Sennaar earlier than on the Nile. The posterity of Noe were soon attracted to Mesopotamia by the extraordinary fertility of the land; and, besides an abundant supply of food and the means of intercourse afforded by its river, they found there also the readiest materials for building. Their houses were formed of the straight tall trunks and broad fronds of the palm-tree. For city walls, towers of defence, and temples, they used bricks hardened in the sun or burned like ours. These were cemented by means of ordinary mortar, or with the bitumen which springs up in many parts of the plain. In the land of Sennaar, the arts of raising vast edifices and of expressing thought by writing were known from the first settlement of the country, and never perished.

THE CHALDEAN EMPIRE (B. C. ?—about 1500).—Chus, or Cush, son of Cham, begot Nimrod, and Nimrod ‘began to be mighty on the earth. And the beginning of his kingdom* was Babylon or Babel, and Arach, and Achad, and Chalanne,† in the land of Sennaar.’ These cities Nimrod either built or subdued. ‘He was a mighty hunter before the Lord,’ and, not unlikely, the earliest type of those hateful despots and conquerors who make men their prey. Nimrod’s kingdom is thought to have comprised Lower Mesopotamia,

* *Genesis*, x. We have here clearly *the first kingdom upon record*.

† It is supposed that the ruins of Arack (or *Erech*, now Warka), and Chalanne (*Calneh*), as well as those of Babel, have been identified.

with Ur* for its capital.—The reign of the Hunter was followed, at what interval we cannot say, by that of the Builder—Uruk, whose accession may have fallen about 2300 B. C. Vast temples were erected by Uruk at Arach, Ur, Calneh, and Larsa, which required an enormous amount of naked human strength, and no inconsiderable architectural skill and knowledge.—We have the name of a third Chaldean ruler, Hammurabi, who reigned towards 2100 B. C. Small tablets of a private character have been found, describing business transactions which took place at Babylon during his reign.

After a temporary subjection to Susa,† the Chaldeans regained their independence, and extended their dominion into the upper part of the Mesopotamian valley. But, from about B. C. 1500, Assyria, which till then seems to have occupied a subordinate position, gradually rose to greatness; and, within two centuries, acquired supremacy over its former masters.

THE CHALDEANS.—Less ancient than the Egyptian, the Chaldean monarchy preceded every other empire or kingdom upon the soil of Asia. While the Aryan, Turanian, and even the Semitic tribes, still lived in the nomadic state, the Cushite settlers in Lower Babylonia betook themselves to agriculture, erected temples, built cities, and established a strong government. To them the Assyrians, Medians, and Persians, were indebted for their architecture, their decorative art, their science, and their literature. Even as late as the Parthian domination, the Chaldeans continued as a distinct people. When they ceased to have a separate national existence, their name was not lost; and it is in memory of the successful cultivation of their favorite science by the people of Nimrod, from his time to Alexander, that the professors of astronomical and astrological learning continued, even in Roman times, to receive the appellation of Chaldeans.

PRIMITIVE ASSYRIA.—Immediately after the notice concerning Nimrod, in x Chapt. of *Genesis*, we read: ‘Out of

*Babylon did not rise to metropolitan importance till after 1800 B. C.

†One of the most ancient of Asiatic cities, Susa, the Elamitic capital, formed the centre of a nationality which endured from 2300 B. C. to the time of Darius Hystaspis (B. C. 520). Here reigned *Kudur-Lagamer*, the Chodorlahomor (*Gen.* xiv) of Abraham’s time, who, not content with his inheritance of Elam and Chaldea, or Babylonia, extended his conquests into Syria and Palestine,

the land of Sennaar came forth Assur, who built Ninive and the streets of the city, and Chale (Calah) ; Resen also between Ninive and Chale.' Besides this short reference, together with Balaam's prophecy of the conquests of Assyria, this country does not appear in Scripture history till the mission of Jonas to Ninive and till the empire comes in contact with Israel in the 8th cent. B. C. The only *literary* records of her early condition are the romantic legends of the Greek writers, which passed for history, till the late discoveries made among her ruined palaces revealed her own authentic records.

GREEK LEGENDS CONCERNING ASSYRIA.—The Greeks used the name of *Assyria*, politically, for the whole series of states which succeeded one another in the valley of the Tigris and Euphrates, from a mythical antiquity to the time of Cyrus. What they had learned from popular traditions, or from Persian poets and romancers, they strung together into a form suited to amuse their countrymen and to illustrate their political ideas. Knowing nothing of the primitive Babylonian kingdoms, they placed Ninive at the head of all the Asiatic states, with Ninus, as the king who founded the empire ; Semiramis, as the more heroic queen who extended it ; and their luxurious but politic son Ninyas, as the one that impressed upon it the type of an oriental despotism, till they reached the catastrophe, in the drama, with the last king—Sardanapalus, on whom falls the long-contracted Nemesis of tyranny and luxury, but whose degeneracy is redeemed by some flashes of heroic spirit and his final self-sacrifice. Though these Grecian stories are wholly destitute of historical value, still must they be known, if not as history, at least as legends.

NINUS.—The conquests assigned by the Greeks to Ninus, are not a bad summary of the spread of the Assyrian empire. His first exploit is the conquest of Babylonia, recently overrun by the Arabs. Next he marches against Armenia, whose king submits to him as a subject-ally. The resistance of the king of Media is punished with crucifixion ; and in the course of 17 years, Ninus renders himself master of all the lands from the Indies to the Tanaïs (*Don*) and the Mediterranean Sea. He now rebuilt Ninive, which he called after his own name, and made it the largest and most flourishing city of the world.

SEMIRAMIS.—The Greeks made Semiramis daughter of the great goddess of Ascalon, Decerto. Exposed by her mother

to perish, but saved and brought up by a shepherd, Semiramis became the wife first of the governor of Syria,* and afterwards of Ninus, whom, after his death, she succeeded on the throne. In emulation of her husband's creation of Ninive, she built a new capital in Babylonia. To her the legend ascribes all the great works subsequently erected at Babylon by Nabuchodonosor, and nearly every great edifice in every part of Asia. She is also represented as having conquered Egypt and portion of Ethiopia. But from India which she attempted to subdue, she was repelled with great loss. Learning that her son Ninyas was plotting against her, she resigned the crown to him, flew away in the form of a dove, and was worshipped as a goddess.

NINYAS AND SARDANAPALUS.—In the legend, Ninyas is the type of a politic and self-indulgent ruler, withdrawn from the eyes of his subjects amidst the pleasures of his palace, but yet securing their obedience by profound policy. This system is continued under all his successors down to Sardanapalus. Even this degenerate sovereign, when Arbaces, the satrap of Media, and Belesys, the chief of the Chaldean priests of Babylon, march against him in rebellion, suddenly takes the field, and performs prodigies of valor before he is defeated. He holds out in Ninive for two years, trusting to an oracle, which had assured his safety till the Tigris should become his foe. But, when an inundation washes down the river walls of the city, perceiving that his hour had come, he collects all his treasures, with his wives and concubines, on a vast funeral pile—ascending which, and setting fire to it with his own hand, he perishes in the flames. How far these legends agree with history, the sequel will show.

ASSYRIAN MOUNDS.—The surface of Upper Mesopotamia is dotted with mounds, which local traditions connected with the ruins of Assyrian cities, but which, till our day, no attempt was made to excavate and explore. The uncovering of Sargon's palace at *Korsabad*, commenced in 1842, was the beginning of the resurrection of ancient Assyria from her buried cities. Since then, excavations have been carried on and magnificent bas-reliefs have been brought to light, representing battles, sieges, and scenes of the most varied

*Syria is derived, not from Assur, but from the Phœnician *Tsur* (rock) which became in Greek *Tyros* and *Syrus*—the *sh*, *ss*, and *t* being mere dialectic variations.

character. Besides the sculptures, the Assyrian mounds have yielded a mass of curious objects,* above all, stone or bronze monuments covered with inscriptions, and clay tablets or cylinders stamped with writing—the ordinary books of the country.

CUNEIFORM INSCRIPTIONS DECIPHERED.—The monumental inscriptions and clay books unearthed from the Assyrian mounds, are in that writing common to ancient Assyria, Media, Semitic Babylonia, and Persia, which assumes the wedge (*cuneus*) as its fundamental element, and has in consequence been called *cuneiform*. The cuneiform writing ceased to be employed after the subjugation of the west of Asia by the Macedonians; and, when the inscriptions first came to light, nobody was found capable of deciphering them. But, aided chiefly by the resemblance of the cuneiform with the Hebrew characters, the distinguished Orientalists, Prof. Grotefend, Sir Henry Rawlinson, Dr. Hincks, M. Oppert, and others, have succeeded in reading and translating a large number of the inscriptions already disinterred. Much, however, still remains to be done, both in discovery and in interpretation, before we can be said to possess the native and contemporary materials for a complete history of Assyria. Especially are the sources of information relating to early Assyrian history, very meagre, consisting as they do of a few sculptured illustrations, some engraved gems, weights, seals, arms, utensils, and various objects of furniture. For, while these things are valuable to give an insight into the history of Assyrian art, they yet tell us little of the growth of the empire. From the time of Sargon (B. C. 722), we have more documents,† and these of a most interesting nature, as they confirm the Biblical recital, not only in its great outlines, but often also in its minutest details.

*The British Museum and the Paris Louvre contain the chief portion of what has hitherto been unearthed.

†Many are of a private nature, and give accounts of every kind of transaction and relation—sales, exchanges, payments, loans, leases of houses or fields, agreements of marriage, deeds of adoption or gifts, wills, legal statements or affidavits, judicial decisions, etc.—*G. Bertin* in *The Contemporary Review*.

CHAPTER II.

THE ASSYRIAN EMPIRE.—? B. C. 1300-606.

RISE OF THE ASSYRIAN POWER.—Native documents furnish some evidence for concluding that, in the 19th century B. C., Assyria was governed by a Babylonian viceroy, residing at *Kileh-Sherghat* as the capital. How long the Chaldean monarchy remained the dominant power in Mesopotamia, is uncertain. Berosus represents it as overthrown by Arabians about 1500 B. C., and its fall appears to have coincided with the climax of the Egyptian empire under the kings of the 18th dynasty, who are said even to claim Babylon among their conquests. Ninive also became vassal of Egypt. But she first shook off the foreign yoke; and the year 1300 B. C. seems to mark the important epoch of the transfer of supremacy from Babylon to Assyria. About the end of the 12th century B. C., we find Assyria a conquering power under Theglathphalasar I, who twice invaded Babylonia, and once took Babylon. But this city, though shorn of much of its power, continued to defy the repeated efforts of the Assyrian kings and long remained their most powerful antagonist.

THEGLATHPHALASAR I (about B. C. 1130-1110).—The contemporary history of Assyria begins with the annals of this prince, about B. C. 1130. They embrace his first five years, the conquests of which are summed up as follows: "Thus fell into my hands 42 countries, from the banks of the river Zabto, the banks of the river Euphrates, the country of the *Khatti* (Hittites), and the upper ocean of the setting sun (the Mediterranean).* I brought them under one government; I took hostages from them, and I imposed on them tributes and offerings."

*The vague boast of conquests as far as the Mediterranean seems to be founded on the defeat of the *Khatti* who extended to the mouth of the Orontes. As with the Egyptians, a victory over a distant enemy is often enrolled in terms which might imply a conquest of their country.

The king's mode of warfare is fully described by himself. Rivers are crossed on skins, cities burned, lands laid waste, a vast booty in cattle and treasure carried off; and, as for the people—"The ranks of their warriors, fighting in the battle, were beaten down as if by the tempest. Their carcasses covered the valleys and the tops of the mountains. I cut off their heads. Of the battlements of their cities I made heaps, like mounds of earth. Their movables, their wealth, and their valuables I plundered to a countless amount. Six thousand of their common soldiers, who fled before my servants and accepted my yoke, I took and gave over to the men of my own territory as slaves."

The king glories equally in his exploits as a hunter. In the country of the Hittites, he boasts of having slain four wild bulls; while, in the neighborhood of Haran, he had killed ten large wild buffaloes, and taken four alive. The lions which he had destroyed in his various journeys, he estimates at 920. All these successes he ascribes to the powerful protection of Nin and Nergal, deities who correspond nearly to Hercules and Mars.

A GAP IN ASSYRIAN HISTORY.—Between the annals of Theglathphalasar I and the next contemporary documents, above two centuries intervene, during which interval the wars of David and the splendid government of Solomon established a real empire of Israel, and Razon founded the Syrian kingdom of Damascus, which maintained a long conflict against Assyria. The weakness and division of Israel, after Solomon, turned to the gain, not of Assyria, but of Egypt, under Sesac and the 22d dynasty; and the signs which appear, of relations between Egypt and Assyria, denote alliance rather than rivalry. All this points to a period of depression in the Assyrian empire.

CALAH (NOW NIMRUD); ITS MOUND AND PALACES.—When the darkness begins to disperse, we find ourselves on a new and firm basis both of time and place. We have a dated list, tolerably complete, of the Assyrian kings from 909 to 745 B. C. The residence of these princes is at *Calah* in the angle formed by the confluence of the Tigris with the great Zab, where now stands the famous mound of *Nimrud*. In all the royal cities on the Tigris, the king's palace stood on the river bank, crowning a mound of earth, which was supported and inclosed by massive walls. At Nimrud, the mound was raised 40 feet above the level of the plain,

and extended nearly one-third of a mile. On this platform, 4 palaces have already been discovered. Some of these edifices have been built upon the ruins of others; and the action of fire is shown in heaps of charcoal and split or calcined slabs. The plain beneath is strewn with bricks and other remnants of the ancient city of Calah.

ASSURISIRPAL (B. C. 883-858).—The oldest of the palaces discovered at Nimrud, is the work of this monarch. In the records found among its ruins, he claims to have penetrated farther into Armenia and Kurdistan than any of his predecessors, and to have gone through Lebanon and the valley of the Orontes, to the shore of the Mediterranean, where he received the submission of the chief cities of Phœnicia. His hunting exploits are mentioned as minutely as his feats of war; and both sets of achievements are illustrated by bas-reliefs, wonderful for their artistic execution, their minute details, and their living picture of Oriental despotism. The king rides down his foes, bends his bow against their battlements, or receives their abject submission, which he rewards with torture and death. "Their men, young and old," he says, speaking of a revolted city, "I took prisoners. Of some I cut off the feet and hands; of others I cut off the noses, ears, and lips. Of the young men's ears I made a heap; of the old men's heads I built a minaret. The children I burned in the flames. The city I destroyed and consumed with fire."

SALMANASAR III (B. C. 858-823).—The monuments and inscriptions of this monarch have revealed some interesting facts concerning the relations of Assyria with the Syrians and Israelites. The most powerful king west of the Euphrates, at that time, was Benadad II, who reigned at Damascus. This prince formed a great confederacy with the kings both of Israel and Emath* and of the Hittites and the Phœnicians, in order to check Assyrian aggrandizement. But Salmanasar defeated the united efforts of his opponents. In several victorious campaigns, he plundered the Syrian cities, and received the tributes of Tyre, Sidon, and Byblus. One of his inscriptions mentions, among the allied forces un-

* Or *Hamath*, a rich city of the valley of the Orontes, already famous in the time of Moses, and called by Amos, under Jeroboam II, Emath the Great. The kingdom of Emath seems to have comprised the whole basin of the Orontes; from Sargon's time, it no longer appears in history.

der Benadad, 10,000 men and 20 chariots sent by Achab, king of Israel. In another we read: "In those days the tribute of Tyre and of Sidon and of *Jehu* I received." The name and figure of the same Jehu, king of Israel, appear also on a black obelisk, exhumed from the ruins of the palace of Salmanasar at Nimrud.

JONAH PREACHES REPENTANCE TO THE NINIVITES.—What prince reigned at Ninive, when Jonah by Jehovah's order went to preach repentance to the sinful city, is not certainly known. A probable opinion refers Jonah's mission to the time of Rammannirari III* (B. C. 810-782), grandson to Salmanasar II, and the first Assyrian monarch who actually entered the territory of Israel. By the sacred writer Ninive is described 'as a great city of three days'† journey,' in which there were 'more than 120,000 persons who knew not how to distinguish between their right hand and their left, and many beasts.' The number of children here referred to, would imply a total population of 600,000. The mention of beasts, or cattle, calls to mind the vast extent of open space always included in eastern cities; and the ruins of those in Assyria prove how large a part of the ground within the walls was occupied by the royal palaces and by the temples.

We learn also from the sacred text what the effect of Jonah's preaching was. "The men of Ninive believed in God, and they proclaimed a fast, and put on sackcloth from the greatest to the least. And the word came to the king of Ninive, and he rose up out of his throne, and cast away his robe from him, and was clothed with sackcloth, and sat

* Called by some Assyriologists *Binnirari*, by others *Vnlush*, *Hulirhus*, *Ivalush*, or *Yamazalush*. There exists much uncertainty as to the exact reading of many Assyrian proper names, because in the original they are generally written not in *syllabic*, but in *ideographic*, characters. Happily, the same difficulty does not exist in the case of the foreign proper names found in the Assyrian inscriptions, because these are always written in syllabic characters. We may here remark that, although Assyriologists are often at variance as to the true rendering and pronunciation of the native proper names, they are nevertheless agreed on the general drift and meaning of the inscriptions, the substance of which has certainly been interpreted rightly. As yet, however, no Assyrian translation can be pronounced absolutely correct in all its minutest details.

† Probably to be understood of the time needed to traverse all its streets.

in ashes. And he caused it to be proclaimed and published in Ninive, in the name of the king and of his princes, saying: Let neither men nor beasts, oxen nor sheep, taste anything; let them not feed nor drink water; and let men and beasts be covered with sackcloths, and cry to the Lord with all their strength; and let them turn every one from his evil way. Who can tell if God will turn away from his fierce anger, and we shall not perish? And God saw their works and had mercy, and did not the evil which he had said he would do to them."

Of the immediate successors of Rammannirari—Salmanasar IV, Assurdanil II, Assurmirari, B. C. 781-746, there needs be mentioned this alone, that the empire shows, under the last of these sovereigns, decisive symptoms of decline. But whether Ninive really fell, as stated by Ctesias, under the combined attacks of the Median Arbaces and the Babylonian Belesys, is a question to which no native inscription affords any clue. When the darkness clears away, we find, reigning at Calah, the founder of a new Assyrian dynasty, the famous Theglathphalasar II, the Phul of the book of kings.

THEGLATHPHALASAR* II (B. C. 745-728).—The very nature of the wars waged by this prince, shows that his accession was preceded by a period of weakness and depression. After first restoring Assyrian supremacy in Lower Mesopotamia, he turned his attention to the west (B. C. 743), and forced the Syrian princes to pay him tribute. But he had no sooner recrossed the Euphrates than they revolted; and several campaigns (B. C. 742-740) were necessary to reduce them. Nor was their submission of long continuance. In 739, we find Hamath once more in open revolt, and now for the first time is Judah's name found in Assyrian annals, Azariah (or Oziah) being mentioned among the allied princes whom Theglathphalasar defeated, the following year, in a great battle. To the campaign of 738 is referred what we read in IV Book of *Kings* (xv), that Manahem of Israel, a

* *Theglathphalasar*, the form adopted by the Septuagint and the Vulgate, is found written *Tuklatpalasar* or *Tuklat-abal-asar*, in the Assyrian inscriptions; *Tiglath-pileser* or *Tiglathpilneser*, in the Hebrew text; and becomes with Greek writers *Thaglabanasar*, *Thagaphamasar*, *Thaglaphelladar*, *Thaglathphalnasar*, etc. This is but a specimen of the metamorphoses to which Assyrian proper names are liable.

usurper, gave Phul 1000 talents of silver to obtain his aid and secure himself on the throne. Two years after this, Manahem's son and successor, Phakeia, was slain by Phakee, who reigned in his stead. This new king of Israel leagued with Razin of Damascus against Judah, now governed by the impious Achaz. Sorely pressed by these powerful neighbors, Achaz, much against the earnest advice of the prophet Isaiah, 'sent messengers to Theglathphalasar, saying: I am thy servant, come up, and save me out of the hand of the king of Syria, and out of the hand of the king of Israel, who are risen up together against me. And, when he had collected the silver and gold which could be found in the house of the Lord and in the king's treasures, he sent it for a present to the king of the Assyrians. And the latter went up against Damascus, and laid it waste, and carried away its inhabitants; but Razin he slew. In like manner came Theglathphalasar into the land of Israel, and took Aion and Abel-beth-maacha, and Janoe, and Kedesh, and Asor, and Galaad, and Galilee, and all the land of Nephtali; and carried the inhabitants captives into Assyria. Now Osee conspired against Phakee, and struck him, and slew him, and reigned in his stead.' After these events, about B. C. 731, king Achaz went to Damascus to meet and pay homage to Theglathphalasar. To satisfy him, he stripped the house of the Lord, and the house of the kings and of the princes, and gave gifts; and yet it availed him nothing.'

A first revolt of Chaldea and Babylonia which occurred during the Syrian wars, and a second which took place the last year of Theglathphalasar, were put down by this terrible conqueror in his usual style of barbarity and cruelty. The short intervals between his military expeditions he employed in embellishing Calah, which was his usual and favorite residence. In consequence of the transportation of Israelites and Arameans into Assyria, the Phœnician alphabet of these exiles, as well as their language, began to be of frequent use among the conquerors themselves in their inscriptions and business transactions.

SALMANASAR V (B. C. 727-722) is he, of whom we read in *IV Kings*, xvii: 'Against Osee came up Salmanasar king of the Assyrians; and Osee became his servant, and paid him tribute. And when the king of the Assyrians found that Osee, endeavoring to rebel, had sent messengers to Sabaco, the king of Egypt, he besieged him, bound him, and

cast him into prison. And he went through all the land, and besieged Samaria three years. And in the ninth year of Osée, the king of the Assyrians took Samaria, and carried Israel away to Assyria; and he placed some of them among their brethren of the former captivity, by the river Gozan (the Khabour), and the rest in the far remoter cities of the Medes.

SARGON* (B. C. 722-706) seems to have conducted the siege of Samaria, or, at least, the final operations which brought about its fall. For, in his annals, this prince claims the conquest of this capital as an event of his first year. By him Samaria was deprived of the qualified independence which it had hitherto been allowed to retain under Assyrian supremacy. Instead of a native king, an Assyrian governor was placed over it; and the vacant lands were planted with settlers from Upper Babylonia.

The kingdom of Hamath was next subdued. But, at this juncture, Sabaco, king of Egypt, and Hannon, king of Gaza, confronted Sargon in the maritime plain of Philistia near Raphia (B. C. 719). His decisive victory over them is thus referred to by himself in his inscriptions on the walls of his superb palace at Korsabad: "They came into my presence, I routed them; I imposed a tribute on Egypt." During the next 8 years, Sargon's annals represent him as warring in Armenia, Media, and elsewhere. In his eleventh year, B. C. 710, took place the expedition against Azotus, alluded to by Isaiah. "Its king Yavan," say the Kosabad inscriptions, 'fled at my approach. His city of Ashdod I besieged and took, and carried away his gods. His wife, his sons and daughters, his treasures and goods, and the inhabitants of the country, I transported into Assyria; and them I replaced by captives brought from the east.

The years 709-708 were spent in a momentous struggle with the king of Babylon, Merodach Baladan; and, for a short time, Sargon wore the Babylonian crown. He died the victim of a conspiracy.

SENNACHERIB (B. C. 705-681).—Since Assurisirpal, most of the Assorian kings had resided at Calah (Nimrud). Sennacherib made Ninive (*Koyunjik*) his usual place of residence, and strove to render this royal city a worthy cap-

*Till recently *Sargon* and *Salmanasar v* were taken as two different names of the same individual, nor is it quite clear yet that they belong to two different persons.

ital or the Assyrian empire. "I have raised again all its edifices," he tells us; "I have reconstructed its old streets, and have widened those which were too narrow; I have made the whole town a city shining like the sun." His palace there, as if to support this splendid boast, is said to be the grandest of all those already exposed to view. On its walls have been found inscribed the chief events of his reign. From these records we learn, that, in the first year of his reign, he was engaged in reconquering Babylonia, and several other countries to the east and north—Media, Armenia, Albania, and Commagene. He next directed his attention to western Asia, that battle-ground where Assyria and Egypt were once more to dispute the sovereignty of the world. He wished, of course, to reassert Assyria's supremacy over the territories of Sidon, Ascalon, and Judah, which had revolted; but his chief efforts were to be directed against Egypt, then after Assyria the greatest power on earth. He first reduced Sidon; and, on his way to Ascalon, sent various detachments throughout Judah, of which invasion Isaiah says: "The ways are made desolate; no one passeth by the road; the land mourneth and languisheth; Libanus is confounded and decayed; and Saron is become a desert; and Basan and Carmel are shaken." This same invasion the IV Book of *Kings* sums up thus: "Sennacherib came up against the fortified cities of Judah, and took them." But the annals of the conqueror mention the capture of 46 walled towns, and an infinite number of small places, from which were carried off 200,150 captives and innumerable cattle. Then it was that Hezekiah, yielding to the pressure of a strong party at Jerusalem, humbled himself before the invader, and sent messengers to know his good pleasure. An enormous ransom—nearly \$160,000,000—was asked and paid. Sennacherib next demanded the surrender of Jerusalem, not concealing to the inhabitants his purpose of transplanting them. Hezekiah thereupon prepared to resist. Then, either to intimidate him into immediate compliance, or to prevent him from sallying from his capital and cooperating with his Egyptian and Ethiopian allies, who were now coming to his relief, Sennacherib sent up to Jerusalem his tartan, supported by his rabsaris and rabshakeh, with a strong detachment of troops. In the meanwhile, as Tirhakah was approaching, the Assyrian made a retrograde movement to the north, as far as *Altaku* opposite to Jeru-

saalem, so as not to be hemmed, in case of defeat, between the Jewish and the Egyptian army. Here he gave battle to Tirhaka, whom he forced to retreat; and there now seemed to be no means of escape for Hezekiah. Indeed, after the victory of Altaku, the rabshakeh's summons to surrender was couched in terms of unusual insolence: "Speak to Hezekiah: thus saith the great king, the king of the Assyrians, What is that confidence wherein thou trustest? Dost thou trust in Egypt, a staff of a broken reed, upon which if a man lean, it will break and go into his hand and pierce it? So is Pharaoh, king of Egypt, to all who trust in him." Hezekiah trusted in the Lord God of Israel, whose angel slew 185,000 Assyrians in one night. Thereupon Sennacherib returned to Ninive. Nor did he ever after carry his arms again to the shores of the Mediterranean. His five next campaigns were all in the East, the most important being against Babylonia. How the repeated attempts of that country to regain its independence were put down, is thus described by Sennacherib in his annals: "On the sodden battle-field, the arms and armor floated in the blood of the enemies, as in a river; for the war-chariots, bearing down men and horses, had crushed their bleeding bodies and limbs. I heaped up the bodies of their soldiers as trophies, and cut off their extremities. I mutilated those whom I took alive, like stalks of straw, and for punishment I cut off their hands."

Twenty years after the catastrophe in Palestine, as this terrible monarch 'was worshipping in the temple of Nesroch his god, Adrameleck and Sarasa his sons slew him with the sword; and they fled into the land of the Armenians: and Asarhaddon, another of his children, reigned in his stead.'

ASARHADDON (B. C. 681-668) is the only king of Assyria that ruled over Babylon during his whole reign. This authority over united Mesopotamia left him at liberty to recover the western provinces. After spending 8 years in reconquering Phœnicia, Syria, Palestine, and Philistia, Asarhaddon successfully invaded Egypt, as has already been related in the history of that country. On several of his monuments he assumes the proud title of "King of Egypt and Ethiopia—King of the kings of Egypt, and conqueror of Ethiopia." As a builder, Asarhaddon rivaled his father and grandfather: 3 palaces and more than 30 temples were reared by him.

THE SAMARITAN PEOPLE.—The colonies planted by Sargon in the territory of Samaria, had not prospered ; and wild beasts had so multiplied, in their desolate lands, as to attack the people themselves. Asarhaddon strengthened the population with captives taken in his eastern wars—Chaldeans, Susianians, Elamites, and others. Like their predecessors, these new colonists brought with them the worship of their respective lands, to which they superadded a superstitious service of Jehovah. This mixture of races formed that Samaritan people—so hostile to, and hated by the restored Jews.

ASSURBANIPAL (B. C. 668-626) was one of the greatest conquerors and most magnificent monarchs of the whole Assyrian empire ; and he surpassed all his predecessors in the true glory of systematic care for the literature of his country. In his palace at Ninive (Koyunjik) he established a library, wherein was collected all the Assyrian learning—secular and sacred ; and the key to the difficulties which even the natives found in their own language and writing, was provided in an elaborate series of grammatical works.

Part of his reign was spent by Assurbanipal in waging war in Egypt. Tirhakah, upon the death of Asarhaddon, once more enthroned himself at Memphis. But his triumph was of short duration. Assurbanipal, calling out his whole force, marched into Egypt, drove back the Ethiopian into his own country, and took Thebes with a great slaughter. Having provided, as he thought, for the security of his conquest, he returned to Ninive laden with splendid spoils. Immediately after his departure, however, the vassal kings called back Tirhakah, who reentered Thebes, and was preparing to march upon Memphis, when the approach of an Assyrian force warned him to withdraw to Nepata. Here he soon died, and was succeeded on the throne by Rutamen or Urdamanu, his step-son. This prince reoccupied Thebes and Memphis, and cleared Egypt of the Assyrians. These events recalled Assurbanipal into that unhappy country. The Ethiopians were defeated. Thebes, the *No Ammon* of the prophet Nahum, was again taken, and suffered far more than before. The Assyrians 'sacked it to its foundations. They carried into captivity male and female, great and small ; they brought safe to Ninive spoils not to be computed by the accountants' (about B. C. 664).

After this, the Assyrians appear to have left Egypt to her

native kings, under a vassalage which the rapid decline of the Ninivite empire soon rendered only nominal. Then began the new era of Egyptian prosperity under the Saïte kings.

CAMPAIGNS OF HOLOFERNES.*—Whilst Assurbanipal was making war on Ahseri, king of the Mismians, and on Birizhari, a Median chief, a younger brother of his, Saulmugina, who was governor of Babylon, and wished to make himself independent, secretly instigated the western tributaries of Assyria to revolt. On receiving the news of their defection, Assurbanipal summoned the rebels to return to their allegiance. But 'they all with one mind dismissed his envoys without honor. Then king Assurbanipal swore, by his throne and kingdom, that he would revenge himself of all those countries; and, calling his general Holofernes, he ordered him to go against all the kingdoms of the west, which had despised his commandments.' The warlike preparations were commensurate with the difficulties of the expedition. At the head of 120,000 foot and 12,000 mounted archers abundantly provided with everything requisite, Holofernes overran Cappadocia, Pisidia, and Lydia, pillaged Tarsus, and inflicted all sorts of calamities on the nomad Arabs dwelling between Cilicia and the Euphrates. But, whilst the Assyrian troops were thus engaged at a distance, Saulmugina, who had waited his opportunity, threw off the mask; and Holofernes hastened back across the Euphrates to cooperate in the reduction of the stately cities of Lower Mesopotamia—Babylon, Sippara, Borsippa, and Cutha. Their revolt being suppressed, Holofernes resumed operations, at the beginning of his third campaign, precisely where he had ended the first—on the borders of Cilicia. 'He stripped the children of Midian of all their riches, and all who resisted he slew with the sword. He next went down into the plains of Damascus, in the days of the harvest, and he set all the corn on fire, and he caused all the trees and vineyards to be cut down.' Frightened by such a mode of

*The following account is drawn in part from the annals of Assurbanipal, but chiefly from the Book of Judith. The original of this sacred book has not come down to us; and several proper names, in the translations which we possess, are thought to have been altered by copyists. In it, Assurbanipal is called Nabuchodonosor. Saoduschinus and Sardanapalus are other names of the same prince.

warfare, the Syrians, Phœnicians, and Philistines, hastened to tender their submission. 'All our cities and our possessions are in thy sight; let all we have be subject to thy law; both we and our children are thy servants. Come to us as a peaceable lord, and use our service as it shall please thee. Then Holofernes came down from the mountains with horsemen in great power; and from all the cities he took auxiliaries, valiant men and chosen for war. And so great a fear lay upon all those provinces, that the inhabitants of all the cities—both princes and nobles as well as the people, went out to meet him at his coming, and received him with garlands, and lights, and dances, and timbrels, and flutes. And though they did these things, they could not for all that mitigate the fierceness of his heart. For he both destroyed their cities and cut down their groves, and destroyed their gods, commanding them to look upon his master as their only god. And when he had come into the land of Gabaa, he stayed there thirty days,' waiting for all his troops to assemble, before he would penetrate into Egypt, and, like the other revolted countries, force it into submission.

JUDITH AND HOLOFERNES.—An unforeseen obstacle thwarted the projects of Holofernes. 'The children of Israel, fearing lest he should do the same to Jerusalem and to the temple of the Lord, that he had done to other cities and their temples, compassed the towns with walls, gathered provisions, and occupied the mountain-passes leading to Jerusalem. And all the people cried to the Lord with great earnestness, and they humbled their souls in fastings and prayers. And the priests put on hair-cloths, and they caused the little children to lie prostrate before the temple of the Lord; and the high-priest Eliachim went about all Israel, and spake to them, saying: Know ye that the Lord will hear your prayers, if ye persevere in this work which ye have begun. So they continued, begging God with all their heart, that He would visit His people Israel. And when it was told Holofernes that the children of Israel were preparing to resist, and had shut up the ways of the mountains, he was transported with exceeding great fury, and he gave orders to his army to go up against Bethulia. Now there were in his troops, 120,000 footmen, and two-and-twenty thousand horsemen, besides those recruits whom he had forced into his ranks through his march across the provinces and cities.' Against this multitude, the people of Bethulia

made a brave resistance ; but, at the end of 20 days, they began to suffer from thirst to such a degree, that their commander, to appease their clamors, promised to surrender at the expiration of four days, should no aid come from the Lord. But divine aid came through Judith. Strengthened from on high, this heroic woman, with permission of the elders, went into the camp of the Assyrians, and asked to be brought to the tent of Holofernes. 'And when she was come into his presence, forthwith Holofernes was captivated ; for she was exceedingly beautiful. And he ordered that she should go in where his treasures were laid up, and bade her tarry there, commanding his chamberlains that she might go out and in, to adore her God as she pleased, for three days. And on the fourth day, when he made a supper for his servants, Judith was called in, and Holofernes was made merry on her occasion, and drank very much wine. And, while he lay on his bed fast asleep, being exceedingly drunk, Judith cut off his head, and, putting it in her wallet, hastened back with it to Bethulia. As the watchmen upon the walls heard her voice, they called the ancients of the city ; and all ran to meet her from the least to the greatest, and lighting up lights, they all gathered round about her. Then she brought forth the head of Holofernes out of her wallet, and showed it to them, saying: Behold the head of the general of the army of the Assyrians, whom the Lord our God slew by the hand of a woman. Hear me, my brethren: hang ye up this head upon our walls. And, as soon as the sun shall rise, let every man take his arms, and rush ye out, as making an assault. And accordingly, at the break of day, after hanging the head of Holofernes upon the walls, they went out with a great noise and shouting. Now, when the Assyrians saw this, and understood that Holofernes was beheaded, courage and counsel fled from them, and, being seized with trembling and fear, they thought only to save themselves by flight ; so that no one spake to his neighbor, but hanging down the head, leaving all things behind, they made haste to escape from the Hebrews. And 20 days were scarce sufficient for the people of Israel to gather up the spoils of the Assyrians.' These events occurred during the captivity of king Manasses. In remembrance of their miraculous deliverance, an annual festival was instituted, and long continued to be celebrated by the Jewish people.

THE FALL OF NINIVE (B. C. ? 606*).—We know with certainty neither the exact date, nor the peculiar circumstances, of the fall of Ninive. But the causes which brought about the ruin of the Assyrian monarchy, are not far to seek. As has been seen throughout the history of Assyria, the conquered tribes and kingdoms of the west could only be kept in subjection by fear; and, nearer the seat of empire, Babylon generally maintained a certain independence. The Arameans also on the middle Euphrates, and the mountaineers of Armenia and Zagros, were ever ready to renew the contest for freedom. Finally, beyond the range of Zagros, the Medes had now become strong enough not only to shake off the yoke, but in turn to become aggressors. Add to these permanent causes of weakness, a terrible invasion of Scythians, which desolated Assyria soon after the death of Assurbanipal, and is supposed to have materially hastened the downfall of the monarchy. The following is the most probable account of that catastrophe.

Assuredilili, or Saracus, the son and successor of Assurbanipal, had rewarded the services of his general Nabopolassar by making him governor of Babylon, with the title of king. A wise rule of 15 years so strengthened the governor's power, that he aspired to independence. The better to gain this object, Nabopolassar secretly invited Nechao and the Mede Cyaxares to unite with him in a combined attack on Assyria. They assented, and the confederates made suitable preparations for the momentous enterprise. In pursuance of the preconcerted plan, Nechao seized Carchemish,† and once more annexed to Egypt all the territories west of the Euphrates. Meanwhile, Nabopolassar and Cyaxares invested Ninive. For two years this strong place withstood all their efforts. But an inundation of the Tigris washed away a considerable portion of the wall's, and the king in despair buried himself, with his wives and treasures, under the smoking ruins of his palace and city. Thus were the prophecies of Nahum and Sophoniah accomplished. 'Woe

* By most chronologers 625 is the date assigned to the fall of Ninive; but St. Jerome and Eusebius, whom we have preferred to follow, give 606.

† This city had long been the capital of the Arameans, or of the great Hittite empire. Situated opposite the most frequented fords of the Euphrates, it was still the chief emporium of commerce between western Asia and Assyria.

to thee, O city of blood, all full of lies and violence, which never ceased to carry on rapine. Jehovah passeth as a flood; he destroyeth the very place where it stood. The gates of the river are opened, and the palace is thrown down to the ground. Ninive is laid waste.' 'The Lord will stretch out his hand, and will destroy Assyria. He will make Ninive the beautiful city, a wilderness; and flocks shall lie down in the midst thereof. How is she become a desert, a place for beasts to lie down in!'

CHAPTER III.

THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE—B. C. 606-538.

NABOPOLASSAR (B. C. 606-604).—On the fall of Ninive, Nabopolassar obtained Susiana and the valley of the Euphrates, as his share of the spoils. Not satisfied with this, he sent his son Nabuchodonosor across the Euphrates (B. C. 605), to dislodge the Egyptians from Carchemish. The efforts of the young prince were crowned with success. Syria, Phœnicia, and Palestine, yielded to Babylonian ascendancy; and Nabuchodonosor had already reached the frontiers of Egypt, when the death of his father recalled him to Babylon to assume the reins of government.

NABUCHODONOSOR (B. C. 604-561).—Few princes, ancient or modern, fill so grand a place in our minds and imagination as Nabuchodonosor—the instrument of Providence for the destruction of Jerusalem. The very year of his accession, Jeremiah 'spake to all the people of Judah, saying: Thus saith Jehovah Sabaoth: Because ye have not heard my words, behold, I will collect all the tribes of the north under Nabuchodonosor the king of Babylon, my servant, and I will bring them against this land, and against the inhabitants thereof, and against all the nations that are around about it. And all this land shall be a desolation, and all these nations shall serve the king of Babylon 70 years.' This prophecy was literally accomplished. The revolt of Joachim first brought upon Judah swarms of Chaldeans, Syrians, Ammonites, and Moabites, who devastated the country full four

years. Then Nabuchodonosor himself came in person against Jeconiah, who was carried away captive with his grandees, and the best part of the population. Finally, the revolt of Sedekiah led to the utter ruin of the nation.

Judah's neighbors had also much to suffer from the terrible Babylonian conqueror. He reduced Tyre after a prolonged siege; he gave up to fire and sword the countries of the Moabites and Idumeans; he utterly desolated Egypt from Migdol to Syené, and kept it in subjection as 'the basest of kingdoms.' But, remarkable as were his military exploits, they dwindle into insignificance, when compared to the great works with which he embellished his capital and native kingdom of Babylonia.

GREAT WORKS OF NABUCHODONOSOR.—Besides the double rampart of Babylon, the temple of Belus, and the great palace with the hanging gardens—a description of which is given below, Nabuchodonosor dug a huge reservoir near Sippara, said to have been 140 miles in circumference and 180 feet deep, besides another, also of vast dimensions, in Babylon itself; built quays and breakwaters along the shores of the Persian gulf, and founded near by the city of Diridotis; raised an extensive embankment along the course of the Tigris, in the vicinity of Bagdad; constructed a number of canals, among them the *Nahr Malcha* (royal river), a broad and deep channel which connects the Euphrates with the Tigris; in fine, erected the *Birs-i-Nimrud*, or great temple of Nebo, at Borsippa, with many other shrines and public buildings throughout the entire country. No fewer than 100 sites in the neighborhood of the capital give evidence, by inscribed bricks bearing his legend, of his marvellous activity and energy.

WALLS AND STREETS OF BABYLON.—Nabopolassar had begun to enlarge and embellish his capital. Nabuchodonosor took up his father's scheme, and made Babylon the first city of the ancient world. He completed the new fortifications commenced by Nabopolassar, which consisted of two walls of enclosure with parallel sides forming two perfect squares, and of extraordinary dimensions as to extent, height, and width. Herodotus, an eye-witness, makes the entire circuit of the outer wall 56 miles long, with a height of 335 feet, and a breadth of 55 feet. Other historians have handed down lower figures. But even their reduced estimate still leaves the outer rampart of Babylon a prodigy of strength,

of such height and thickness as rendered scaling and mining equally hopeless. Nor has any one reduced the outer enclosure to less than 40 miles in circumference. Not one-half, however, of this vast area, seems ever to have been built up. There was a clear space left all around, inside of the wall; and, where the houses began, they were far from being contiguous. Gardens, orchards, even fields, were interspersed among the buildings; and it was supposed that the inhabitants, in case of necessity, might be able to raise within the inclosure sufficient corn for their subsistence.

The whole fortified area, or district, was laid out in streets or roads, cutting one another at right angles. Both the inner and the outer wall were pierced with 100 gates—25 in each side, which corresponded to as many streets, the whole city being thus divided into 625 square blocks. The houses were generally three or four stories high. Many had vaulted roofs uncovered with any tiling, the dryness of the climate rendering such a protection unnecessary.

THE TEMPLE OF BEL.—This great temple was a huge solid mass of brickwork, built in stages, square above square, thus forming a sort of pyramid, at the top of which was the shrine of the god. The basement platform of this temple, or tower, was somewhat more than 200 yards each way. The number of stages were eight. The ascent was on the outside. It consisted either of steps, or of an inclined plane, which wound round the building, and in this way conducted to the summit.

The shrine which crowned the edifice, was large and rich. Ere the Persians stripped it of its treasures, it contained the colossal images in gold of Bel, Beltis, and Rhea (or Ishtar); and, in front of these statutes, were two lions of gold, two huge serpents of silver, and a golden table, 40 feet long and 15 broad, upon which stood two large silver drinking cups. The shrine also possessed two enormous censers, and three golden bowls, one for each of the three deities. At the base of the tower was a chapel, which contained an image of Bel made of gold, sitting on a golden stand, with a table of the same precious metal in front.*

THE GREAT PALACE AND HANGING GARDENS.—The great palace, erected by Nabuchodonosor, was a building of still larger dimensions than the temple of Bel. It was situated

* All these objects represented a value of about \$100,000,000,

within a triple enclosure, the outermost of which was nearly seven miles in circumference. This outer wall was built entirely of plain baked brick. The middle and inner walls were of the same material, but fronted with enamelled bricks representing hunting scenes. The figures were larger than life, and consisted chiefly of a great variety of animal forms. Of the character of the apartments, nothing has been handed down to us. The palace had three gates, two of which were of bronze, and had to be opened and shut by machinery.

The main glory of the palace was its pleasure-ground—the hanging gardens. This extraordinary construction was a square, each side of which measured 400 feet. It was supported upon several tiers of open arches, built over one another, and sustaining at each stage a solid platform, from which the piers of the next tier of arches rose. The building rose to the height of at least 75 feet, and was covered at the top with a great mass of earth, in which there grew not merely flowers and shrubs, but even trees of the largest size. Water was supplied from the Euphrates probably by means of buckets and pulleys; though some think it was raised by a screw working on the principle of Archimedes. The ascent to the garden was by steps. On the way up, among the arches which sustained the building, were stately apartments, which must have been pleasant from their coolness.

CHASTISEMENT, PENANCE, AND DEATH OF NABUCHODONOSOR.—When Nabuchodonosor had completed the embellishment of his capital, as he was one day contemplating its magnificence, he exclaimed in his pride: “Is not this the great Babylon which I have built to be the seat of the kingdom, by the strength of my power, and in the glory of my excellence? And while the word was yet in the king’s mouth, a voice came down from heaven: To thee, O king Nabuchodonosor, it is said: Thy kingdom shall pass from thee; and they shall cast thee out from among men, and thy dwelling shall be with the beasts of the field; thou shalt eat grass like an ox; and seven times* shall pass over thee, till thou know that the Most High ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will. The same hour

*They are commonly interpreted seven years, though some understand but seven months.

the word was fulfilled upon Nabuchodonosor; and he was driven from men, and did eat grass as oxen, and his body was wet with the dew of heaven, till his hairs were grown like eagles' feathers, and his nails like birds' claws."*

During this period of madness, we may assume that Nabuchodonosor was allowed the range of the private gardens of his palace, and that his condition was concealed from his subjects. But he himself formally proclaimed it to them on his recovery, to teach the lesson he had learned, "that all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing before the Most High. For He doeth according to His will, and there is none that can resist His hand, and say to him: Why hast thou done it? Therefore, I, Nabuchodonosor, do now praise and magnify and glorify the King of heaven; because all his works are truth, and His ways judgment; and them that walk in pride He is able to abase."

Nabuchodonosor himself informs us, that, after his sense returned to him and he was restored to his kingdom, 'greater majesty was added unto him.' How long this greater brightness of his closing days lasted, is not known. In B. C. 561, this illustrious prince fell ill, and departed this life, after a reign of just 42 years. The real greatness of the Babylonian empire ended, as it had begun, with Nabuchodonosor.

DECLINE OF THE BABYLONIAN EMPIRE.—None of the successors of Nabuchodonosor inherited his genius, or performed any illustrious achievement. From his death we may date the decline of the empire. After being an instrument in the hands of God to chastise the infidelities of his people, the Babylonians themselves were about to be punished for their cruelty, their pride, and their domineering spirit. The people destined to humble Babylon—the Medes and Persians, were now at their climax. Nor was there any adequate power within to resist the well-organized military strength of the Aryan tribes. The chief force of Babylon consisted in the fiery cavalry of *Irak Araby* and Lower Chaldea, described by the prophet as 'terrible and dreadful, swifter than leopards, and sharper than evening wolves'—an admirable instrument of rapid conquest, but not of lasting dominion.

**Dan.* iv. 27-30. The disease here described is the strange and degrading form of madness called *lycanthropy* (the *were-wolf*). The patient, fancying himself a beast, rejects clothing and ordinary food, and even the shelter of a roof; disuses articulate speech, and sometimes persists in going on all fours.

The downfall of Babylon was hastened by court intrigues and dynastic revolutions. The son of Nabuchodonosor, Evil-Merodach, after a reign of two years, fell the victim of a conspiracy. One interesting fact is recorded of him in Scripture. He released Joakin, the captive king of Judah, from his 37 years' imprisonment, and gave him a place at his own table above all the other kings who were detained at Babylon.

Neriglissar, who seized the sceptre, was the son-in-law of Nabuchodonosor. He reigned only three years. His son and successor Laborosoarchod, a mere boy, was not suffered to retain his nominal sovereignty more than nine months. On the plea that he gave signs of a vicious disposition, the chiefs of the Chaldean order murdered him, and conferred the crown on one of their number, Nabonadius.

NABONADIUS, NITOCRIS, AND BALTASSAR (B. C. 555-538). —Nabonadius took to wife a daughter of Nabuchodonosor, probably Nitocris, born of an Egyptian mother, and the same that had been married to Neriglissar. Nitocris bore to Nabonadius a son, Baltassar, who was associated with his father, and was intrusted with the defence of the capital in the final struggle of the Babylonians against Cyrus. Alarmed at the growing power of Cyrus, who had just possessed himself of the Median sceptre, Nabonadius listened to the suggestion of Cræsus, king of Lydia, urging an alliance offensive and defensive against the Persians. But, unable to send timely succor to his Lydian ally, the Babylonian monarch contented himself with strengthening the fortifications of his capital. Fearing that the Euphrates, which traversed the city diagonally, might facilitate the entrance of bold invaders, he lined its banks with quays of brick laid in bitumen and two strong walls of the same material. In each of these walls were 25 brazen gates, corresponding to the number of streets; and, outside of each gate, a slope led to the water's edge, where boats were kept to convey passengers from side to side. There was but one bridge in Babylon; it consisted of a series of stone piers, with movable platforms stretching from one pier to another. At night, the platforms were withdrawn, and the brazen gates were shut. Then no communication was possible between the two portions of the city, unless we admit as a reality the existence of the arched tunnel 15 feet wide and 11 feet high, dug under the bed of the river, which Diodorus and Philostratus wrote of, but only after Babylon was completely ruined.

TAKING OF BABYLON BY CYRUS (B. C. 538). -- Though Cyrus dethroned Cræsus in B. C. 554, it was not till several years later (B. C. 547) that he crossed the Tigris, and directly menaced Nabonadius. At the approach of the invader, Nabonadius advanced to meet him, but was defeated, and withdrew to Lower Babylonia. Thither the Persian as yet durst not follow; he employed the next seven years in isolating his enemy, conquering some of his provinces, and fomenting rebellions in others. Thus we learn from a clay-book lately disinterred that, in 539, all the western tributaries of Babylon and the country of Accad itself were in open revolt. At this juncture, Cyrus reappeared in Mesopotamia, and penetrated to Sippara where Nabonadius lay. This prince, abandoning Sippara to the enemy, threw himself into the fortress of Borsippa, the defence of Babylon being left to Baltassar, aided by the counsels of the queen-mother. That young Baltassar behaved with spirit may be inferred from the conduct of Cyrus, who, despairing to take the place by force, had recourse to stratagem. With the bulk of his army he removed to some distance above the city; and by means of canals and reservoirs took measures to divert the waters of the Euphrates, so as to make the river fordable within Babylon itself. Unsuspecting of the snare, Baltassar and a thousand of his nobles assembled at a great banquet; and the prince, inflamed with wine and flattery, ordered the gold and silver vessels taken by Nabuchodonosor from the temple of Jerusalem, to be brought, that he and his wives and concubines and courtiers might drink in them to the praise of their gods. And as they were drinking, and praising their gods of gold and silver, of brass and iron, of wood and stone, a hand was seen writing upon the wall in the full light of the candelabra. At the sight, 'the king's countenance changed; and his thoughts troubled him; and the joints of his loins were loosed; and his knees smote one against the other.' Then he called for his Chaldean soothsayers and astrologers, proclaiming that the man who could read the writing should be invested with the insignia of royalty, and made third ruler in the kingdom. But the king's wise men confessed their inability to read the unknown characters. Thereupon the queen-mother, coming into the banqueting-room, said: "O king, there is a man in thy kingdom in whom knowledge and wisdom were found in the days of thy father Nabuchodonosor, who appointed him prince of

the wise men, enchanters, Chaldeans, and soothsayers ; it is Daniel : let him be called for, and he will tell the interpretation." Then Daniel was brought in before the king, who repeated his offers of reward. "Thy rewards be to thyself," answered Daniel, "and the gifts of thy house give to another ; but the writing I will read to thee, O king, and show thee the interpretation thereof. The inscription reads thus : *Mane, Thekel, Phares*, words which signify : The days of thy kingdom are numbered and finished ; thou art weighed in the balance and found wanting ; thy kingdom is divided, and given to the Medes and Persians." That same night, the terrible prediction was fulfilled. Imitating the court, the people and army were sunk in revelry. No notice was taken of the gradual sinking of the water in the river-bed ; the river-walls were left unmanned, and the river-gates unlocked. The Persians, stationed by Cyrus at the two points where the Euphrates entered and left the walls, were thus able to advance from both extremities, unperceived. They seized the gateways, penetrated into the town ; and in the darkness and confusion of the night a terrible massacre ensued : Baltassar himself was slain. His father Nabonadius, who surrendered at Borsippa, was admitted to mercy, and assigned an abode in Carmania.

SUBSEQUENT FATE OF BABYLON.—From this time, Babylon became the second capital of the Persian empire, and the ordinary royal residence in winter. Though it suffered severely in consequence of its revolts under Darius and Xerxes, it retained its greatness to the time of Alexander, who destined it for his eastern seat of empire. The transfer of its population to Seleucia, on the Tigris, by the Greek kings of Syria, began that long decay which has left "Babylon, the glory of kingdoms, the beauty of the Chaldees' excellency, as when God overthrew Sodom and Gomorra." Of the mighty city which once lorded it over the earth, hardly any traces remain. But the entire region where it stood, is covered with shapeless heaps of rubbish, and fragments of glass, marble, pottery, and inscribed bricks, which attest the presence of ancient habitations.—The fall of Babylon marks the epoch when the empire of the east was wrested from the Semitic race, till they recovered it, about 12 centuries later, by the Mahometan conquest.

CHAPTER IV.

THE CIVILIZATION OF CHALDEA, BABYLONIA, AND ASSYRIA.

ANTIQUITY OF THE CHALDEAN CIVILIZATION.—The Chaldean civilization was by the Greeks and Romans put on a par with the Egyptian, and deservedly so. For in Chaldea, as in Egypt, the antediluvian civilization was never lost. At the very dawn of history, the primitive Chaldeans, the progenitors of the Babylonians, appear before us as eminent builders and astronomers; and it was chiefly from them, that not only the Assyrians, Medes, and Persians, but the Greeks also derived the elements of learning.—The details referring to the civilization of the Chaldeans, Babylonians, and Assyrians, which are scattered through the preceding chapters, we shall here recapitulate, and supplement with a few connected remarks on their astronomical and architectural science, their religion and worship.

ASTRONOMICAL SCIENCE AMONG THE CHALDEANS.—In astronomical science, the Chaldeans are thought to have surpassed all the other nations of antiquity. By common consent they are set down, in ancient writers, as the fathers of astronomy. At a very early date, they distinguished from the fixed stars the 5 planets visible to the naked eye—Mercury, Venus, Mars, Jupiter, and Saturn. They drew up a catalogue of the fixed stars, and arranged the whole heavens into a certain number of constellations, not unlike the groups still maintained on our celestial globes and maps. They observed eclipses, and could calculate at least those of the moon for many ages before. They knew the exact length of the solar day, and with tolerable accuracy that of the solar year. They found out the relative distance from the earth—of the sun, moon, and planets. The four satellites of Jupiter were observed by them, and probably also the seven satellites of Saturn. They used sun-dials, and the clepsydra or water-clock, to measure time during the day; the astrolabe, an instrument employed to calculate the altitude of the stars above the horizon; and sundry optical instruments of the nature of the telescope. Unfortunately their knowledge of astronomy was too frequently prostituted to the superstitious uses of judicial astrology.

BABYLONIAN TEMPLES: ZIGGURATS AND SHRINES.—Throughout their whole existence as a nation, the Chaldeans and Babylonians enjoyed a high degree of eminence in architecture. One of their first rulers, Urukh, stands prominent in history as a builder; and it was upon buildings that the great king of the later empire, Nabuchodonosor, specially prided himself. In Babylonia, as in Egypt, the chief efforts of architecture seem to have culminated in the temple.

The Babylonian temple, which, like the Assyrian palace, always stood upon an artificial mound, or platform, consisted of two distinct parts, the *ziggurat* or body of the edifice, and the crowning shrine of the deity to which the edifice was specially dedicated. The *ziggurat*, was a solid mass of sun-dried brick, inclosed in a casing of burned brick, and consisting of from two to seven stages, each higher stage being smaller than that immediately under it. Both the base and the stages were oblong; their corners, not the sides, habitually looked to the four quarters of the heavens; nor was each stage placed centrally over the one below. The ascent to the summit, which always was on the outside, seems to have been by means of steps, and sometimes of an inclined plane. In the temple of Nebo at Borsippa, each of the seven stages was sacred to one of the 'seven lights'—Saturn, Jupiter, Mars, Sun, Venus, Mercury, Moon, in the order of the system believed in till the time of Copernicus; and each was distinguished by the appropriate color of the planet—black, orange, red, gold, yellow, blue, and silver.

At the summit of the temple-tower was the shrine, of greater or less size, containing altars and images. Its ornamentation was rare and costly. At the base of the tower, or at any rate somewhere within the walled inclosure of the Babylonian temple, was a second shrine for the greater convenience of worshippers, and near by stood, in the open air, various altars on which were sacrificed different kinds of victims. Occasionally these altars, like the statues, tables, censers, and cups, were of solid gold.

THE PANTHEON, PRIESTHOOD, AND WORSHIP OF BABYLONIA AND ASSYRIA.—The chief objects of Babylonian worship were Bel, Merodach, and Nebo. At the head of the Assyrian Pantheon stood the great god Assur, a thoroughly national deity, whose place is always first in invocations. This god was probably no other than the progenitor of the race, the son of Sem, deified. After Assur, we may mention,

Sin (the moon), Shamus (the sun), Nergal the god of war, Nin the god of hunting, Vul the wielder of the thunderbolt, and the deities of the Babylonians to whom the Assyrians also paid worship. Among the former people, the priests seem to have been both more numerous and more in esteem. A pompous ceremonial, a fondness for processional display, and the use of magnificent vestments, characterized the worship of both nations. At Babylon certainly, and probably also at Ninive, music and singing were marked features of religious ceremonies.

ASSYRIAN PALACES.—While the Assyrians, content with the elements of learning which they had derived from Babylonia, never strove to surpass their instructors in literature and science, they carried the perfection of architecture and sculpture much farther than their southern neighbors in those truly royal palaces, which, from the time of Assurisirpal (B. C. 883–858), sovereign after sovereign erected at Nimrud (Calah), Koyunjik (Ninive), and Korsabad (Beth-Sargina). These grand structures, some of them 360 feet long by 300 broad, were raised upon a lofty artificial platform, constructed and covered with a pavement of bricks. They had two or three façades, on each of which elaborate gateways, flanked with winged human-headed bulls and lions in yellow limestone, gave access to the interior of the palace. The principal halls, five or more in number, were lined, to the height of some ten feet, with sculptured slabs in alabaster, the space above being decorated with enamelled bricks or paintings in fresco. Some palaces even, like that of Sargon at Korsabad, were covered with sculptures, both internally and externally, generally in two lines one over the other, above which were enamelled bricks arranged in elegant and tasteful patterns. Most varied are the scenes and objects represented in those sculptures—mountains, rocks, trees, roads, rivers, and lakes; animals and birds and fishes; men at their various occupations in daily life; religious processions and ceremonies; above all, war and the chase in all their forms. In conception, grace, freedom and correctness of outlines, the Assyrian sculptures fall undoubtedly far behind the inimitable productions of the Greeks; but they have a grandeur, a dignity, a boldness, a strength, and an appearance of life, which make them really valuable as works of art.

Among the Babylonians, the sculptured stone slabs were seldom used. The general ornamentation of palaces con-

sisted of colored representations, upon the brickwork, of scenes similar to those of Assyria, but diversified with rows of cuneiform inscriptions. What bas-relief was to the Assyrian, that enamelling upon brick was to the people of Babylon. Both nations used the same tints—white, blue, yellow, brown, and black. Both displayed considerable metallurgic knowledge in the composition of the pigments, and the preparation and application of the glaze wherewith they are covered. Both were equally skillful in shaping, boring, and engraving not only the softer, but also the harder stones. In their mastery over tools and materials they surpassed the Egyptians, and fell little, if at all, short of the Greeks and Romans.

INDUSTRY, COMMERCE, AND AGRICULTURE.—The mass of objects recovered from the ruins—vases, jars, bronzes, glass bottles, carved ornaments in ivory and mother-of-pearl, engraved gems, bells, dishes, earrings, arms, working implements—affords evidence of great proficiency attained by the Assyrians in various important manufactures. While the Babylonians were not inferior to their neighbors in this respect, they surpassed them in the fabrication of textile fabrics. Their wollen carpets and linen cloth, their muslins, formed of the finest cotton and dyed in the most brilliant colors, enjoyed great celebrity.

Nor were the Babylonians content with producing what served for home consumption. A spirit of enterprise led them to engage in traffic; and at an early age they ventured on the open ocean. By Ezekiel, Babylonia is called a land of traffic, and Babylon a city of merchants. Isaiah says that the cry of the Chaldeans was in their ships; and Æschylus, calling the Babylonians in the army of Xerxes 'navigators of ships,' witnesses to the nautical character still attached to the people after their conquest by the Persians. As traders, the Babylonians were distinguished for their honesty, knowing full well that trade can never prosper unless conducted with integrity and straightforwardness.

If a large proportion followed the pursuits of commerce and industry, the mass of the Babylonians, however, were employed in agriculture. Babylonia was, before all things, a grain-producing country. In its deep and rich alluvium, cultivated and irrigated with the utmost care, wheat, barley, millet, and sesame, flourished with wonderful luxuriance. Date-groves also spread widely over the land, and produced

an abundance of excellent fruit. On this and goats' milk the poorer class almost entirely subsisted,

MORAL DEPRAVITY.—Whilst in the ordinary arts and appliances of life, the Babylonians and Assyrians were nearly on a par with ourselves, their civilization fell immeasurably below ours. Savage uncontrolled passions, a debased religion, and unchecked tendency to sensual indulgence, bore their natural fruit. Of the cruelties which both Assyrians and Babylonians practised upon their enemies—the transplantation of conquered races, the frightful mutilation of prisoners, the massacre of non-combatants, sufficient proof has been adduced. Upon the description of their lust often encouraged by religion, it is best not to enter. Suffice it to say that polygamy prevailed; that prostitution was no disgrace; that drunkenness was common; that softness and luxuriousness of living, sensual pleasures and amusements, were regarded as the ends of life; in a word, that every possible form of self-indulgence was sought and practised.



PART VI.

THE MEDO-PERSIAN EMPIRE.

CHAPTER I.

THE MEDIAN MONARCHY.—B. C. ?—558.

THE ARYAN, OR INDO-EUROPEAN, RACE.—As before observed, the families of Sem and Cham, settling in two fertile plains which were ready to nourish the primitive civilization, early built up kingdoms on a vast scale of despotic power and rude magnificence. The descendants of Japheth, on the contrary, long remained in a state of comparative obscurity. But, by the time we have reached, they have begun both to make Cham their 'servant, and to dwell in the tents of Sem.' Henceforth they will occupy the foremost position in the history of the world.

Old traditions and recent linguistic studies point to ancient *Ariana*—now Bactriana, Sogdiana, and Margiana—as the cradle of the Japhetic race, which of late it has become customary to call the Indo-European, or Aryan,* family of nations. The Aryan race consists of two branches: the western, which comprises the Celtic, Italian, Grecian, Teutonic, and Slavonic nations; and the eastern, which embraces the inhabitants of Armenia, Persia, Afghanistan, and Northern Hindostan. At what precise epoch the Celtic, or first swarm

*The Hindoos, in their most ancient Sanscrit writings (the *Vedas*), style themselves Aryans; so likewise Cyrus and Darius, on their monuments. *Arya*, in Sanscrit, signifies *excellent, honorable*.

of emigrants, left the mother-country in search of western homes, and at what intervals their example was imitated by the Italians and Greeks, the Teutons and Slavs, or what exact road each group followed, cannot be ascertained. Nor is it known when the remnant of the primitive Aryan stock which lingered behind in the mother-country, again broke up—part of them pouring southward through the passes of the Himalaya and Hindoo Koosh into the *Punjab*, whilst the rest spread over *Iran*, and became the Medes and Persians of history.

THE PRIMITIVE ARYANS.—History has left no record of the primitive Aryans. But, rightly judging that when the same name for an object or notion is found used by all the widely-spread members of the family, that object or notion must have been familiar to them while yet residing together in the paternal home, ethnologists have drawn, from the affinities found in the language of the various Aryan nations, the following picture of the primitive stock.

They lived a long time peacefully together in their first home, as may be inferred from the fact that the words connected with peaceful occupations belong to them in common, whilst most of the terms relating to chase or warfare differ in each of the Aryan dialects. They were a pastoral and agricultural people; built themselves houses and towns; ground their corn; cooked and baked their food; eat meat, which they seasoned with salt; wove cloth, which they sewed into garments; knew the use of the metals, even of iron; and, in their calculations, followed the decimal principle. They wrote from left to right.

Close affection bound together the members of each family; and thus was formed the basis of that wider union of the tribe, or *clan*, which still survives both among the Persians and among the Celts of Scotland. Above the patriarchs, or chiefs of the clans, stood the king, chosen for his wisdom and courage, whose principal functions were to lead in war and to administer justice in time of peace.

THE IRANIANS.—Some historians restrict the word Aryans, or Aryas, to the Asiatic branch of the Indo-European race; but all agree in dividing that Asiatic, or Eastern, branch into two families: the *Indians*, who crossed the Hindoo Koosh into the great valley of the Indus; and the *Iranians*, who lingered longest in ancient Ariana, but subsequently spread westward over the table-land of *Iran*, or the tract now

covered by Persia*, Afghanistan, Seistan, and Beloochistan.

Previous to the coming of the Aryans, the Iranian plateau was occupied by Scythic tribes, or nomads 'with houses on wheeled carts.' These continued, in historic times, to form so large a part of the population that the trilingual inscriptions of the Persian kings have one column in their language—the Medo-Scythic, a Turanian† dialect. The religion of these Scythians was Magism; that of the Iranians, Zoroastrianism.

ZOROASTRIANISM.—The Aryans long retained in its purity the truth of the unity of God, 'the living,' 'the eternal spirit, by whom the heaven and earth, space and the firmament, have been solidly founded, and who spread abroad the light in the atmosphere.' But, in process of time, various divine beings, called *Ahuras* or *Devas*, came to be recognized, the chief of which were *Indra* (thunder), *Mithra* (sunlight), *Armaiti* (earth), *Vayu* (wind), *Agni* (fire), and *Soma* (intoxication). Revolting from this worship of nature, Zoroaster, a Bactrian priest, who may have lived about the time of Moses and probably no later than 1000 B. C., introduced the religious reform which has since perpetuated his name. He declared the powers hitherto venerated as gods by his countrymen to be spiritual intelligences, real persons; and divided them into good and bad, pure and impure, benignant and malevolent. The good spirits he called *Ahuras*, and the bad *Devas*. At the head of the former he placed, as the proper object of the highest worship, *Ahura-Mazda*, or *Ormazd*, the true Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the universe, to whom we find ascribed nearly the same attributes that belong to Jehovah, in the books of the Old Testament.

*The modern kingdom of Persia includes ancient Media, Susiana, Persis, Carmania, Parthia, and Hyrcania, corresponding very nearly to the western and larger half of the Iranian plateau. The limits of the table-land of Iran may be roughly stated as comprised between 46° and 68° of east longitude, and 26° and 36° of north latitude.

†In opposition to *Iran*, the name of their own country, the Persians from the earliest times called the territories lying to the north of it *Turan*, a word still frequently used as synonymous with Turkestan. The term *Turanian*, derived from it, has been adopted by philologists, to designate all the languages which are neither Aryan nor Semitic, with the exception of the Chinese and its cognate dialects. The Turanian languages are of the agglutinative order. Sometimes even the peoples that speak those languages, are also called Turanian.

This supreme god is the Holy God, the Father of all truth, the Master of purity, from whom comes all good to man. No images of Ormazd were allowed to be made, and he was chiefly worshipped with hymns and bloodless sacrifices. Next to him, as his chief angel, was *Armaiti*, at once the genius of the earth and the goddess of piety. By Zoroaster the worship of *Agni* was discarded, and that of *Soma* made innocuous. At the head of the bad spirits he placed no Great Principle of evil. But by degrees the Iranians, seeing evil everywhere conflict with good, came to believe in the existence of two coeternal and coequal Persons, one a principle of good and the other a principle of evil. That evil god was called *Arihman*.

Zoroastrianism, even after the adoption of Arhiman, was a less degraded religion than what has usually prevailed among heathen nations. To the belief in a spiritual world composed of good and bad intelligences, it added the inculcation of the great virtues of truth, purity—mental as well as bodily, piety, and industry. To cultivate the soil was a religious duty, as counteracting Arhiman, the evil principle. Piety consisted in the acknowledgement of the one true God and of his holy angels; in the frequent offering of prayers, praises, and thanksgivings; in the recitation of hymns, and the occasional sacrifice of animals. The doctrines of the immortality of the soul, of a conscious future existence, and of the resurrection of the body, were also parts of the Zoroastrian creed.

GUEBERS AND PARSIS.—When Persia became subject to the Mohammedan rule, the great mass of the inhabitants were forced to embrace Islam. A few however, braving all sorts of persecution, clung to the ancient religion of Zoroaster. There are still scattered in the country some 8000 of them, known as *Guebers*, who have a high reputation for honor, probity, obedience to the law, chastity, and endurance. Others, after various migrations, reached India, where they are now settled under the name of *Parsis*. In the single city of Bombay, there are more than 50,000 Parsis, many of whom hold a conspicuous rank among its richest, best educated, and most honorable citizens. The Parsi priests are distinguished for their zeal in the preservation and study of their sacred texts.

MAGISM was the religion of the various Scythic tribes which inhabited the mountain regions of Armenia, Azerbijan,

Kurdistan, and Luristan. Magism acknowledged no personal gods. Its chief objects of worship were fire, air, earth, and water; and it was to these very elements, to the actual material things themselves, that adoration was paid. Fire, as the most subtle and ethereal principle, was held in the highest reverence; and, on fire-altars, erected in temples which crowned the top of lofty mountains, the sacred flame was ever kept burning.

THE MAGI.—The Magian religion was of a highly sacerdotal type. Its priests seem to have held their office by hereditary succession. They claimed not only a sacred and mediatorial character, but also supernatural prophetic powers. They explained omens, expounded dreams, and by means of the *barsom*—a bundle of the tamarisk twigs—predicted future events. Their dress was imposing, their ceremonial magnificent, and their influence over both people and kings unbounded. Such was the all-powerful sacerdotal caste of the *Magi*, which the Aryans, on coming into western Iran, found among its Scythic occupants. The Medes, recognizing its power, adopted it into their body as one of their six tribes. With them for the first time were the Magi allowed to act as Aryan priests. Gradually the influence of Magism increased among the Medes, and in a great degree supplanted the original creed of Zoroastrianism.

THE MEDES BEFORE CYAXARES.—In the genealogy of the sons of Japheth (*Genesis* x), we find *Madai* among those whose descendants, in the days of Moses, had already acquired distinction as a separate nation; and as the word seems to designate the Medes, it is but natural to regard them as one of the chief primeval races. Nor are there wanting other traces of a vast expansion of the Median people in Western Asia, at a very early date. But this season of prosperity was followed by a long period of weakness and obscurity. The Medes, when next we meet them, during the reign of Salmanasar III (B. C. 858–824), are an insignificant people, consisting of separate tribes, which, being unable to offer any serious resistance to the Assyrian invader, first submit to the payment of an annual tribute, and afterwards are incorporated by Sargon (B. C. 710) into the empire of Assyria. In this state of subjection they remained probably until the time of their great chief Cyaxares, when they rose at once to a commanding position in Western Asia.

CYAXARES (B. C. ?-593) AND THE FOUNDING* OF THE MEDIAN MONARCHY.—Two causes appear to have brought about the sudden growth of the Median power : fresh migrations from Ariana, and the genius of Cyaxares, who consolidated the various tribes into one monarchy. This great prince, after being acknowledged by the Aryans of Media Magna, first set himself to subdue the tract lying between it and Assyria ; then, debouching from the passes of the Zagros, he boldly invaded Assyria itself. Defeated with great slaughter (B. C. 634), he led home the remnant of his troops, reorganized his army, and returned into Assyria, where he avenged his former defeat by the gain of a signal victory. At this juncture, a formidable invasion of Scythians interrupted his career of conquests. But, having finally disengaged himself from these intruders, Cyaxares resumed operations against Ninive ; and, with the aid of the Babylonians, compassed the fall of the Assyrian monarchy (B. C. 606). As his share of the spoils, he took Assyria Proper—the districts of the upper and middle Tigris. Other wars extended his conquest in the west, where he came into collision with the Lydians, then under the sway of their famous king Alyattes. But a treaty, mediated by Syennesis the Cilician, and ‘Labynetust† the Babylonian,’ fixed the river Halys as the boundary of the rival states.

DEGENERACY OF THE MEDES ; THEIR DRESS.—Till now the habits of the Medes were simple and manly. But, after their conquests, while they continued to be a nation of brave soldiers, chiefly formidable as mounted archers, they promptly relaxed the severity of ancient manners, affecting grandeur in their buildings, variety in their banquets, and splendor in dress and apparel. Their favorite garment, in the time of peace, was a long-flowing robe, fitting the chest and shoulders closely, but falling over the arms in two large, loose sleeves opened at the bottom. At the waist, this robe was confined by a cincture, below which it fell in ample, graceful folds down to the ankles. Under this chief garment, not unfrequently of many colors and made of silk, the Medes wore a sleeved shirt or tunic, and trousers. Their head-gear

*The foundation of the Median monarchy is attributed by Ctesias to Arbaces (about B. C. 875); and by Herodotus, to Dejoces, whom he makes a contemporary of Sargon. These accounts are contradicted by the Assyrian monuments.

† Acting for Nabopolassar.

Roman poets go so far as to transfer the name to the Parthians, who had succeeded to a great part of the Persian empire, including Media itself.

Of the spirit in which the united administration of Media and Persia was to be conducted, Cyrus at once gave an earnest, both in his generous treatment of Astyages, and in his immediate preparations for further conquests. "I saw the ram," says Daniel in his impersonation of the Medo-Persian kingdom, "pushing with his horns against the west, and against the north, and against the south; and no beasts could withstand him, nor be delivered out of his hand." Lydia, a country to the north-east, was the first to be incorporated into the new-born empire.

CRÆSUS ANTICIPATES THE ATTACK OF CYRUS (B. C. 555).—Lydia* was a province of Asia Minor, noted for its fruitful soil and great mineral wealth. Its present king Cræsus, whose riches made his name proverbial to all antiquity, had considerably enlarged the kingdom left him by his father, Alyattes. All the nations of Asia Minor west of the Halys, except the Lycians† and the Cilicians, owned his sway. When tidings reached him that his friend and relative, Astyages, had been thrust from his throne by Cyrus, Cræsus, feeling the danger which threatened his own crown, resolved to anticipate an attack which his sagacity saw to be inevitable; and he dispatched ambassadors to the kings of Babylon and Memphis, Labynetus (or Nabonadius) and Amasis, requesting their aid in his contemplated invasion of the Persian territory. Alive to their own peril, the princes readily promised to second his efforts against the common enemy. But, before their contingents reached him, trusting in his own resources, and interpreting too favorably an answer of the Delphic oracle, that if he attacked the Persians 'he would destroy a mighty empire,' Cræsus had crossed the Halys into Cappadocia and inaugurated the momentous struggle.

THE PERSIANS DESCRIBED BY HERODOTUS.—In the remonstrance of a prudent Lydian counsellor, Sandanis, Herodotus draws a picture of the state of the Persians: "Thou

*The Lydians boasted a very high antiquity, a claim supported in Chap. x of *Genesis* by the mention of *Lud* among 'the children of Sem—Elam and Assur and Arphaxad and *Lud* and Aram.'

†The Lycians and the Phrygians are set down as Aryans; the Cappadocians and the Carians, as Turanians. Asia Minor by a necessary consequence of its position, contained a mixture of all the primitive Asiatic races.

art about, O king, to make war against men who wear leathern trowsers, and have all their other garments of leather; who feed not on what they like, but on what they can get from a soil that is sterile and unkindly; who do not indulge in wine, but drink water; who possess no figs, nor any thing else that is good to eat. If, then, thou conquer them, what canst thou get from them, seeing that they have nothing at all? But, if they conquer thee, consider how much that is precious thou wilt lose. If they once get a taste of our pleasant things, they will keep such hold of them that we shall never be able to make them loose their grasp."

DETHRONEMENT OF CRÆSUS (B. C. 554).—In Cyrus, the ambition of the conqueror was tempered by the prudence of the consummate general. Aiming to disturb his enemy at home, he sent heralds to the Ionians, who had but lately been subdued by the Lydian king, inviting them to revolt from him; but they refused. He then collected his army, and went in search of Cræsus, whom he found in the district of Pteria, near Sinöpe, ravaging the country. A bloody battle, in which both parties fought valiantly, terminated at nightfall without any decisive advantage to either side. As the Persians, though far superior in numbers, did not renew the attack, Cræsus was led to undervalue their courage. Concluding that he had little to fear from them, he leisurely recrossed into his own territory, intending to resume the offensive after the arrival of his allies. Meanwhile, he sent home for the winter most of his own troops. This was the opportunity that Cyrus seems to have been waiting for. By forced marches he advanced straight to Sardis. Sudden and unexpected as was this offensive movement, Cræsus, undismayed, placed himself at the head of such soldiers as he could collect at a few hours' notice, and sallied forth to meet the foe. His chief strength consisted of his lancers, then the best cavalry in Asia. But Cyrus, knowing that 'the horse has a natural dread of the camel, and cannot abide either the sight or the smell of that animal,' placed his camels in front, and thus frightened the Lydian horses off the field. The riders dismounted, and fought on foot; but their gallantry was unavailing. Cræsus was forced back within the walls of his capital. Here he still hoped to maintain himself until the arrival of his allies; for Sardis was deemed impregnable. But the Persians, climbing a precipitous ascent, which, being

thought inaccessible,* had not been fortified, rushed thence upon the town, and took it by surprise.† By Cyrus, Crœsus was treated with clemency. He outlived his conqueror, and after his death enjoyed the same favor with his son and successor, Cambyses.

REDUCTION OF THE IONIANS AND OF CENTRAL ASIA (B. C. 554—538).—After taking possession of Sardis, Cyrus sent his generals against the Grecian towns of Asia Minor, whilst he reduced in person the nations of Central Asia. The first that he subdued were the Bactrians, a people of Ionic stock, who enjoyed the reputation of having been great and glorious at a very early date, and still retained the simple and primitive habits of the race. His next acquisition was Sacia, the modern districts of Kashgar and Yarkand. The Sacæ were excellent soldiers. They fought with the bow, the dagger, and the battle-axe, and were equally formidable on horseback and on foot. Aided by their women, they resisted the invaders with remarkable stubbornness, but to no avail. Among other countries subdued by Cyrus in this neighborhood, may be mentioned Hyrcania, Parthia, Chorasmia, Sogdiana, Aria, Drangiana, Arachosia, Sattagydia, and Gandaria, that is, the whole tract lying between the Caspian and the Indus, south of Jaxartes and north of the Great Deserts of Seistan and Khorassan. The reduction of those numerous, valiant, and freedom-loving populations, occupied the Persian monarch some fourteen years, when he felt himself free to march against Babylon.

FALL OF BABYLON (B. C. 538).—Master of Central Asia, and secure from attack in the rear, Cyrus now crossed the Tigris, and overran all the country as far as the neighborhood of Babylon, intending to lay siege to that city. But he no sooner became aware of the strength of the place, than, judging it impossible to carry it by storm, he had recourse to stratagem. The Euphrates, which had been laboriously trained for the protection, trade, and sustenance of the Babylonians, was now turned to their ruin. Having left detach-

*A Lydian, who was seen to descend the cliff to fetch his fallen helmet and climb up again, unwittingly pointed to the besiegers the path which they followed.

†Herodotus states, in connection with the taking of Sardis, that the only son of Crœsus had till then been dumb; but that, in order to save his father's life, which he saw in danger, by a violent effort he loosed the strings of his tongue, and forced himself to speak.

ments of his army at the two points where the river enters and leaves Babylon, Cyrus with the rest of his troops retired to the higher part of its course. Here by means of reservoirs and canals, he drew off the water of the Euphrates, till it was fordable. The period chosen was that of a great Babylonian festival, when the whole population were engaged in revelry. The Persian troops left near the town, watching their opportunity, marched along the dried bed of the Euphrates, and entered the neglected river-gates. Then followed the tumultuous scene of hurry, confusion, fire, and massacre, foretold by the prophet Jeremiah. Caught in the midst of dance and revelry, 'the mighty men of Babylon forebore to fight; they became as women. In vain one running post did meet another, and messenger did meet messenger, to tell the king that his city was taken from one end to the other. None were ready to repel the foe. For her princes were made drunk, and her wise men, and her captains, and her rulers, and her valiant men; and they slept a perpetual sleep. And the same night Baltassar, the Chaldean king, was slain.'

MONOTHEISM IN THE ASCENDANT.—From the fall of Babylon may be dated the full establishment of the Persian empire, which was thereby increased by the accession not only of the province of Babylonia, but of Susiana, Syria, and Palestine. Babylon, itself the heir and the successor of Assyria, was now supplanted by Persia, as the absolute and unrivalled mistress of Western Asia. Nor was the revolution just effected less momentous in a religious point of view. The sensuous idol-worship, which for more than twenty centuries had prevailed almost universally between the Mediterranean and the Zagros mountain-range, ceased to be the state religion, and was overshadowed by the purer creed of Zoroastrianism. The same blow that brought down the Babylonian idols from their pride of place, struck off the fetters from Judaism. Recognizing the Lord God of the Jews as identical with their own Ormazd, the Persian Zoroastrians were happy to protect Judaism; and the Jews, so impatient generally of a foreign yoke, ever remained faithful to the Persians.

DARIUS THE MEDE, REGENT AT BABYLON (B. C. 338-336).—A prince of the Median royal family, Darius, whom there are many reasons to identify with Astyages, once king of the Medes, exercised sovereign authority at Babylon, during

the interval of two years before Cyrus came to reign there in person. Under this Darius 'the Mede,' we find Daniel appointed the first of the three presidents who were placed over the 120 governors of the provinces. The elevation of a Jew by birth and a servant of the late dynasty, gave offense to the Medo-Persian grandees. But as Daniel's administration was too faultless to give an opening to their envy, they had recourse to an ingenious device to compass his ruin. They prepared an edict, which forbade, under pain of being cast into the den of lions, to ask during the next thirty days any petition of any God or man, but of the king himself; and they had this decree approved, signed, and published by the unsuspecting Darius. Regardless of the edict, Daniel, 'opening the windows in his upper chamber towards Jerusalem, knelt down thrice a day, and adored, and gave thanks to his God, as he had been accustomed to do before.' His enemies, who carefully watched his conduct, denounced him to Darius. The prince, 'on hearing them, was very much grieved, and tried hard to save Daniel. But the accusers boldly reminded him, that no law of the Medes and Persians might be altered;' whereupon the perplexed monarch commanded Daniel to be cast into the den of the lions, not, however, without entertaining and expressing a hope that Almighty God would preserve him from harm. Then, having sealed, with his own ring and with the ring of his nobles the stone which covered the mouth of the den, that nothing should be done against Daniel, he "went away to his house, and laid himself down without taking supper; and meat was not set before him, and even sleep departed from him. And rising early the next morning, he went in haste to the lions' den, crying: Daniel, servant of the living God, hath thy God, whom thy servest always, been able to deliver thee from the lions? And Daniel, answering the king, said: O king, live forever. My God hath sent his angel, and hath shut the mouths of the lions, and they have not hurt me. Then the king was exceedingly glad for him, and he had Daniel taken out of the den; and, by his order, those men were brought that had accused Daniel, and they were cast into the lions' den, they and their children and their wives; and they did not reach the bottom of the den, before the lions caught them, and broke all their bones to pieces. Then king Darius wrote to all peoples, tribes, and languages, dwelling in the whole earth: "Peace be multiplied unto you. It is

decreed by me, that, in all my empire and my kingdom, all men dread and fear the God of Daniel; for he is the living and eternal God for ever; and his kingdom shall not be destroyed, and his power shall be forever. He is the Deliverer and Savior, doing signs and wonders in heaven and on earth, who hath delivered Daniel out of the lions' den."

THE RESTORED JEWISH NATION AND CHURCH (B. C. 336).—The Edict of Darius just quoted was followed by one of still greater import, published by Cyrus throughout his dominions: "The Lord God of heaven," he said, "hath given to me all the kingdoms of the earth; and he hath charged me to build him a house in Jerusalem. Who is there among you of all his people? Let him go up to Jerusalem, and build the house of the Lord God of Israel." He charged those among whom they dwelt, to help them with gold and silver, goods and cattle, besides free-will offerings for the house of God; and he restored the 5400 vessels of the temple, which Nabuchodonosor had carried away, to Zorobabel, the prince of Judah, with whom were associated the high-priest Josue and nine of the chief elders. Forty-two thousand three hundred and sixty Jews accompanied them to Jerusalem. Others followed at a later period. The rest and larger portion, remaining in their new abodes, formed what was called the *Dispersion*.

DEATH OF CYRUS.—Of the last years of Cyrus, all that seems certain is that he fell in battle with the Massagetæ, or some other Scythian tribe of Central Asia, where probably the frontier needed constant protection against the Turanians. Possessed of extraordinary activity and great military genius, he had, during thirty years, led the Persians from one conquest to another.

EXTENT OF THE EMPIRE.—At his death, Cyrus left an empire extending from Sogdiana and the rivers Jaxartes and Indus to the Hellespont and the Syrian coast. But his incessant wars allowed him no time to inaugurate any general system of administration. Some of the conquered countries remained under tributary native kings; others were placed under governors; in some, the functions of government were divided, and native officers shared the administration with Persians.

PROMPT DEGENERACY OF THE PERSIANS.—The effects of Cyrus's conquests on his countrymen began soon to be felt. He found them slaves, and made them masters. Not

only did the territory of Persia proper pay no tribute; but the vast revenues of the provinces were, to a great degree, distributed among its inhabitants. Empire to them meant—for the great, lucrative satrapies; for the common soldiers, abundant maintenance and an unrestrained license. As the conquest of Assyria made the Medes effeminate; so did prosperity soon rob the Persians of their habits of frugality and patient endurance, thus preparing them to fall a prey, in their turn, to a more hardy and energetic race.

CHAPTER III.

CAMBYSES AND THE MAGIAN USURPER (B. C. 529—522).

ACCESSION OF CAMBYSES.—Cambyses, the eldest son and successor of Cyrus, has left a most unenviable name. At the very beginning of his reign*, he secretly put to death his brother Smerdis, of whom he was jealous; and, when one of his sisters, whom he had married, reproached him for the deed, he killed her also. Yet, with such perverse instincts, Cambyses was not wanting in military capacity, and he added important provinces to the empire. First of all, he procured the submission of Phœnicia and Cyprus, the great naval powers of Western Asia, which had not been subject to Cyrus. Then, allured by the riches of Egypt, at that time in a most flourishing condition, he advanced upon that kingdom. A treaty with the chief sheikh of the desert which reaches from Gaza to the eastern frontier of the Delta, secured the safe passage of his army through the Bedouin tribes of that region, and the means of transporting water on the backs of camels.

CONQUEST OF EGYPT (B. C. 527).—The Egyptians, under their new king Psammenitus, who had just succeeded Ama-

*The great inscription of Darius at Behistun positively states that Cambyses slew Smerdis before he proceeded to Egypt, thus contradicting Herodotus, who says that Smerdis accompanied the army into Egypt, but was sent back to Persia out of envy; and that Cambyses, dreaming afterwards that his brother sat upon the royal throne, with his head reaching to the heavens, employed a trusty Persian, named Prexapses, to go and kill Smerdis at Susa.

sis, awaited the invader at the Pelusiac mouth of the Nile. But, after a stubborn fight, they were forced to give way; and sought refuge behind the walls of Memphis. The capture of this city was effected, and king Psammenitus was made prisoner. He was at first allowed to retain the regal dignity, as a dependent of Persia; and it was not till he was discovered stirring up revolt against the conquerors, that he was compelled to put an end to his life by drinking bull's blood. The conquest of Lower Egypt was followed by the submission of the Libyans, as well as of the Greeks of Cyr  n   and Barca.

EXPEDITIONS AGAINST ETHIOPIA AND THE AMMONIANS.—These acquisitions did not satisfy the ambition of Camby-ses. Inheriting the grandeur of views which characterized his father, he wished to add to his empire the Oasis of Ammon, Ethiopia, and Carthage. The enterprise against Carthage he relinquished, on finding that the Ph  nicians declined to second it. The reduction of the Oasis and Ethiopia was undertaken; but both expeditions sadly miscarried. Fifty thousand men, sent to burn the temple of Ammon and bring back the Ammonians captives, were overwhelmed by a sand-storm in the desert, or killed by the simoon and by thirst. A still larger force, led by Camby-ses himself towards Ethiopia, found itself short of supplies on its march across Nubia, and was compelled to retreat, after suffering considerable loss.

CRUEL TREATMENT OF THE EGYPTIANS.—When, after these terrible disasters, Camby-ses reentered Memphis, it so happened that the whole population were feasting and rejoicing, to celebrate the discovery of a new Apis. Camby-ses, construing this into an intentional insult toward his own recent misfortunes, put the magistrates to death; and, bidding the priests bring Apis into his presence, pierced the animal with a dagger. "Think ye, blockheads," he said, "that gods become like this of flesh and blood, and sensible to steel! A fit god indeed for Egyptians, such a one!" The priests themselves were scourged, and the public rejoicings prohibited. From that moment the Egyptians* believed that Camby-ses was smitten with madness. That he treated the sacred objects of their reverence with contempt, and

* The stories of the Egyptian priests against Camby-ses, are colored by their intense hatred for their conqueror—a hatred passing that borne to the Shepherds.

themselves with a severity bordering on cruelty, is certain. But there is little doubt that his stern measures crushed an incipient revolt. From his departure till near the end of the reign of his successor, Egypt remained quiet.

SUICIDE OF CAMBYSES.—Among those acquainted with the death of Smerdis was a Median Magus, who, during the absence of Cambyses, had been entrusted with extensive authority and the entire management of the palace and royal treasures. This Magian had a brother, who very much resembled the murdered Smerdis. When, therefore, he saw that the excesses and cruelty of Cambyses more and more alienated from him the minds of his subjects, he resolved to place this brother on the throne, as the younger son of Cyrus. Such was the popularity of Smerdis, that the claim of the usurper was at once acknowledged throughout Persia, Media, and the other provinces. Cambyses received the news of this revolution in Syria, on his return from Egypt; and, in his despair of overcoming the rebels, he drew his dagger, and gave himself a wound of which he died in a few days. He had reigned seven years and five months.—Cambyses was brave, active, and energetic, like his father; but he lacked his father's genius, prudence, and affability. His pride made him obstinate in error; his contempt of others often led him to harshness and even cruelty. The accusation of habitual drunkenness and of madness, was a fiction of the Egyptian priests. The Persians had no such idea of Cambyses, but merely regarded him as unduly severe and selfish. His incestuous marriage with his sister Atossa, was wholly repugnant to the feelings and traditions of his nation.

GOMATES, OR THE PSEUDO-SMERDIS.—The pretended Smerdis sought to strengthen himself in the affections of his subjects by bestowing great benefits upon them. "For no sooner did he come to the throne," says Herodotus, "than forthwith he sent round to every nation under his rule, and granted them freedom from war-service and from taxes, for the space of three years." But religious changes which he introduced in the interest of Magism, soon excited considerable disaffection among the Zoroastrians; and his continued seclusion roused suspicion. The fraud becoming known to a few Persian nobles, they resolved to rid themselves of the usurper. Darius, the son of Hystaspis—a prince of the

royal blood, and the next heir* to the throne, failing the issue of Cyrus, with the six other chiefs of the Persian clans, gained entrance to the fort in Media where the Magian had shut himself up. The pretended Smerdis and his brother were killed; and the conspirators, rushing forth, showed the heads of the two impostors to the people.

MASSACRE OF THE MAGIANS.—The deception was forthwith avenged by a general massacre of the Magians, which only ended with the fall of night; and the anniversary of this event was afterward celebrated by the great festival called *Magophonia*, when no Magian might stir abroad during the whole day, on pain of death. Even after the Magian religion was combined with the Persian, and while the Magi constituted the priestly caste of the Persian nation, the feast continued to be kept.

CHAPTER IV.

DARIUS I HYSTASPIS (B. C. 521—486).—CLIMAX OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.

DARIUS I, the son of Hystaspis, is rightly regarded as the second founder of the Persian empire. At his accession, which is dated on the first day of 521 B. C., he was twenty-eight years of age; and he died at sixty-four, Dec. 23d, B. C. 486. In the epitaph upon his tomb he describes himself as "Darius, the Great King, the King of kings; the king of all inhabited countries; the king of this great earth, far and near; the son of Hystaspis, an Achæmenian; a Persian, the son of a Persian; an Aryan, of Aryan descent."

* Herodotus, who was not aware of the true position of Darius as heir to the throne, makes him but one of seven Persian chiefs who conspired against Gomates. He describes the plot as concocted by Otanes, whose daughter Phædina, one of the usurper's wives, detected the false Smerdis by his want of ears—the Magian having suffered that mutilation for some great crime in the reign of Cyrus. Herodotus allows five days to elapse between the slaying of Gomates and the recognition of Darius as king, the latter's election being finally represented as the result of a device of his groom and the neighing of his horse.

THE BEHISTUN INSCRIPTION.—The events of the first five years of Darius are recorded by himself in the Behistun Inscription. Near the south-western frontier of Media, on the high road from Babylon to Ecbatāna, there is a precipitous cliff about 1700 feet in height, overlooking a plain where the Persian kings had a 'paradise,' or garden, with a palace and a city. This is the Behistun* rock. Its face is carved with sculptures and inscriptions of four different ages. The first is of unknown antiquity; the second is the great record of Darius; the third celebrates the victory of a Parthian king over a rival; the fourth is a modern inscription in Arabic, of merely local interest. The record of Darius, carved at the height of 300 feet above the plain†, is in the three languages, in which the Persian kings were wont to issue their edicts to their Aryan, Semitic, and Turanian subjects—the Persian, Babylonian, and Medo-Scythic‡. Besides the overthrow of the Magian usurper and the restoration of the Zoroastrian worship, the Inscription mentions the suppression of a series of rebellions, which prove that Darius had to reconquer the whole empire, except Lydia and Egypt. "While I was at Babylon," he says, "these are the countries which revolted against me: Persia, Susiana, Media, Assyria, Armenia, Parthia, Margiana, Sattagydia, Sacia." Thus the empire, shaken to its centre, threatened to fall. But the military talent and prudence of the young sovereign prevailed. When he carved his inscription on the monumental rock of Behistun, in the sixth year of his reign, B. C. 516, he had reestablished his authority over the 23 provinces which he enumerates as given him by Ormazd. During that interval, Babylon had twice revolted, and had twice been subdued. What historical value attaches to certain details handed down by Herodotus concerning the siege of that place, is uncertain||.

SIEGE OF BABYLON.—During all the time, says Herodotus, that the Magus was king, and while the Seven were conspiring, the Babylonians had profited by the troubles,

*The old Persian name of *Bagistan* is retained in the present *Behistun*, *Bisitun*, or *Bostan*.

†It was with no small difficulty that Sir H. Rawlinson obtained the copy, his translation of which formed the decisive epoch of cuneiform interpretation, A. D. 1846.

‡The rock itself stands near the confines of Persia, Babylonia, and Media—the chief seat of the *old* Turanian population.

|| "There is every reason to believe," says G. Rawlinson, "that they belong to Oriental romance."

and made themselves ready against a siege. Indeed for twenty months they baffled all the efforts of Darius, and he was almost despairing of success, when one of his chief officers, Zopyrus, conceived and executed the following stratagem. He presented himself to the besieged, covered with blood, his ears and nose cut off. He told the Babylonians that he had thus been maimed by Darius, because he exhorted him to desist from so unprofitable a siege, adding that he came over to them as the sole means of procuring for himself signal vengeance. They believed him, and gave him the command of some troops. Several advantages which he gained in different sallies, according to previous concert with Darius, so increased their confidence that at length they placed under his charge the principal gates. At the critical moment, these gates were thrown open, and the Persians became masters of Babylon. After the second revolt of that city, its walls were partially demolished to prevent all thought of future rebellion.

EDICT OF DARIUS IN FAVOR OF THE JEWS (B. C. 520). One of the earliest and most important acts of Darius was an edict for the resumption of the building of the temple at Jerusalem, which the Magian had interrupted. Besides confirming the old decree of Cyrus, this new one assigned from the royal stores a fresh grant of money and other things necessary for the furtherance of the pious undertaking, request being made that oblations and prayers might be offered to the God of heaven for the king and his children. Thus aided and protected, the Jews resumed the building of the temple; and, in the 6th year of Darius, 21 years after its commencement, the house of God was finished, and its dedication took place.—Nor was it in Judea alone that Darius favored monotheism. After his accession, he lost no time in rebuilding the Zoroastrian temples pulled down by the Magus, and restoring the religious institutions annulled by him. It is thought that several of the revolts which disturbed the beginning of his reign, occurred in consequence of the extraordinary zeal he displayed in favor of pure Zoroastrianism.

ORGANIZATION OF THE EMPIRE: SATRAPIES. — When Darius had confirmed his authority throughout the empire, he applied himself to the task of bringing its many provinces into some fixed organization, and of establishing everywhere a uniform system of government. He divided his vast

dominions into satrapies, so called from the officer—satrap—who held in each, the supreme civil authority, as the viceroy, or lieutenant, of the king. The limits of the satrapies corresponded, for the most part, to the old boundaries of the nations incorporated into the empire. Their government was assigned, as far as possible, to members of the royal family and to nobles connected with it by marriage. Each satrapy was assessed to a regular amount of tribute, fixed in accordance with its resources.

THE MILITARY FORCE.—A standing army, drawn entirely from the dominant race, was distributed through the satrapies to support the civil power and maintain tranquillity; but the command of these, except in the frontier provinces, was entrusted to officers independent of the satraps. Though the regular profession of arms was confined to the Medo-Persians, the conquered races were called upon to furnish their quota, whenever a great effort was required; then the soldiers of each satrapy appeared in their own national equipment.—The navy of the empire was furnished by the maritime subject-nations, which provided contingents of ships and crews according to their relative strength.

THE ROYAL JUDGES AND SECRETARIES.—The administration of justice was committed to royal judges. Like the military commanders, these magistrates were independent of the satraps, and were appointed by the king. Besides the satrap, military commander, and judges, there was stationed in each province a royal secretary, who communicated directly with the king, sending his reports and receiving dispatches from the capital by means of 'posts on horseback and riders on mules, camels, and young dromedaries.' Sometimes the secretary was the organ of a royal decree for the deposition, or even the death, of a satrap.

DARIUS CONQUERS INDIA.—The able monarch, to whom the Persian empire owed its civil and military organization, was not disposed to allow the warlike qualities of his subjects to be enfeebled for want of exercise. He led an army into the valley of the Indus, and subdued the territories now known as the *Punjab* and *Scinde*.* The reduction of a valuable gold-tract, and the augmentation of the royal revenue by about one-third, were the results of this expedition. The newly-acquired province added also a body of brave soldiers

* They were then the only part called *India* (Sind).

to the army. These warriors from the farthest East appeared among the troops of Xerxes in their cotton dresses, with their bows of cane and arrows of cane tipped with iron, and so met the Greeks on the field of Plataea.

SCYTHIA, in ancient times, designated a vast, indefinite, and almost unknown territory beyond the Caucasus, the Caspian, the sandy deserts of Khiva and Kharesm, and the great central Asiatic mountain-chains. The inhabitants of this immense tract were mainly nomadic and pastoral. By Herodotus and Hippocrætes, who visited the steppe country in the 5th century before our era, the Scythians are described as a people coarse and gross in their habits, living either on horseback, in wagons, or in felt tents; subsisting chiefly on mare's milk and cheese; drinking the blood of a slain enemy, parading his scalp as a trophy, and making the upper portion of his skull into a drinking-cup. Scythia reached to the banks of the Danube in the west; and Darius, who contemplated the reduction of Thrace, Greece, and perhaps Italy, saw the necessity of striking terror into the Scyths of Europe, if he wished to keep his communication with Asia intact.

INVASION OF SCYTHIA (B. C. 508).—Collecting a fleet of 600 ships chiefly from the Greeks of Asia, and an army of more than 700,000 men from all the nations of his empire, Darius crossed the Bosphorus by a bridge of boats; and, conquering on his way the Thracians within, and the Getæ beyond, Mount Hæmus,* he marched to the Danube, which he passed on a bridge formed by the ships of the Ionians, just above the point where its mouths divide.

The Scythians retreated before the invaders, avoiding a pitched battle, and using every stratagem to detain them in the country till they should perish of hunger. When the Persian army seemed inextricably involved, says Herodotus, a herald arrived with strange presents to Darius from the Scythian princes—a bird, a mouse, a frog, and five arrows. The king saw in this a surrender, signified by the symbols of earth, water, the means of motion, and the weapons of war. But Gobryas, one of his chief lords, gave the true interpretation: "Unless, Persians, ye can fly in the air like birds, or hide yourselves in the earth like mice, or swim in the water like frogs, ye shall not escape the arrows of the Scythians."

*The Great Balkan.

By this time, however, the object of Darius was accomplished. He had destroyed the only town which was to be found in the whole steppe region. He had paraded his immense military power before the nations; he had captured many of their herds, and curtailed their supplies of forage. So he began to retrace his steps; and, having suffered no serious loss, recrossed the Danube after a campaign of somewhat more than two months.

CONQUEST OF THRACE AND MACEDONIA (B. C. 506-505).—Darius left behind him in Europe an army of 80,000 men under Megabāsus, to complete the reduction of Thrace. This was effected in a single campaign. Macedonia also submitted, and the dominions of the Great King now reached from the Indian desert to the borders of Thessaly, and from the Caucasus to Ethiopia.

DARIUS AT SUSA.—The seat of government at this time appears to have been at Susa. This city, henceforth the main Persian capital, possessed great advantages of position and climate over Ecbatāna, Persepolis, and Babylon. Here Darius, fatigued with his warlike exertions, rested himself for a while in the tranquil life of the court. How his repose was broken by the Ionian revolt, and how this revolt led to the double expedition of Mardonius and Datis into Europe, will be related in connection with Grecian history. Darius was preparing to lead in person a third expedition into Greece, as also to reduce Egypt, which had just revolted. But death surprised him, before his preparations were completed (B. C. 486).

CHARACTER OF DARIUS; HIS TOMB.—Darius Hystaspis was, next to Cyrus, the greatest of the Persian kings. If inferior to Cyrus in military genius, he surpassed him in administrative talent. To Darius the empire owed its organization, without which Persia would probably have sunk as rapidly as she rose. It is his glory to have devised a system whereby a crude agglomeration of ill-assorted elements, hanging loosely together by the single tie of subjection to a common head, became a compact, regularly-organized, and well-regulated fabric.

Darius was buried in the vicinity of Persepolis, where he had prepared for himself an elaborate rock-tomb, adorned with sculptures, and bearing a long inscription—all of which remain to the present day. The great edifices near Persepolis were his conception, and in great part his work; as

were also the equally magnificent structures at Susa, which became, after him, the ordinary royal residence.

PERSIAN PALACES.—The simplicity of their worship giving little scope for architectural grandeur in the buildings devoted to religion, the Persian monarchs concentrated their main efforts upon the construction of palaces and tombs. Their palaces were erected on elevated platforms, which not unfrequently consisted of distinct terraces rising above one another. The platforms and terraces were formed of solid masses of hewn stone, and were approached by broad flights of stairs, sloping so gently as to make it easy to ride horses both up and down. Some of these staircases were remarkable not only for their length and width, but for their striking and unusual design. One of them, belonging to the great palace, in the neighborhood of Persepolis, has been pronounced ‘the noblest example of a flight of stairs to be found in any part of the world;’ another, at the same place, has the entire face which it presents to the spectator, and both sides of its parapet wall, covered with sculptures; a third is cut in the solid rock.

The platforms ordinarily sustained, not only what we may call the royal residence proper, or apartments for habitation; but also propylæa, or gateways, fronting some landing-place at the head of the stairs, and halls of a vast size. The courts and buildings forming the royal residence, at the Persepolitan palace, when it had attained its full dimensions under Xerxes, covered a space 500 feet long and 375 feet wide. Of the four propylæa, at the same place, the largest, which stood directly opposite the great stairs leading to the platform from the plain, consisted of a noble apartment 82 feet square with walls of unusual thickness and a roof supported by 4 magnificent columns nearly 60 feet high; two grand portals, flanked with colossal bulls, led into this apartment.

But what constituted the distinguishing feature of Persian architecture, are the great pillared halls. Of these the Persepolitan platform supported two. The larger called the Hall of a hundred columns, was a square of 227 feet whose roof was supported by 200 pillars 35 feet high, disposed in rows of ten each. This magnificent chamber was fronted by a portico 183 feet long and 52 feet deep, which was sustained by 16 pillars arranged in two rows.

Besides such halls as the one just described, the Persian

palatial platforms sustained open pillared edifices, which may be called summer throne-rooms, and were not protected otherwise than by means of the roof and curtains. One such building at Persepolis was a square of 36 pillars arranged in 6 rows of 6, and covering an area of above 20,000 square feet. On three sides of that square, but at a distance of 70 feet from it, were magnificent porches, 142 feet long by 30 broad, each consisting of 12 columns arranged in two rows, which corresponded with the pillars of the central cluster. All these pillars were 64 feet high, and many are nearly entire to this day.

All the Persian pillars are of stone. Some, apparently intended to be covered permanently with hangings, are plain, tapering gently as they ascend. The others are beautifully fluted along their entire length. The capitals and bases are often exquisitely wrought. The bases of the pillars which form the colonnades last referred to, in particular attract the admiration of all beholders. Bell-shaped and ornamented with a double or triple row of pendent lotus leaves, some rounded, some narrowed to a point, they are most graceful.

Regularity and proportion were characteristics of Persian architecture. For effect, it depended chiefly on the grand sculptured stairways which formed the approaches to all the principal buildings, and the vast groves of elegant pillars in and about the great halls. The use of huge blocks of stone, not only in platforms, but in the buildings themselves, attest great mechanical skill.

PERSIAN MAGNIFICENCE.—The internal decoration of Persian palaces was on a par with their architectural grandeur. 'Hangings of white and green and blue, fastened with cords of white and purple to silver rings,' carpets of dazzling brightness, richly colored drapings, and canopies of purple over thrones of gold, may give us an idea of the magnificence displayed in these superb buildings. Nor need we wonder at it, when we recollect that their good swords gave to the Persians the command of all that was most exquisite and admirable, whether in the natural world or among the products of human industry. By their conquests they fell heirs to all the riches accumulated for ages at Sardis, Memphis, and Babylon.

CHAPTER V.

THE DECLINE AND FALL OF THE PERSIAN EMPIRE.—B. C. 486-330.

ACCESSION OF XERXES I (B. C. 486).—The beginning of the reign of Xerxes, the Assuerus of the Book of Esther, was signalized by a glorious event—the reconquest of Egypt. This done, the king turned his attention to the subjugation of Greece, for which the most stupendous preparations went on uninterruptedly during the space of four years. It was in view of this Grecian expedition that, in the third year of his accession he called to Susa ‘the most mighty of the Persians, and the nobles of the Medes, and the governors of the provinces.’ After he had fixed the quota of troops and amount of provisions they were expected to furnish, and they had returned to their respective governments, the king invited all the people of his capital to a seven days’ banquet prepared for them in the palace gardens. “And there hung up on every side sky-colored and green and violet hangings, fastened with cords of silk and of purple, which were put into rings of ivory, and were sustained on marble pillars. The beds also were of gold and silver, placed in order upon a floor paved with porphyry and white marble. And they who were invited drank in golden cups; and the meats were brought in divers vessels one after another. Wine also in abundance and of the best was presented, as was worthy of royal magnificence.”

QUEEN ESTHER.—The expedition of Xerxes into Greece, as shall be related in the history of that country, proved a complete failure. - After his return, the king seems to have given himself up without restraint to his lust. Then it was that, through the 127 provinces of the empire, the most beautiful virgins were sought out, and brought to the royal harem at Susa. This, by an effect of divine Providence, led to the elevation of a Jewish maiden, Edissa, or Esther, an orphan, whom her uncle Mardochai had adopted for his daughter. She found favor with Xerxes above all the other women of the seraglio, and ‘he set the royal crown on her head, and made her queen instead of Vasthi,’ whom he had

repudiated. "And he commanded a magnificent feast to be prepared for all the princes and for his servants, on the occasion of the marriage. And he gave a remission of tributes to all the provinces, and bestowed gifts according with princely munificence." Esther concealed from the king her country and people, by Mardochai's advice, whom she continued to obey 'as she was wont at that time when he brought her up a child.' And Mardochai, who abode near the king's palace, discovered a plot against the life of the prince, and gave notice of it to Queen Esther. She told the king in Mardochai's name. The conspirators, on being found out, were hanged; and the fact 'was put in the histories, and recorded in the chronicles before the king.'

PROSCRIPTION AND RESCUE OF THE JEWS.—Xerxes, after the discovery of the plot, advanced Aman, a Mede, to the post of prime-minister, ordering, at the same time, his servants to bend the knee to his favorite, and worship him. This Mardochai refused to do, when Aman, in his anger, resolved not only to kill him, but to destroy with him all the Jews who were in the kingdom of his master. Representing them to Xerxes as a race who 'despised the king's ordinances,' he obtained his permission to deal with them as he pleased. So, calling the royal scribes, he made them 'write to all the king's lieutenants, and to the judges of the provinces and of divers nations, as every nation could read and hear, according to their different languages; and the letters, sealed with the royal ring, were sent by the king's messengers to all the provinces, to kill and destroy all the Jews, on the thirteenth of the twelfth month, and to make a spoil of their goods. And in all the provinces, towns, and places to which the king's cruel edict was come, there was great mourning among the Jews with fasting, wailing, and weeping, many using sackcloth and ashes for their bed.' At Susa, Mardochai joined with his brethren in deeds of penance; and, sending a copy of the edict to Esther, admonished her to go in to the king, and to entreat him for her people. "All the king's servants," she made answer, "know that whoever cometh into the king's inner court, who is not called for, is immediately to be put to death without any delay, except the king shall hold out the golden sceptre to him, in token of clemency, that so he may live. How then can I go in to the king, who for these thirty days now have not been called in to him?" But, Mardochai insisting that she should devote herself for

her people, she added : " Go, and gather all the Jews whom thou shalt find in Susa, and pray ye for me. Neither eat nor drink for three days and three nights ; and I with my handmaids will fast in like manner ; and then I will go in to the king, against the law, not being called, and expose myself to death and to danger." God heard the prayers of his afflicted servants, and blessed the self-devotion of Esther. The king's heart was touched. Aman was hanged on the gibbet which he had prepared for Mardochai ; and the latter succeeding him as prime minister, obtained from the king fresh letters, reversing the former, and 'commanding the Jews in every city to gather themselves together, and to stand for their lives.' Thus authorized to defend themselves in case of attack, 'they made a great slaughter of their enemies, insomuch that the number of those who were killed, in the empire, amounted to 75,000.' A solemn feast, called the *Purim*, was instituted to celebrate their deliverance.

CHARACTER AND DEATH OF XERXES.—Xerxes was not destitute of a certain magnanimity, which made him listen patiently to those who opposed his views or gave him unpalatable advice, and which prevented him from exacting vengeance on certain occasions. In other respects, we find little to praise in him and much to blame. Weak and selfish, cruel and licentious, without either moral or intellectual qualities, he fell far below his predecessors. With him commenced the decline of the empire, and those internal disorders of the seraglio which made the court, during more than 140 years, a constant scene of intrigues, assassinations, executions, and conspiracies. Under him also the power of the eunuchs began to exceed all due limits. Having made himself many enemies among those nearest to his person by yielding to his unbridled passions, he was murdered in his sleeping apartment by the chief of his guard and his chamberlain (B. C. 465).

ACCESSION OF ARTAXERXES I LONGIMANUS (the Long-handed).—Artaxerxes was not the eldest son of Xerxes. He came to the throne by the murder of his elder brother Darius*, and maintained himself in possession of the crown by waging a successful war with another brother, Hystaspis,

*Artaxerxes, then very young, was made to believe that the assassination of his father was the act of Darius.

satrap of Bactria. He had hardly suppressed the Bactrian revolt, when Egypt, under Inarus and Amyrtæus, once more threw off the Persian yoke (B. C. 460). Aided by a powerful Athenian armament, the Egyptian rebels kept up an unequal contest for the space of five years, but at last were forced into submission. When, in 449 B. C., the Athenians renewed their attacks against Persia, Artaxerxes concluded with them, on the footing of mutual concessions, the celebrated Peace of Callias, of which further notice shall be taken in the history of Greece. Of greater interest to us are the commissions given by Artaxerxes to Esdras and Nehemiah, containing provisos so favorable to the people of God.

COMMISSION OF ESDRAS (B. C. 458).—Eighty years had elapsed since the rebuilding of the temple, when Esdras, 'a ready scribe in the Law of Moses,' who had gained the favor of Artaxerxes, obtained from this prince permission to lead back a second caravan of exiles to Jerusalem. Some six thousand Jews accompanied him, bearing offerings from the king and his counsellors, and freewill-offerings from the people, besides vessels for the service of the temple. "And whatever more," the king said to Esdras in his decree, "there shall be need of for the house of thy God, how much soever thou shalt have occasion to spend, it shall be given out of the treasury. I, Artaxerxes, the king, have ordered all the keepers of the public chest, who are beyond the river, that whatever Esdras the priest shall require of you, ye give it without delay, unto 100 talents of silver, and unto 100 cores of wheat, and unto 100 baths of wine, and unto 100 baths of oil, and salt without measure. All that belongeth to the rites of the God of heaven, let it be given diligently in the house of the God of heaven, lest His wrath be enkindled against the realm of the king and of his sons." At the same time, the priests and ministers of the temple were exempted from taxation; and Esdras was commanded to appoint and instruct magistrates and judges over the people beyond the river, with authority to punish, even to death, all who broke the law of God and the king.

Esdras found much evil among his coreligionists in Judea. He exerted himself especially to stop the abuse of inter-marriage with the idolatrous nations of the neighborhood. But neither in this nor in other respects did he succeed in effecting a permanent reform.

COMMISSION OF NEHEMIAH (B. C. 445).—In the 20th year of Artaxerxes, grievous tidings from Jerusalem reached the royal winter residence at Susa. News was brought to Nehemiah, the king's cup-bearer, that the Israelites in Judea were 'in great affliction and reproach; that the walls of Jerusalem were still broken down, and the gates thereof burned,' as they had been left by Nabuchodonosor. 'And when I had heard these words,' writes Nehemiah, "I, sat down, and wept, and mourned for many days; and I fasted, and prayed before the God of heaven. And it came to pass, four months later, that the king said to me: Why is thy countenance sad, seeing thou dost not appear to be sick? This is not without cause; but some evil, I know not what, is in thy heart. And I was seized with a great fear; and I said to the king: O king, live forever! Why should not my countenance be mournful, seeing the city of the sepulchres of my fathers is desolate, and the gates thereof are burnt with fire? Then the king said to me: For what dost thou make request? And I said to the king: That thou wouldst send me into Judea to the city of the sepulchres of my fathers, and I will build it. And the king said to me, the queen sitting by him: For how long will the journey be, and when wilt thou return? And it pleased the king, and he sent me; and I fixed him a time." So Nehemiah started, with a body-guard, and with royal letters requiring both the governors west of the Euphrates to aid his journey, and the keeper of the king's forests to supply him with timber. On his arrival, summoning his brethren: "Come," he said to them, "let us build up the walls of Jerusalem, and let us be no longer a reproach. Let us rise up and build. And their hands were strengthened in good." To resist the plots of their hostile neighbors and of the disaffected among themselves, half of the people remained under arms, while the other half labored at the work, girded with their swords. Nehemiah kept a trumpeter always by his side to sound the alarm, and neither he nor his guard put off their clothes except for washing. In a few months of unremitting labor, the walls were finished and the gates hung up; and now for the first time since their return could the Jews meet to worship God under the protection of their ramparts, with their new liberties and their existence as a nation no longer at the mercy of their enemies.

COVENANT OF THE JEWISH PEOPLE.—Then the sacred writings, which had just been collected into one volume by

Esdras, were read and explained before the assembled Israelites, who by turn wept at the recital, or rejoiced. The Feast of Tabernacles, which lasted an entire week, and the Day of Atonement, were kept with appropriate rites. All this time, the reading of the Scriptures went on; and the people ended by making a new covenant with God, which was recorded in writing and signed by the princes, priests, and Levites, while the rest of the people bound themselves by a curse and an oath to walk in the law given them by God through Moses. The chief points of this covenant were: Not to intermarry with the heathens; to abstain from traffic on the Sabbath, and to keep the Sabbatic year, with its release of all debts; to pay a yearly tax of a third of a shekel for the services of the sanctuary; finally, to offer the first-fruits and first-born, and the tithes due to the Levites and the priests. To most points of this covenant the Jewish nation remained faithful.

CHARACTER OF ARTAXERXES LONGIMANUS.—Though Artaxerxes seems to have been mild in temperament, and even kind and good-natured, his character must be pronounced weak and contemptible. Through most of his reign, he was under the control of Amytis his sister, and Amestris his mother—both of whom were persons of ill-regulated lives and cruel dispositions. The disorders of the Court increased under him; and the decay of the empire was accelerated by the impunity granted to Megabysus, satrap of Syria, who, after his revolt, was allowed to dictate the terms of his reconciliation. From his legitimate wife, Damsapia, Artaxerxes left only one son, Xerxes; but 17 other sons from various concubines survived him.

XERXES II AND SOGDIANUS (B. C. 425).—Xerxes II reigned 45 days only, being murdered at a festival by his half-brother, Sogdianus. Sogdianus enjoyed the sovereignty for little more than half a year, when he was in turn put to death by another brother, Ochus, who, on ascending the throne, took the name of Darius, but was by the Greeks surnamed Nothus (the bastard).

DARIUS II NOTHUS (B. C., 424-405).—This prince's reign, which lasted 19 years, was disturbed by endless rebellions, some of which had permanent and very disastrous consequences. Under Darius Nothus, Egypt regained her independence, and the satraps came to be practically uncontrolled in their provinces. Cunning and treachery were made the sole

weapons wherewith the Persian government contended with their enemies. Manly habits were laid aside, and the nation learned to trust more and more to the swords of mercenaries. Both weak and wicked, false alike to friends and foes, Darius was the slave of his wife, Parysatis, one of the most cruel and malignant even of Oriental women. By her he had two sons, Artaxerxes and Cyrus. The former was born before, the latter after, Darius came to the throne; and herein lay the germ of a disputed succession.

ARTAXERXES II. MNEMON (B. C. 405-359).—Darius, on his death-bed, nominated his first-born as his successor. Thinking himself injured thereby, Cyrus laid plans to take his brother's life during the ceremony of the inauguration at Passagardæ. Discovered, but shielded from punishment by his mother, who, embracing him in her arms, made it impossible for the executioner to perform his task, the ambitious youth withdrew to his satrapy of Asia Minor. Here he secretly employed the resources of his province in raising an army, which he led against the king. His death, at Cunaxa (B. C. 401), freed Artaxerxes from imminent ruin. A few years later, through the treachery of Sparta, the Great King enjoyed the good fortune of imposing upon the Grecian states the treaty of Antalcidas (B. C. 393), which once more placed all the Asiatic Greeks at the mercy of Persia. Cyprus also was recovered to the empire. But an attempt to reduce Egypt failed; and the latter years of Artaxerxes were marked by fresh revolts of satraps—put down by the ordinary resources of bribery and treachery.

Mild, affable, good-natured, and affectionate, but of excessive weakness, and held in a species of bondage by his mother Parysatis, a monster of cruelty, Artaxerxes II was unfortunate in his domestic relations. Statira, his first wife, to whom he was fondly attached, was torn from his bosom and poisoned by Parysatis; and three of his sons were murdered under his eyes by their brother, Ochus, who became his successor.

OCHUS (B. C. 359-338).—Ochus was the most cruel and sanguinary of all the Persian kings. He is indeed the only monarch of the Achæmenian line who appears to have been bloodthirsty by temperament. He attained the throne, and maintained himself on it, by a series of ruthless murders, destroying, so far as he could, all the members of the royal family who might dispute the succession. Having thus pro-

vided for the security of his crown, Ochus turned his energies to the prosecution of other and more honorable enterprises. With the aid of two able ministers—Mentor the Rhodian, and Bagoas, the chief of the eunuchs, he put down a rebellion of the Cypriots; reduced the Phœnicians, who had revolted under the leadership of Sidon; effected the reconquest of Egypt; and was planning measures for checking the growing power of Macedon, when he was poisoned by Bagoas at Susa.

DARIUS CODOMANNUS (B. C. 336–330).—The wicked Bagoas, after setting the youngest son of Ochus, Arses, upon the throne, and putting him to death in his third year, gave the crown to him who was last to wear it, Darius III Codomannus. How this amiable prince was to be cast down from his pride of place, is vividly depicted in the symbolic prophecy of Daniel: “And, behold, a he-goat came from the west on the face of the whole earth, and touched not the ground”—a striking image of the rapidity of Alexander’s conquest. “And he went up to the ram that had two horns, and ran toward him in the fury of his power. And when he was come near the ram, he was enraged against him, and smote him, and brake his two horns, and cast him down to the ground, and stamped upon him; and none could deliver the ram out of his hand.”

The story of the Persian empire, virtually ended at Arbēla in the autumn of 331 B. C., closes with the pathetic scene in which Alexander threw his own cloak over the body of Darius (B. C. 330).



PART VII.

GREECE AND MACEDONIA.

FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO THE ROMAN CONQUEST IN 146 B. C.

CHAPTER I.

LEGENDARY OR TRADITIONAL HISTORY OF GREECE.

HELLAS.—The Greeks called their land *Hellas*, and themselves Hellenes. It is from the Romans that we have derived the names of Greece and Greeks; though why the Romans used different appellations from those employed by the natives, cannot be ascertained. The Greeks often restricted the word *Hellas* to Central Greece, and sometimes extended it to the abode of all the Hellenes, wherever settled. Originally *Hellas* signified only a small district in Thessaly, the primitive seat of the Hellenes.

GEOGRAPHICAL SKETCH.—Ancient Greece was divided into Northern, Central, and Southern Greece. Northern Greece comprised *Epīrus* and *Thessaly*. Central Greece embraced *Dōris*, *Phōcis*, *Lōcris*, *Bœōtia*, *Attica*, *Megāris*, *Ozolian Locris*, *Ætolia*, and *Acarṇānia*. Of Southern Greece, or *Peloponnēsus* (the island of *Pelops*), now *Morea*, the chief divisions were *Arcādia* in the centre, *Achāia*, *Argōlis*, *Lacōnia*, *Messēnia*, and *Elis*.

The most important Grecian islands were: *Eubœ*, along the coasts of *Bœōtia* and *Attica*; the groups of the *Cyclādes*, lying around *Dēlos*, and of the *Sporādēs*, near the Asiatic coast; *Crete* and *Rhodes*; *Salāmis* and *Ægina*; and, in the Ionian sea, *Corcȳra*, *Cephallēnia*, *Ithāca*, *Zacynthus*, and *Cythēra*.

Then were, besides, many Grecian cities in Asia Minor, Italy, and Sicily. Massalia also, now Marseilles, and Cyrène, on the African coast, were Grecian colonies.

LEGENDARY CHARACTER OF EARLY GRECIAN HISTORY. Not till the epoch of the first recorded Olympiad, 776 B. C., did the Greeks use writing to perpetuate the memory of events. Whilst, therefore, the beautiful legends woven by poets round their early heroes' lives and deeds, may contain a kernel of historical truth, yet we have no means whatever of distinguishing that truth from its subsequent embellishment. But since the Greeks themselves accepted those legends as history, and this belief moulded their thought, their feelings, and their conduct, they must not be passed over entirely. Only the reader should bear in mind that what is here stated down to B. C. 776, and even for two centuries afterwards, is either purely legendary, or unsupported by irrefragable testimony. One point, however, is certain: the language of the Greeks leaves us no doubt as to the origin of the people themselves. They were a branch of the Aryan race, or Indo-European family of nations.

PELASGIA AND THE PELASGI.—The primitive name of Greece is said to have been Pelasgia, and the Pelasgi were believed by the Greeks themselves to have been its first inhabitants. The Pelasgi were spread over the Italian, as well as the Grecian, peninsula. Hence their language formed the basis of the Latin, as well as of the Greek tongue. The Pelasgi were not mere barbarians. They are represented as leading a pastoral life, tilling the ground, and dwelling in walled cities. A peculiar architecture, called Cyclopean from the huge masses of stone of which the walls were built, is attributed to the Pelasgi.

It was, indeed, a general belief among the Greeks, that the Pelasgi were reclaimed from barbarism by strangers from Egypt or Asia, who settled in the country, and introduced among the rude inhabitants the first elements of civilization. But this belief owed its origin to the philosophical speculations of a later age, which loved to represent an imaginary progress of society from the time when men fed on acorns and ran wild in woods, to the time when they became united into political communities and owned the supremacy of law and reason. Even admitting that Cadmus, Cecrops, and Danäus were real personages, and the true founders of Thebes, Athens, and Argos, we are not to believe that the

Pelasgi were indebted to them for the arts of civilized life, for the institution of marriage, and the introduction of religious rites and ceremonies.

THE HELLENES: ÆOLIANS AND ACHÆANS, IONIANS AND DORIANS.—Towards 1600 B. C., another branch of the Pelasgic family, the vigorous Hellenes, poured into the peninsula from the north, and gradually gained a dominant influence over the first settlers. The Hellenes seem to have been originally divided into two tribes—the Æolians, at first the most widely diffused; and the Achæans, who appear in the latter part of the Heroic age as the most warlike of the Grecian races, occupying both the original abode of the Hellenes in Thessaly, and also the great cities of Argos, Mycenæ, and Sparta, in Peloponnësus. Such was the celebrity of the race, that Homer frequently gives their name to the whole body of the Greeks. In process of time, two other tribes destined to be the leading races in Greece—the Ionians and Dorians—grew into importance; and thus were constituted the four principal groups of the Hellenic people. These groups were themselves divided into a large number of small states, each under its own chief, the independent sovereignty of separate cities being a fundamental notion in the Greek mind.—According to the popular legend, the common ancestor of all the Greeks was Hellen, the son of Deucalion (our Noah) and Pyrrha. Hellen had three sons, Dorus, Xuthus, and Æolus,—the first and the last, fathers of the Dorians and Æolians, whilst the children of Xuthus, Ion and Achæus, became the progenitors of the Ionians and Achæans. Such imaginary personages, whose existence is thus presupposed to account for certain names of tribes or races, are called *heroës eponymi*. It was a general practice in antiquity to invent fictitious persons, for the purpose of explaining names of which the origin was buried in obscurity.

THE HEROIC AGE.—The heroic age comprised the time which elapsed between the first appearance of the Hellenes in Thessaly and the return of the Grecian warriors from Troy. During this period were thought to have lived extraordinary men, gifted with superhuman strength and indomitable courage, such as Hercules, the national hero of Greece; Theseus, the hero of Attica, who united its twelve independent communities into one political body; Minos, king of Crete, the principal founder of Grecian law and civilization; Perseus, Meleager, Jason, and a host of others

so much celebrated by the poets. Their chief exploits consisted in delivering the country from wild beasts, or from pirates and banditti. For these exertions grateful posterity not only praised them as heroes, but even honored them as demi-gods. Whether they were real persons, can neither be affirmed nor denied. The two most celebrated legends of the heroic age are the Voyage of the Argonauts in search of the golden fleece, and the expedition against Troy. Of the latter, as related in Homer's *Iliad*, it will be proper to give some details.

THE TROJAN WAR (? 1194-1184).—Paris, son of Priam, king of Ilium or Troy, abused the hospitality of Menelæus, king of Sparta, by carrying off his wife Helen, the most beautiful woman of the age. Responding to the call of the offended husband, all the Grecian princes assemble in arms, elect his brother Agamemnon, king of Mycenæ, leader of the expedition, and sail across the Ægean in nearly 1200 ships to recover the faithless fair one. Several of the confederate heroes excel Agamemnon in fame. Among them Achilles, chief of the Thessalian Myrmidons, stands pre-eminent in strength, beauty, and valor; while Ulysses, king of Ithaca, surpasses all the rest in the mental qualities of counsel, subtilty, and eloquence. Thus, through opposite endowments, these two heroes form the centre of the group. Next to them, we observe the aged Nestor, king of Pylus, distinguished for his wisdom and experience; the valiant Diomêdes; the Telamonian Ajax, inferior only to Achilles in fighting power; and, lastly, Idomeneus of Crete, a grandson to Minos. Among the Trojans, Hector, one of the sons of Priam, is most distinguished for heroic qualities, and forms a striking contrast to his handsome but effeminate brother Paris. Next to Hector in valor stands Æneas, son of Anchises and Aphrodite (Venus). Even the gods take part in the contest, encouraging favorite heroes, and sometimes fighting by their side or in their stead.

It is not till the tenth year of the war that Ilium yields to the inevitable decree of fate, and it is this year which forms the subject of the *Iliad*. Achilles, offended by Agamemnon, keeps within his tent. His absence from the field enables Hector to drive the Greeks back into their camp. The Trojans are already setting fire to the Grecian ships, when Achilles gives his armor to his friend Patroclus, and allows him to charge at the head of the Myrmidons. Patroclus

repulses the enemy from the ships, but falls under the spear of Hector. Burning to avenge his friend, Achilles appears again in the field; and, although he is aware that his own death must speedily follow that of the Trojan hero, he slays him in single combat.

The Iliad closes with the burial of Hector. The death of Achilles and the capture of Troy were related in later poems. After fresh victories over Penthesilea, queen of the Amazons, and Memnon, king of Ethiopia, Achilles perishes by an arrow shot by the unwarlike Paris, but directed by the hand of Apollo. Ulysses now steps into the foreground, and becomes the real conqueror of Troy. By his advice a wooden horse is built, in whose flanks he and other heroes conceal themselves. The infatuated Trojans admit the horse within their walls. In the dead of night, the Greeks rush out, and open the gates to their comrades. Ilium is delivered over to the sword, and its glory sinks in ashes.

The return of the Grecian leaders from Troy forms another series of poetical legends. Agamemnon is murdered on his arrival at Mycenæ, by his wife Clytemnesta and her paramour Ægisthus. Diomêdes, who also finds his house defiled, is driven from Argos, and settles in Italy. Ulysses, after the ten years' wanderings which form the subject of the Odyssey and a twenty years' absence from home, at last reaches his beloved Ithaca, where he slays the numerous suitors who devoured his substance, and contended for the hand of his wife Penelôpē.

HOMER AND THE HOMERIC POEMS.—All the ancients regarded the Iliad and the Odyssey as the productions of Homer. To the Greeks, throughout the flourishing period of their literature, these wonderful poems, which are still unrivalled among works of their class, were the recognized standard of early history and mythology. Of their author, assuming Homer to be such, this alone seems probable, that he was an Asiatic Greek. Seven cities laid claim to his birth; and most of them had legends to tell concerning his romantic parentage, his alleged blindness, and his life of an itinerant bard acquainted with poverty and sorrow. The different epochs assigned to his birth offer a diversity of nearly 500 years. The date which has found most favor is that of Herodotus, who assumed that Homer lived 400 years before himself or about 850 B. C.

It is supposed that the Iliad and the Odyssey were not

originally committed to writing. Homer, and after him his faithful disciples first, and next the Rhapsodists or professional reciters, travelled from town to town, singing or reciting them either in short fragments before private companies, or in their entirety at public festivals. In course of time, copies of the whole but chiefly of separate portions, or single rhapsodies, as they were called, came to be circulated among the Greeks. But with the multiplication of copies, the variations also of the several texts increased; and this led to measures for establishing a standard edition of the national poet. To Pisistratus is ascribed the great merit of collecting and arranging the poems in their present form.

THE HOMERIC PICTURE OF LIFE AND MANNERS.—It may be assumed that the Homeric account of the Trojan war was based upon historical facts. But, although even this cannot be proved beyond the possibility of a denial, and the Homeric poems can still less be received as a record of historical persons and events, yet they present an invaluable picture of real institutions and manners. Homer lived in an age in which antiquarian research was unknown; his poems were addressed to unlettered hearers, and any description of life and manners altogether foreign to theirs would have proved both unintelligible and uninteresting. His descriptions, moreover, have an artless simplicity which shows them to be pictures from real life.

HOMERIC POLITY.—The Homeric poems exhibit Greece as parcelled into a number of independent states, each governed by its own king—a man of superior personal excellence, a sort of patriarch, who is the general, judge, and priest of his people, and to whom they look up with reverence as a being of divine descent; whose authority is restrained by no positive law, but is somewhat limited by the *Boulè*, or council of chiefs, and the *Agōra*, or general assembly of freemen.

PREVAILING SIMPLICITY—HOSPITALITY.—Great simplicity of manners prevail. The kings and nobles, though raised far above the rest of the community in honor, power, and wealth, do not disdain to engage in manual labor. They partake of the same food, which is of the simplest kind, and eat at the same table, with their subjects. Their wives and daughters, in like manner, employ themselves in weaving, spinning, embroidery, and in the discharge of all the various household duties. They are allowed greater liberty, and

occupy a station of greater dignity and influence in the family, than they afterwards possessed in republican Greece. A marked feature of the age is hospitality. The stranger is sure of welcome; and the host does not inquire his name nor the object of his journey, till he has placed before him his best cheer.

FREEMEN AND SLAVES.—Among the freemen, we find certain professional persons whose acquirements and knowledge raised them above their class, and procured for them the respect of the nobles. Such were the seer, the bard, the herald, and likewise the smith and the carpenter, since in that age a knowledge of the mechanical arts was confined to a few.

Slavery was not so prevalent as it afterwards became, and it appears in a less odious aspect. The nobles alone possessed slaves, and they treated them with a degree of kindness which frequently secured for the masters their affectionate attachment.

DARK SIDE OF THE HOMERIC SOCIETY.—Side by side with these bright features, are others of the most repulsive character. The protection of law is practically unknown; the weaker, as a matter of course, is plundered and maltreated by his stronger neighbor; piracy is an honorable occupation; homicides are of frequent occurrence, and war is conducted with the most ferocious cruelty. In battle, the chiefs are the only important combatants; they are mounted in war-chariots drawn by two horses, and carry two spears, a long sword, and a short dagger. Their person is protected by shield, helmet, breast-plate, and greaves. In the wars, as in the political system, of the heroic age, the chiefs are everything and the people nothing. Of coined money and writing the Homeric poems make no mention.

ADVANCED STATE OF CIVILIZATION.—Of the early progress made by the Greeks in literature, the very poems of Homer are the best proof. At the same time they bear witness to the advanced state of many of the arts which contribute to the comfort and refinement of life. The houses of the nobles are represented as glittering with gold, silver, and bronze; the nobles are clothed in the finest products of the Sidonian loom; they travel in chariots drawn by high-bred steeds, and navigate the sea in fifty-oared galleys. Property is transmitted from father to son; agriculture is extensively practised, and vineyards carefully cultivated. The remains,

lately exhumed from the ruins of Mycenæ and Tyrins by Dr. Schliemann, whether they belong merely to the Homeric, or should be referred to Pelasgic times, make it evident that no mean knowledge of statuary, drawing, designing, and painting, as well as of architecture, existed in Greece at a very early period.

DORIAN OCCUPATION OF PELOPONNESUS.—The Dorians had no share in the glories of the heroic age. Their name does not occur in the *Iliad*; they are only once mentioned in the *Odyssey*, and there merely as one of the many tribes of Crete. Their first settlement in Greece was the narrow mountainous district of Doris, between Thessaly, Locris, and Phocis. But, by the commencement of the historical period in the first Olympiad, we find them in possession of most of Peloponnesus with flourishing kingdoms at Argos, Corinth, Sparta, and elsewhere. As both their migration from Doris, and their destruction of the ancient Achæan monarchies of Peloponnesus, belong to a period long antecedent to all historical records, neither the time nor the manner thereof can be known with certainty. The following is a brief summary of the legends referring to the Dorian conquest of Peloponnesus. This celebrated event is known in mythical accounts as the Return of the Heraclidæ.

THE RETURN OF THE HERACLIDÆ.—Towards B. C. 1104, or eighty years after the destruction of Troy, three great-grandsons of Hyllus, son of Hercules—Temenus, Cresphontes, and Aristodemus—wishing to recover their birthright, of which their sire had been deprived by Eurystheus, led the Dorians to the conquest of Peloponnesus. Warned by an oracle not to enter the peninsula by the Isthmus of Corinth, with the help of the Ætolians they built a fleet at Naupactus; and, crossing over the gulf in safety, marched against Tisamenus, son of Orestes, then the most powerful monarch in Peloponnesus. A single battle decided the contest. The defeated Tisamenus retired with a portion of his Achæan subjects to the northern coast of Peloponnesus, then occupied by Ionians, but since called Achaia after the new settlers, the Ionians withdrawing into Attica. Of the Peloponnesian towns attacked by the Dorians, only Helos and Corinth, according to the legend, opposed a serious resistance. Corinth was not conquered till the next generation. The inhabitants of Helos, in punishment of their stubborn defence, were reduced to slavery, thus giving rise to the class

of slaves, or serfs, called Helots. The result of the invasion was the establishment of Dorian kingdoms in Messenia, Laconia, and Argolis.

GREEK COLONIES IN ASIA MINOR.—Closely connected in the legends with the Dorian occupation of Peloponnesus,



was the foundation of the Greek colonies in Asia Minor, many of the dispossessed inhabitants being forthwith compelled by the invaders to seek new habitations elsewhere.

But it is probable that the migration from Greece to the Asiatic continent went on for several generations. All that we know for certain, however, is the existence in Asia Minor, at the beginning of the historical period, of Greek cities, which were spread over the western coast, from the Propontis on the north to Lycia on the south. These cities were divided among the three great races of Æolians, Ionians, and Dorians—the Æolians occupying the northern portion of the coast, together with the islands of Lesbos and Tenedos; the Ionians, the central part, with the islands of Chios, Samos, and the Cyclādes; and the Dorians, the south-western corner, with the islands of Cos and Rhodes.

RISE OF GRECIAN LITERATURE.—Chief among the Greek cities on the Asiatic coast were Phocēa, Smyrna, Clazomēnæ, Ephēsus, Milētus, and Halicarnassus. Grecian literature took its rise in the Æolic and Ionic colonies of Asia Minor. Homer was probably a native of Smyrna. The Lyric poets Sappho and Alcæus were born in the island of Lesbos; the philosopher Thales, at Miletus; and Herodotus, at Halicarnassus.—This dispersion of the Grecian tribes accounts for those differences of forms in the mother tongue, which are known as the Attic, Ionic, Doric, and Æolic dialects.

CHAPTER II.

RELIGION AND NATIONAL GAMES OF THE GREEKS.

TIES WHICH BOUND TOGETHER THE GRECIAN WORLD. Greece was divided into an indefinite number of small independent states. Thus, for instance, in each of the territories described under the general names of Arcadia, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, were many political communities independent of one another. Indeed every separate city of Greece usually had its own independent government. The only supreme authority which a Greek recognized, was to be found within his own city walls. Yet, amidst this political disunion and multiplicity of states, there were not wanting moral ties which bound the Greeks together as one

people. These were community of blood and language, community of religious rites and festivals, community of manners and character. The belief of the Greeks in their common descent from Hellen has already been adverted to; and it certainly was their most powerful bond of union. Next to this was the use of a common language, and their extreme repugnance to those using a tongue different from their own. Men and cities that were not Grecians, were by them reckoned as *barbarian*.

GRECIAN DEITIES.—The second bond of union was a community of religious rites and festivals. From the earliest times, the Greeks appear to have worshipped the same deities. The chief of these were: Zeus (Jupiter or Jove), the god of Olympus and the principal ruler of the earth; Neptune, the god of the sea; Pluto, the god of Tartarus; Mars, the god of war; Apollo, the god of poetry; Hermes (Mercurius), the god of eloquence; Hera (Juno), Aphrodite (Venus), and Athené (Minerva). They had, besides, a multitude of demi-gods, the heroes of their early times. To all these, and, under their name, to personified vices, and to the demon himself, the author of so deplorable a superstition, they erected altars, offered sacrifice, and paid adoration. In their honor, too, they celebrated festivals, among the most famous of which were those of Ceres at Eleusis, and of Dionysius (Bacchus) at Athens. Drunkenness and debauchery not unfrequently disgraced those ceremonies and festivities.

THE DELPHIC ORACLE.—A marked feature of Grecian religious belief was an implicit confidence in oracles. It was indeed a universal practice to undertake no matter of importance without first asking the advice of the gods. There were many sacred spots renowned for their oracles; but the most frequented of all was that of Apollo, at Delphi. In the centre of the temple there was a small opening in the ground, from which it was said that a certain vapor ascended. Whenever the oracle was to be consulted, a virgin priestess, called *Pythia*, took her seat upon a tripod, which was placed over the chasm. The ascending vapor affected her brain, her hair stood erect, her look was ghastly, she foamed at the mouth, her whole body became agitated by violent convulsions. In that state she uttered half-articulated words, which were believed to be the answer of Apollo to his worshippers. These utterances the attendant priests carefully collected and arranged, so as to elicit a meaning. The oracles, in

their final shape, were delivered in the form of hexameter verse. Most of them, at least those which referred to future events, were equivocal or obscure.* Yet the credit of the oracle continued unimpaired long after the fall of Grecian independence.

THE AMPHICTYONIC COUNCIL.—While the Greeks worshipped the same gods, separate communities paid special reverence to particular deities; and not unfrequently a certain number of towns entered into an association for the periodical celebration of certain religious rites in honor of a common patron. Such associations went under the name of *Amphictyony*, from a word signifying those dwelling round or near†, because they usually consisted of neighboring tribes or cities, that were accustomed to meet at fixed times to offer sacrifices to the god of a particular temple, the common property of all. There were many religious associations of this kind in Greece. But one of them, from the superior wealth and grandeur of the Delphian temple, of which it was the appointed guardian, came to be called by excellence *The Amphictyonic Council*. This celebrated assembly consisted of sacred deputies, called Amphictyons, who were sent from twelve tribes, and who held two meetings every year, one in the spring at the Delphic temple of Apollo, and the other in the autumn at the temple of Ceres near Thermopylæ. The Amphictyonic Council was of great antiquity. The oath taken by its members, ran thus: "We will not destroy any Amyhictyonic town, nor cut it off from running water in war or peace. If any one shall do so, we will march against him

*Thus, when Cræsus, king of Lydia, consulted the oracle of Delphi about the result of his intended war against Cyrus, he received for answer, that, if he were to cross the river Halys, he would ruin a great empire:

Cræsus, Halym penetrans, magnam subvertet opum vim.

Which empire? his own or that of Cyrus?—This was left to be guessed by Cræsus himself. He naturally gave to the oracle the construction most favorable to his wishes; but he was conquered, and the kingdom of Lydia was overthrown. Still, even in this case, the assertion was right, since a great empire was really destroyed.

The same may be said of the god's answer to Pyrrhus:

Aio te, Æacides, Romanos vincere posse,

which signifies either that Pyrrhus might conquer the Romans; or the Romans, Pyrrhus.

†Not from the mythical hero Amphictyon, its supposed founder.

and destroy his city. If any one shall plunder the property of the god, or shall be cognizant thereof, or shall take treacherous counsel against the things in his temple at Delphi, we will punish him with foot and hand and voice and by every means in our power." The duties of the Council, as appears from this oath, were restricted to the protection both of the members of the league and of the temple. Though its members occasionally took a larger view of their functions, it never rose to the dignity of a national congress entrusted with the interests of all Greece.

THE OLYMPIC, PYTHIAN, NEMEAN, AND ISTHMIAN GAMES.—Of all the ties which bound the Greeks together, and kept alive a feeling of their common origin, the four great festivals of the Olympic, Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games were not the least. These games were open to all persons who could prove their Hellenic blood, and were frequented by spectators from all parts of the Grecian world. The most ancient, as well as the most famous of these festivals, was that celebrated at Olympia, in Elis, near an ancient temple of the Olympian Jove. It took place at the end of every four years*; and, during the month in which it occurred, all hostilities were suspended throughout Greece. At first, the festival was confined to a single day; and the games consisted of nothing more than a match of runners in the stadium. In course of time, so many other contests were introduced that the games occupied five days. They comprised various trials of strength and skill, such as wrestling, boxing, the *pancratium* (boxing and wrestling combined), and the complicated *pentathlon* (including jumping, running, the quoit, the javelin, and wrestling), but no combats with any kind of weapons. There were also horse-races and chariot-races. The chariot-race, with four full-grown horses, became one of the most popular of the matches.

The only prize given to the conqueror was a garland of wild olive. But this was valued as one of the dearest distinctions in life. To have his name proclaimed as victor before assembled Hellas, was an object of ambition with the noblest and wealthiest of the Greeks. Such a person was

*The interval between two celebrations was called an Olympiad. The Greek Olympic era began with B. C. 776, the year in which the festival, whose origin is lost in mythical ages, is said to have been revived by Iphitus, king of Elis, and Lycurgus, the Spartan legislator.

considered to have conferred everlasting glory upon his family, and was rewarded by his fellow-citizens with distinguished honors.

During the sixth century before the Christian era, the three other festivals of the Pythian, Nemean, and Isthmian games, which were at first only local, became open to the whole nation. The Pythian, instituted by the Amphictyons in honor of Apollo, were celebrated, near Delphi, in every third Olympic year; the Nemean, in honor of the Nemean Jove, and the Isthmian, in honor of Neptune, occurred once in two years. Besides the races and matches in gymnastics, they consisted also of contests in music and poetry.

The large concourse of persons from every part of the Grecian world for the national games, afforded to the merchant opportunities for traffic, and to the artist and the literary man, the best means of making their productions known. During the games, a busy commerce was carried on; and, in a spacious hall appropriated for the purpose, the poets, philosophers, and historians, were accustomed to read their most recent compositions.

· GRECIAN CHARACTERISTICS.—It is pleasant to notice the absence in Greece of those dark features which disgraced so many other nations of antiquity. Absolute despotism, human sacrifices, polygamy, and deliberate mutilation of the person as a punishment, are not found in any city of Greece in the historical times.

CHAPTER III.

SPARTA BECOMES THE DOMINANT POWER IN PELOPONNESUS.

SCARCITY OF HISTORICAL RECORDS DOWN TO 500 B. C.—From the Return of the Heraclidæ, which forms the conclusion of the Mythical Age, to the commencement of authentic Grecian history in the first Olympiad, there is an interval of nearly 300 years. Of this long period we have scarcely any record. Nor is our knowledge of the years immediately following the first Olympiad very abundant, consisting, as it does, of only a few solitary facts which have little or no connection with one another.

ANCIENT PREEMINENCE OF ARGOS.—Among the Dorian kingdoms in Peloponnesus, Argos first held and long retained an uncontested preeminence. She was the head of a powerful confederacy of Dorian states—Cleōnæ, Sicyon, Epidaurus, Trœzen, Ægina, and others—most of which were her own colonies. The common worship of Apollo Pythæus kept them united. Even Corinth was held in temporary subjection by Argos. To the last of her great kings, Phidon, who flourished about the 8th Olympiad, or 747 B. C., is referred the introduction into Greece of a copper and a silver coinage, and also of a scale of weights and measures.

SPARTA BEFORE LYCURGUS.—At the time of the Dorian conquest, Eurysthenes and Procles, twin sons of Aristodemus, one of the Heraclidæ, were associated in the throne of Sparta. Their descendants, forming two parallel dynasties, held after them the royal dignity. But, whether it was owing to this double rule, or otherwise, the kingdom did not prosper. Disturbances were frequent, and confusion prevailed, until the reforms attributed to Lycurgus gradually raised Sparta to preeminence first in Peloponnesus, and afterwards in Greece.

LYCURGUS (? B. C. 890-770).—Of the several discrepant accounts, none of them contemporary, which have come down to us concerning Lycurgus, the most probable places him between 890—770 B. C., and makes him a younger brother of the Spartan king Polydectes. Polydectes died, leaving his queen with child. The ambitious woman offered to destroy her offspring, if Lycurgus would share the throne with her. He refused, and had her son acknowledged king under the name of Charilæus. The queen-mother, however, sought to be revenged, and Lycurgus chose to go into voluntary exile. He visited Crete, Ionia, Egypt, and perhaps also Iberia, Libya, and even India, studying their institutions and conversing with their sages. On his return he found his fellow-citizens willing to entrust him with the care of framing a system of laws and regulations, which might remedy the evils under which Sparta had long been suffering. His reforms, however, were not carried into effect without violent opposition; but he finally triumphed over all obstacles. His last act was to sacrifice himself for the welfare of his country. Having obtained from the people a solemn oath to make no alterations in his laws before his return, he quitted Sparta, and was never afterwards heard of.—His grateful countrymen

honored him with a temple, and worshipped him with annual sacrifices down to the latest times.

POPULATION OF LACONIA: SPARTANS, PERIÆCI, AND HELOTS.—The population of Laconia comprised three classes of people: the Spartans, or ruling class, who lived in Sparta itself, and who alone were eligible to honors and public offices; the *periæci* (dwellers around the city), or free inhabitants of the country-towns and villages, possessors of the poorer lands, and deprived of the franchise; lastly, the Helots, or slave population. The Spartans were the descendants of the leading Dorian conquerors; the *periæci* descended partly from the old Achæan inhabitants, and partly from Dorians who had not been admitted to the full privileges of the ruling class. The *periæci* fought in the Spartan armies, as heavy-armed soldiers; they had the exclusive possession of the commerce and manufactures of the country; and, along with the Spartans themselves, they were ranked as Laconians or Lacedæmonians. The Helots were serfs bound to the soil, which they tilled for the benefit of the Spartan proprietors. Like the villains of the Middle Ages, they had homes of their own, and appear never to have been sold. They accompanied the Spartans to the field as light-armed troops. The Helots were of pure Hellenic blood, and chiefly the descendants of the old inhabitants who had offered the most resistance to the Dorians. They wore a peculiar dress—a leather cap and a sheepskin—to distinguish them from the rest of the population; and, when they multiplied to an alarming extent, a stop was put to their increase by legalized assassination. It is said they were often forced to make themselves drunk as a warning to the Spartan youth.

THE SPARTAN GOVERNMENT.—The Spartan government consisted of two kings, a senate, a popular assembly, and an executive directory of five men called the ephors. The two kings, in historical times, came to be merely the nominal chiefs of the state, their power being limited to the presidency of the senate, the command of armies, and the functions of the high-priesthood, which they discharged by offering every month sacrifices to Jove on behalf of the people. The members of the senate, twenty-eight in number, exclusive of the two kings, could not be less than 60 years of age. They held office for life, and they discussed and prepared all measures which were to be brought before the popular assembly. Their most important function was to sit in

judgment in all cases affecting the life of a Spartan citizen. The popular assembly wielded little influence, and appears to have been usually summoned only as a matter of form for the election of certain magistrates, for passing laws, and for determining upon peace or war. The ephors, who were annually elected from the general body of Spartan citizens, and had at first little power, became in the end the real rulers of the state. To them belonged the absolute, uncontrolled management of all internal and external affairs. They dismissed, fined, or imprisoned subordinate magistrates at their pleasure; they even arrested the kings, and either imposed fines on them, or brought them to trial before the senate. In what degree the reforms of Lycurgus affected the political constitution of Sparta, is not known. His legislation had reference chiefly to the discipline and education of the citizens.

AIM OF LYCURGUS.—The Spartans were but a handful of men—probably never more than 9000—in possession of a country which they could only retain by the sword. The great aim, therefore, of Lycurgus was to make them a nation of professional soldiers, whose superior hardihood, bravery, and discipline, would enable them to maintain their ascendancy over their subjects. Hence most of his regulations regarded the rearing and education of youth.

TRAINING OF THE SPARTAN YOUTH.—The education of children, at Sparta, was the business of the state. Every child, after birth, was examined by the elders; and, if deemed deformed and weakly, and unfit for a future life of labor and fatigue, was exposed to perish on Mount Taygetus. At the age of seven, the Spartan boys began to be taught all the gymnastic games which would give vigor and strength to the body, and all the exercises and movements required for the Lacedæmonian soldiers in the field. They were, at the same time, subjected to severe bodily discipline, being forced to go barefoot, to lie on beds made of reeds, to wear the same garment winter and summer, to endure heat and cold, hunger and thirst. On the occasion of a certain festival in honor of Artemis (Diana), to inure them to bodily pain, they were whipped till their blood flowed on the altar. They were encouraged to steal whatever food they could find; but, if taken in the act, were punished for want of dexterity. Plutarch tells us of a boy, who, having stolen a fox and hid it under his garment, chose rather to let it tear out his very bowels than

be detected in the theft. The Spartan youth was taught to sing and play on the lyre; but the strains which he learned, were either martial songs or hymns to the gods. With this ended his literary education. Literature, eloquence, and philosophy he was made to despise, as unworthy of a warrior.

THE SPARTAN CITIZEN.—A Spartan was not considered to have reached the full age of manhood, until he had completed his 30th year. He was then allowed to marry, to take part in the public assembly, and was eligible to the offices of the state. But he still continued under the public discipline, fed at the public messes, slept in the public barracks, and could only visit his home occasionally, and, as it were, by stealth. He was continually engaged on state duties, as drills, actual warfare, superintendence and training of the boys, and had no time left for commerce, agriculture, or other such occupation. It was not till he had reached his 60th year that he was released from the public discipline and from military service.

THE PUBLIC MESS is said to have been instituted by Lycurgus to prevent all indulgence of the appetite. Public tables were provided, at which every male citizen was obliged to take his meals. Each table accommodated 15 persons, who formed a separate mess, into which no new member was admitted, except by the unanimous consent of the whole company. Each sent monthly to the common stock a specified quantity of barley-meal, wine, cheese, and figs, and a little money to buy flesh and fish. No distinction of any kind was allowed at the frugal meals. Meat was only eaten occasionally. The tyrant Dionysius found the black broth which was one of the principal dishes, very unpalatable. "No wonder," said the cook; "it wanted the necessary seasoning of fatigue and hunger." When a Spartan became too poor for contributing his portion to the public mess, he forfeited his full citizenship; but recovered it, so soon as he could again contribute the allotted amount.

THE SPARTAN WOMEN in their earlier years were also subjected to rigorous training, intended to fit them to give to the state a vigorous race of citizens. At the age of twenty, a Spartan girl usually married, and she was no longer subject to the public discipline. The Spartan women took a lively interest in the glory and welfare of their native land, and were animated by a lofty spirit of patriotism. "Return with your shield, or upon it," was the ordinary

injunction of the parent to her son, when going to battle. After the defeat of Leuctra, the mothers of the slain congratulated one another, because their sons had done their duty, whereas the mothers of the survivors were inconsolable.

SUBJUGATION OF MESSENIAN.—The legislation of Lycurgus tended to make the Spartans a nation of soldiers. Its effects were soon felt. Thanks to her superior military discipline, Sparta soon became the undisputed mistress of two-thirds of Peloponnesus, and the most powerful of all Grecian states. Her first conquest was that of Messenia. Of the details of the struggle, which was both long and obstinate, we have no trustworthy account.* The Spartans seem to have been the aggressors. Lusting for the fertile territories of their neighbors, they silently prepared their forces; and, without any formal declaration of war, they surprised the frontier fortress of Amphēa, and put the inhabitants to the sword. For the first four years, however, they made little progress; but, in the fifth, the Messenians, no longer able to oppose the invaders in the open field, withdrew to the fortified mountain of Ithōmé. Here they kept the enemy at bay for 16 years, at the end of which time they were forced to give up the contest. Many of the inhabitants fled into Arcadia and Attica; those who remained were reduced to the condition of Helots.

Thirty-nine years later, aided by the Argives, Arcadians, Sicyonians, and Pisatans, the Messenians, under their heroic leader Aristomēnes, rose against their oppressors. At first they were successful, and defeated the Lacedæmonians with great loss. But the latter, encouraged by the martial strains of the Athenian poet Tyrtæus, in the third year of the war inflicted a signal defeat on the Messenians. Thereupon Aristomēnes concentrated his forces in the mountain fortress of Ira. From this fortified post where he maintained himself eleven years, he would often sally forth and ravage Laconia with fire and sword. But one night the Spartans surprised Ira, while Aristomēnes was disabled by a wound, and he

*What we know of the Messenian war is taken from Pausanias, who lived in the second century of the Christian era, and who drew his narrative from the prose work of Myron, and from the epic poem of Rhianus. Both of these writers were separated from the events which they related by some 500 years, and probably derived their materials from the stories current among the Messenians after their restoration to their native land by Epaminondas.

with difficulty effected his escape. Many of his followers, under the guidance of his sons, went to Rhegium, in Italy; he ended his days in Rhodes. Henceforth, until the restoration of their independence by Epaminondas, in 369 B. C., the Messenians disappear from history.

CONQUEST IN ARCADIA AND ARGOS.—The conquest of Messenia was followed by the subjugation of the southern part of Arcadia. But the reduction of Tegea proved a most difficult task. For more than two centuries, its brave population defied the Spartan power. Nor were the Tegeatans reduced to slavery, like the Messenians. They retained their own city and territory, and only became dependent allies of Lacedæmon.

Sparta's next exploit was the humbling of Argos. It was in the course of her struggle with Argos for the possession of Cynuria, that occurred the celebrated battle of the 600 champions. The two nations agreed to decide the quarrel by a combat between 300 on either side. So fierce was the conflict, that only one Spartan and two Argives survived. The latter, supposing that all their opponents had been slain, hastened home with the news of the victory. But Othryades, the Spartan warrior, remained on the field, and despoiled the dead bodies of the enemy. Both parties claimed the victory, whereupon a general battle ensued, in which the Argives were defeated. From that time Sparta's preeminence in Peloponnesus became an accomplished fact; nor was there north of the Isthmus of Corinth any state whose power could compete with hers.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DAWN OF DEMOCRACY.

ABOLITION OF ROYALTY EXCEPT IN SPARTA.—Sparta was the only state in Greece which continued to retain the kingly form of government during the brilliant period of

Grecian history. Elsewhere the reverential feeling towards the king disappeared by degrees ; and, in the end, the subjects lost all belief in his divine right to their obedience. In this frame of mind, they would avail themselves either of the monarch's death or of some other fitting opportunity, to set aside the royal race ; and would elect for life, or for a number of years, some one of the nobles, to supply the place of the king." The new magistrates were at first chosen by the nobles alone, and from their own body ; and they were accountable only to them for their manner of governing. Thus the abolition of royalty was followed by an *Oligarchy*, or the government of the Few.

OLIGARCHIES OVERTHROWN BY DESPOTS.—Besides the nobles, or great landed proprietors, whose estates were cultivated by a rural and dependent population, there existed two other classes of freemen, the small farmers who tilled their fields with their own hands, and the artisans and traders residing in the towns. These two classes, as they increased in numbers, wealth, and intelligence, soon came to resent their exclusion from all share in the government. Not being yet strong enough to contend single-handed against the nobles, whose oppressive sway they hated, they began by lending their aid to some ambitious citizen for the overthrow of the oligarchy. The individual thus raised to the chief magistracy for a temporary period, would usually avail himself of his position to retain his dignity permanently. To such usurpers the Greeks gave the name of *tyrants*. From B. C. 650 to 500, there were few cities in the Grecian world which escaped this revolution.

CHARACTER OF THE DESPOTS.—The word tyrant, as used by the Greeks, signified simply an irresponsible ruler, or despot. But the government of most of the despots was oppressive and cruel. In many states, they were at first popular with the general body of the citizens, who had raised them to power and were glad to see the humiliation of their former masters. But discontent usually was not slow to arise, on which occasion the despot would surround himself with foreign mercenaries, exile his opponents or even put them to death, and would thus become a tyrant in the modern sense of the word. Some, however, used their power for the general good ; were enlightened patrons of literature and art ; embellished their cities, and protected commerce and industry. But even those who exercised their sovereignty

with moderation, were never able to retain their popularity. The assumption of irresponsible power by one man, had become intolerable to a Greek. He looked upon the assassination of a despot as a righteous and holy act. Hence few tyrants grew old in their government; still fewer bequeathed their power to their sons.

RISE OF DEMOCRACY.—Many of the despots in Greece were put down by the Lacedæmonians. The Spartan government being essentially an oligarchy, though a royalty in name, the Spartans were always ready to lend their powerful aid to the support or the reestablishment of the government of the Few. But such interference for such an object, was very distasteful to the general body of freemen. The rule of the despot had broken down the distinction between them and the nobles; and, upon the removal of the despot, they would not allow the nobles to resume their former privileges. The struggle, therefore, which was first between kings and nobles, and next between oligarchy and despot, was henceforth between oligarchy and democracy.

MEGARIAN REVOLUTIONS.—As a specimen of the internal conflicts just referred to, we may instance the case of Megăra. Theogenes made himself despot of that city about B. C. 630. He overthrew the oligarchy by espousing the popular cause, but could not permanently maintain himself in power. Upon his expulsion (B. C. 600), a violent struggle ensued between the oligarchy and the democracy. The popular party obtained the upper hand, and abused their victory. The poor entered the houses of the rich, and forced them to provide costly banquets. They confiscated the property of the nobles, and drove most of them into exile. They not only cancelled their debts, but obliged their aristocratic creditors to refund all the interest which had been paid. The expatriated nobles returned in arms, and restored the oligarchy. They were again expelled; and it was not till after long struggles, that an oligarchical government was permanently established at Megăra.—It is curious to notice how the Megarian poet Theognis, who lived in the midst of these convulsions, and was himself attached to the oligarchy, uses the term *the good* and *the brave*, *the mean*, *the coward*, or *the bad*, as representing respectively the nobles and the common people. His poems also bear witness to another social change, which he laments over: an aristocracy of wealth had begun to spring up in place of an aristocracy of

birth, and intermarriages had taken place between the two parties in the state :

“The *bad* or *coward*, that in wealth has striven,
May match his offspring with the proudest race.
Thus everything is mixed, noble and base.”

CHAPTER V.

ATHENS BEFORE THE PERSIAN WARS.

THE ARCHONSHIP IS SUBSTITUTED TO ROYALTY.—The history of Athens before the age of Solon is almost a blank. Attica is said to have been first divided into twelve independent communities, but was afterwards united into a single state with Athens as the seat of the concentrated monarchy. Codrus, who fell in resisting a Dorian invasion made from the recently conquered Peloponnesus, was the last king of Athens. In place of royalty, a chief magistracy, called archonship, was established, which was at first conferred for life, then for ten years only. Until about 700 B. C., the archonship continued to be bestowed on the descendants of Codrus. But the fourth decennial archon having been deposed for his cruelty, the family of Codrus forfeited their right; and instead of a single chief magistrate, a board of nine archons was instituted, who were to be elected annually from the whole body of the *Eupatrids*, or nobles. The latter also kept to themselves all political rights and privileges, to the exclusion of the husbandmen and artisans, who formed the other two classes of the state.

THE ANNUAL ARCHONS (B. C. 683.)—The real history of Athens begins with the institution of the annual archons. Of these, the first was called *The Archon*; he was the president of the board, the protector of widows and orphans, and determined all disputes relating to the family. The second, or *Basileus* (the king), represented the ancient monarch in his capacity as high-priest of the nation. All cases respecting religion and homicide were brought before him. The third, or *Polemarch* (commander-in-chief), superintended the war department. He had jurisdiction in all

disputes between citizens and strangers. The remaining six, called the Legislators, managed in common the other duties of the government, which were chiefly judicial. They were named legislators, not because they made the laws, but because their particular sentences, in the absence of a written code, had the force of laws.

THE SENATE OF AREOPAGUS.—Down to Solon, the senate of Areopagus was, with the archons, the only political power in the state. It received its name from its place of meeting, which was a rocky eminence opposite the Acropolis, called the Hill of Ares (hill of Mars). It was formed exclusively of *eupatrids*, and all the archons became members of it at the expiration of their year of office. At one time, the senate of Areopagus was the most respectable body in the world. Such was its reputation for justice and sagacity, that the Romans referred to it certain questions too difficult for them to solve. All cases of willful murder were tried by the senate of Areopagus. To ascertain the truth was the sole object its members had in view. Hence the speakers who addressed them, were not allowed to appeal to their feelings by making use of exordium, digression, peroration, or the like oratorical artifices.

THE LEGISLATION OF DRACO (B. C. 624).—The government of the *eupatrids*, like most of the early oligarchies, seems to have been oppressive. In the absence of written laws, the archons possessed an arbitrary power, which they often abused in favor of their order, and to the injury of the general body of the citizens. The discontent of the latter, at last, rose to such a pitch that Draco was appointed to draw up a code of laws. But he probably did little more than reduce to writing the ordinances which had previously regulated his brother *eupatrids* in their decision of cases. The most remarkable characteristic of his laws was their extreme severity, the penalty of death being affixed to all crimes alike—to petty thefts, for instance, as well as to sacrilege and murder. Draco made no change to the existing political constitution. The people gained nothing by the written code; and civil dissensions prevailed as extensively as before. Matters, in the end, came to such a crisis that the ruling oligarchy, frightened by the threatening attitude of the poorer classes, invested Solon with unlimited power to make any changes he might consider beneficial to the state.

SOLON (? 638-558) is one of the most remarkable men of ancient Greece. To him Athens owed the foundation of her greatness. Though descended from the heroic Codrus, he possessed but limited means, and so was obliged to have recourse to trade to mend his fortune. He visited many parts of Greece and Asia as a merchant, and formed acquaintance with several of the most eminent men of his time. So great was his own reputation for prudence, judgment, and practical sagacity, that he was reckoned one of the Seven Sages. His public conduct was animated by a lofty spirit of patriotism. He was still young when he recovered for Athens the island of Salamis, which had revolted to Megära, and which his countrymen despaired of ever retaking. This and other achievements, coupled with his well-known integrity and sympathy for the poorer class, gained him the confidence of all.

MEASURE FOR THE RELIEF OF DEBTORS (B. C. 594).—At Athens, as in most ancient states, the wealthy were in the habit of lending money at exorbitant rates; and, upon the debtor's failure to pay the principal and interest, they had the power of seizing even his person, and of using him as a slave. Many had thus been torn from their homes and sold to barbarian masters, while others were cultivating as slaves the lands of their creditors in Athens. Chosen as archon in 594, and desiring to allay the discontent of the poor who were ready to break into open insurrection, Solon set at liberty those who had been reduced to slavery on account of debt, relieved the land from all encumbrances and claims, and forbade for the future all loans in which the person of debtor was pledged as security. As a compensation to the rich, he lowered the standard of coinage, so that whatever money they owned became more valuable than before by a little more than one-fourth.

SOLON'S CONSTITUTION.—With a view of giving some share in the government to others than the *eupatrids*, Solon drew up a new constitution, whereby the title of the citizens to the honors and offices of the state would be regulated by their wealth, and not by their birth. The Athenian freemen were therefore distributed into four classes according to their property. The first class consisted of those whose annual income was equal to 500 medimni* of corn and upwards;

*The medimnus contained nearly 12 imperial gallons, or $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushel; it was reckoned equal to a drachma.

those having an income ranging between 300 and 500 medimni, or between 200 and 300, formed respectively the second and the third class; the fourth included all those whose income fell short of 200 medimni. The members of the first three classes had to pay an income-tax, according to the amount of their property; the fourth class were exempt from direct taxation altogether. The first class were alone eligible to the archonship and the higher offices of the state. The second and third classes filled inferior posts, and were liable to military service, the former as horsemen, and the latter as *hoplites*, or heavy-armed foot-soldiers. To the fourth class, who served in the army as light-armed troops, no other political privilege was granted than the right to vote in the *ecclesia*, or public assembly. But the powers of this assembly were considerably enlarged. In it, the archons and the other officers of the state were elected; and to it, at the expiration of their year of office, the archons were made accountable. A new senate, called the Council of the Four Hundred, was created, whose special object it was to prepare all matters for the discussion of the public assembly, to preside over its meeting, and to carry its resolutions into effect. The members of this senate were elected annually by the *ecclesia*, one hundred from each of the four ancient tribes; and were answerable to it for the manner in which they discharged their duty. Solon enlarged also the powers of the Areopagus, entrusting it with the general supervision of the institutions and laws of the state, and imposing upon it the duty of inspecting the lives and occupations of the citizens.

THE LAWS OF SOLON.—Of these laws, which were many and contained regulations on all subjects connected with the public and private life of the citizens, only a few fragments have come down to us. Besides those relating to debtor and creditor, there were others having for their object the encouragement of trade and manufactures, the punishing of idleness, and the rewards to be bestowed upon the victors in the Olympic and Isthmian games. By Solon's code a convicted thief was forced to restore double the value of the property stolen; and a man who, in a civil sedition, stood neutral, was declared dishonored and disfranchised.

USURPATION OF PISISTRATUS (B. C. 560-527).—The constitution of Solon failed to bring durable tranquility to the Athenians. Having bound them by a solemn oath to observe his laws for at least ten years, he left Athens and

travelled in foreign lands. On his return, he found it distracted again by the old dissensions between the Plain (the wealthy nobles), the Shore (the mercantile inhabitants of the coast), and the Mountain (the poor tillers of the hilly districts). The leader of the last class was Pisistratus. By his liberality, his eloquence, and the affability of his manners, he first won the favor of the common people; and, when his schemes were ripe for action, had recourse to a memorable stratagem to secure his object. One day he appeared in the market-place in a chariot, his mules and his own person bleeding with wounds inflicted with his own hands. These he exhibited to the people, telling them that he had been nearly murdered in consequence of defending their rights. The popular indignation was excited. A guard of fifty clubmen was granted him for the security of his person. This he gradually increased; and soon, by seizing the Acropolis, made himself master of the city. In vain did Solon oppose this usurpation; the people submitted to the rule of the despot.

Pisistratus made a wise use of his power. He maintained the institutions of Solon; he relieved the distress of the poor; he adorned Athens with many public buildings, and encouraged literature and the fine arts. He is said to have been the first person in Greece that collected a library, which he threw open to the public. To him posterity is indebted for the collection of the Homeric poems.

GOVERNMENT OF HIPPIAS AND HIPPARCHUS (B. C. 527-510).—After the death of Pisistratus, his sons Hippias and Hipparchus, for several years, conducted the government on the same principles as their father. Their court was the residence of the best scholars of that age, among others of the famous poets Anacreon and Simonides. The people appeared contented under their rule; and it was only an accidental circumstance which led to their overthrow. Two Athenian youths, Harmodius and Aristogiton, wishing to avenge a personal insult, conspired to take the lives of the two brothers. Hipparchus alone fell (B. C. 514). His murder converted Hippias into a cruel and suspicious tyrant. He put to death numbers of the citizens, and raised large sums of money by extraordinary taxes. In four years he was overthrown, and sought refuge with the Persian satrap at Sardis. His downfall paved the way for the revolution which gave birth to Athenian democracy.

CLISTHENES ESTABLISHES THE ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY (B. C 510).—The Solonian legislation, though it gave a vote in the popular assembly to the poorer class, had practically left the government an oligarchy, by vesting the whole political power in the hands of the wealthy. Solon had merely laid the foundation of the Athenian democracy; its real establishment was the work of Clisthenes. Clisthenes, to whom Athens was mainly indebted for the overthrow of Hippias, aspired to be the political leader of the state, but was opposed by Isagoras and the great body of the nobles. Nor did he deem it possible, under the existing order of things, to overcome his rivals. "He therefore," says Herodotus, "took the people into partnership, who had been before excluded from everything." Though personal aggrandizement may have been one of the motives of his reforms, Clisthenes doubtless saw the propriety of placing the constitution on a more popular basis, and of giving to a greater number of citizens a personal interest in the welfare and preservation of the state.

REFORMS OF CLISTHENES.—His first and most important reform was the redistribution of the whole population of Attica into ten tribes. There was at the time, in the country, a large body of residents—Athenians, aliens, emancipated slaves—who were systematically excluded by the policy of the nobles from the four ancient Ionian tribes, and were thus deprived of the franchise. Clisthenes enrolled all such in his new tribes. The senate of Four Hundred he increased to 500 members, 50 being selected from each tribe, and he considerably enlarged the power of that body. Its sittings became constant, the fifty members of each tribe taking turns for the dispatch of public business. Fixed periods also were determined for the formal assembling of the citizens, the *ecclesia*, which henceforth enjoyed greater authority than before, many of the functions hitherto discharged by the archons being transferred to it. From this time forward all public crimes were tried by the whole body of citizens above 30 years of age, specially convoked and sworn for the purpose. The division of the people into ten tribes led to the creation of 10 *stratēgi*, or generals, one for each tribe. They were elected annually; and, during a campaign, they commanded the army in rotation, each for one day. Hitherto the Polemarch had been the sole leader of the military force. He still retained a joint right of command along with

the strategi; but, with the advance of democracy, his attributions became more and more restricted, whilst the functions of the general grew more extensive. Gradually, indeed, the nine archons were lowered down from the full executive and judicial competence which they had once enjoyed, to the simple ministry of police and preparatory justice.

THE OSTRACISM.—Another institution introduced by Clisthenes was that of the ostracism, a mode of banishment whereby without special accusation, trial, or defence, a person was exiled for a term of ten years, subsequently reduced to five. It derived its name from the word *ostrakon*, the tile, shell, or sherd, on which the voters generally wrote the name of citizens to be banished. "*Ostracism*," says Plutarch, "was not the punishment of any criminal act, but was speciously said to be the mere depression and humiliation of excessive greatness and power; and was, in fact, a gentle relief and mitigation of envious feeling, thus allowed to vent itself without the infliction of other injury than a ten years' banishment." Ostracism was what Plutarch represents it; but it was something more. As the small force which the government had at its disposal, rendered it easy for an ambitious man to make himself a despot, the ostracism was the means devised by Clisthenes to remove in time persons strongly suspected of such a design. To guard the institution from abuse, a preliminary resolution of the senate and *ecclesia*, formally approving the vote of ostracism, was first required. Nor was any one banished unless 6000 votes—about one-fourth of the whole body of citizens—were found to have been cast against him. No moral disgrace attached to the sentence, and the exiled citizen retained the enjoyment of his property. In the earlier days of Athenian democracy, the ostracism proved most useful against individual usurpation of power, and against dangerous exaggeration of rivalry between leaders of opposite factions. When democracy grew strong enough to dispense with such exceptional protection, the ostracism was abolished.

CHAPTER VI.

THE GREEK COLONIES FOUNDED BETWEEN 800-600 B. C.

Besides their colonies in Asia, which have been mentioned before, the Greeks founded others in Macedonia and Thrace; in Epirus and its immediate neighborhood; at Cyrène, on the northern coast of Africa; at Marseilles, in Gaul; at Syracuse, Agrigentum, and elsewhere, in Sicily; and especially in the south of Italy. Here, indeed, the Grecian settlements were so many and so flourishing, that this part of the peninsula received the name of *Magna Græcia*. Of the chief Greek colonies in the west, we have room for only a few brief particulars.

Sybaris and Croton, both situated on the gulf of Tarentum, and both planted by Achæans in B. C. 720 and 710, rapidly increased in power and population. For two centuries, they lived in harmony, and were among the most prosperous of the Hellenic cities. Sybaris, in particular, attained to an extraordinary degree of wealth. But the effeminacy of its inhabitants, which has become proverbial, and an unhappy quarrel with the Crotonians, effected its destruction in B. C. 510. About B. C. 440, Croton afforded an asylum to the Samian Pythagoras, and it became the chief seat of the Pythagorean philosophy.

Tarentum was, after the destruction of Sybaris, the most powerful city in Magna Græcia. It continued to enjoy great prosperity till its subjugation by the Romans.

An admirable position, extensive commerce, excellent harbors, strong walls and fortifications, besides the number and wealth of its inhabitants, placed Syracuse, at the time of its greatest prosperity, among the first cities of the ancient world.

Marseilles was noted for the wisdom of its government and institutions; as also for its schools, for its politeness, temperance, and other civic virtues.

The ancient greatness of Cyrène is attested by the colossal ruins which still mark its desolate site.

CHAPTER VII.

GRECIAN POETS, SAGES, AND PHILOSOPHERS.—B. C. 750-500.

ORIGIN OF GREEK LYRIC POETRY.—Of the Homeric poems and of the early excellence attained by Greek epic poetry, we have already spoken. The lyric poetry grew up later, being called into existence, about the middle of the 7th century before the Christian era, by the change of circumstances, thoughts, and feelings, as well as by the improvement of the art of music. The lyric poems of the Greeks were composed, not for private reading, but to be sung on festive occasions with the accompaniment of a musical instrument. Every important event, either public or private, was thus solemnized; and the song was equally needed to worship the gods, to cheer the march to battle, or to enliven the festive board. Unfortunately, of the mass of the lyric poetry composed previous to the age of Pindar, all that has survived consists of a few songs and isolated fragments. Sufficient, however, remains to enable us to form an opinion of its surpassing excellence. The following were the most distinguished masters of lyric song.

CHIEF LYRIC POETS BETWEEN 700-500 B. C.—Archilochus, one of the earliest and most celebrated of lyric poets, flourished about the year 700 B. C. He was the first Greek that composed iambic verses according to fixed rules. Poor, the son of a slave-mother, and therefore held in contempt, he gave vent in terrible satires, to the bitterness of a disappointed man, and passed a great part of his life in wandering from place to place. For poetical genius, the ancients placed him nearly on a par with Homer.

Tyrtæus is celebrated for his martial songs, whereby he roused the fainting courage of the Spartans, and animated them to new efforts against the Messenians. The Spartans showed their gratitude by making him a citizen of their state.

Alcman, who was originally a Lydian slave in a Spartan family, but emancipated by his master, lived in the period which followed the conclusion of the second Messenian war. Many of his poems celebrate the pleasure of good eating and drinking; but the more important were intended to be sung by a chorus at the public festivals of Sparta.

Although choral poetry was successfully cultivated by Alcman, it received its chief improvements from Arion and Stesichorus. Arion, a native of Methymna in Lesbos, flourished at the court of Periander, tyrant of Corinth, (B. C. 625-585). Of the events of Arion's life we know nothing beyond the beautiful story of his escape from the sailors, when a dolphin took him on its back and carried him in safety to land. The great improvement in lyric poetry ascribed to Arion is the invention of the dithyramb, an elaborate composition in honor of the god Dionysius, sung and danced by a chorus of fifty persons specially trained for the purpose. This was the germ from which, at a later date, sprung the drama.

Stesichorus (B. C. 632-560) still further improved the Greek choral song, which till now consisted of one uniform stanza, by dividing it into the strophe, the antistrophe, and the epode—the turn, the return, and the rest

Alcæus and Sappho, both natives of Mytilene in the island of Lesbos, and contemporary, were each the inventor of a new metre—the Alcaic and the Sapphic. The poems of Alcæus, which have received the highest praise, are his warlike odes.

In an extant epigram, Pluto calls Sappho the tenth muse; and it is related of Solon, that, on hearing for the first time the recital of one of her poems, he prayed that he might not see death until he had committed it to memory. At Mytilene, Sappho was the centre of a female literary society, the members of which were her pupils in poetry, fashion, and gallantry. Her poems were chiefly amatory. Several fragments, which have been preserved, display an exquisite taste in the use of images drawn from nature. The most important of these fragments, is an ode to the goddess of love.

The universal tradition of antiquity represents Anacreon—the last lyric poet of the period under review—as a consummate voluptuary. The few fragments of his poems that have come down to us, prove the truth of the tradition. He sings of love and wine with hearty good will, and his death was worthy of his life, if we may believe the account that he was choked by a grape-stone.

THE SEVEN SAGES.—The name of the Seven Sages has been given to certain personages who flourished in various parts of the Grecian world, during the sixth century before the Christian era, and who were noted for their practical

sagacity and wise sayings. Those most commonly honored with the title are Solon, Thales, Periander, Pittacus, Cleobulus, Chilo, and Bias. Of Solon, the legislator of Athens, we have already spoken; and Thales will presently claim our attention as the founder of Grecian philosophy.

Periander, who was despot of Corinth from 625 to 585 B. C., made that city the wealthiest and the most powerful of all the commercial communities of Greece. He welcomed to his court the poet Arion and the philosopher Anarcharsis, and was a warm patron of literature and art.

Pittacus, a native of Mytilene, stood as the champion of the people against the nobles. Unanimously chosen by the democracy as dictator, he held this office for ten years (B. C. 589-579), during which time he not only defeated all the efforts of the exiled nobles to regain power, but firmly established the constitution on a popular basis. He then voluntarily resigned, and withdrew into honorable retirement. The maxims attributed to him illustrate the amiable features of his character. He pronounced 'the greatest blessing that a man can enjoy to be the power of doing good.'

Cleobulus was despot of Lindus, in the island of Rhodes, and is known only by his pithy sayings, one of which was that 'a man should never leave his house without considering well what he was about to do, nor reenter it without reflecting on what he had done.'

Chilo, of Sparta, was ephor in his native city, and father-in-law to king Demaratus. When asked what were the three most difficult things in a man's life, he replied: 'To keep a secret, to forgive injuries, and to make a profitable use of leisure time.'

Bias, of Priène, in Ionia, was the latest of the Seven Sages. The following are specimens of his maxims: "The most unfortunate of all men is he who knows not how to bear misfortune;" and "A man should be slow in making up his mind, but swift in executing."

The famous mottoes afterwards inscribed in the Delphian temple, "Know thyself—Nothing too much—Know thy opportunity—Suretyship is the precursor of ruin," are also ascribed to the Seven Sages.

THE IONIC, ELEATIC, AND PYTHAGOREAN SCHOOL OF PHILOSOPHY.—Besides the Sages just mentioned, the Grecian race produced many philosophers, or friends of wisdom. The most ancient of these was Thales of Miletus (B. C. 640—

550), who is reckoned among the Seven Sages. He was the founder of the Ionic school of philosophy, and to him were traced the first beginnings, among the Greeks, of geometry and astronomy. He taught that water was the principle of all things.

The next great philosopher of the Ionic school was Anaximander (B. C. 610-547), who was distinguished for his knowledge of astronomy and geography, and to whom is referred the introduction of the sun-dial into Greece. He was also one of the earliest Greek writers in prose, in which he composed a geographical treatise. This work he is said to have enriched with a chart, or map. Anaximenes, who maintained that air was the source of life, and Heraclitus, of Ephesus, who regarded fire, or heat, as the primary form of matter, were distinguished followers of Thales. But the most illustrious name of the Ionic school is that of Anaxagoras, of Clazomenæ.

Anaxagoras (B. C. 499-427) relinquished his inheritance, which was large, to his relatives, in order to devote himself entirely to philosophy. For thirty years he taught at Athens, numbering among his hearers Pericles, Socrates, Euripides. Instead of regarding, like his predecessors, some elementary form of matter as the origin of all things, he conceived a supreme mind or intelligence, distinct from the visible world, to have imparted form and order to the chaos of nature. These innovations afforded the Athenians a pretext for indicting Anaxagoras of impiety, and he had to quit the city.

Xenophanes, of Colophon, conceived the whole of nature to be God. He was the founder of the Eleatic school of philosophy, so called from Elea, or Velia, a Greek colony of southern Italy, whither he fled for refuge on the conquest of his native land by the Persians.

The chief tenet of the Pythagorean school, founded by Pythagoras (B. C. 580-504), was a belief in metempsychosis, or the transmigration of souls into different bodies of men or animals. Pythagoras was a native of Samos, and the son of a rich merchant. In his youth he travelled extensively through the east, visiting Egypt, and probably also Phœnicia and Babylon. He is said to have received instruction from Thales and Anaximander, and he became eminent for his knowledge of geometry and arithmetic. But it was chiefly as a religious teacher that he acquired influence.

At Croton, in Italy, he established a kind of religious brotherhood, the members of which were bound together by peculiar rites and observances. Temperance was strictly enjoined; and the whole training of the members tended to produce great self-possession and mastery over the passions. The war which the Crotonians carried on against Sybaris, was undertaken through the advice of Pythagoras; and the forces of Croton were commanded by Milo, a member of the brotherhood.

CHAPTER VIII.

GRECIAN ART IN THE SIXTH CENTURY B. C.

ARCHITECTURE OF TEMPLES.—As in Egypt and Babylonia, the progress of architecture among the Greeks was chiefly connected with the erection of sacred edifices; and, as early as the sixth century B. C., there were built several magnificent temples in various parts of Hellas. Of these the most celebrated was the temple of Artemis (Diana) at Ephesus, which from its size, material, and splendor was regarded as one of the wonders of the world. Its length was 425 feet, its breadth 220; the columns which supported its roof, were 60 feet in height and 117 in number. Burnt down by Herostratus on the night that Alexander the Great was born, B. C. 356, it was rebuilt with still greater magnificence by the contributions of all the states of Asia minor. Two other splendid sanctuaries, also dating from the sixth century before the Christian era, were the temple of Juno at Samos, and the temple of Apollo at Delphi, as rebuilt by the Alcmaeonidæ after its destruction by fire in B. C. 548. There are still to be seen in southern Italy, Sicily, and Ægina, remains of sacred edifices erected at this period, which fill the beholders with admiration and astonishment.

STATUARY.—Whilst sculptured figures on architectural monuments were erected at an early period in a superior style of art, statuary proper, or the construction of a round figure standing by itself, long continued in a rude state among the Greeks. But, about the beginning of the sixth century B. C., a fresh impulse was given to statuary, as well

as to the other arts, by the invention, or introduction into Hellas, of certain mechanical processes in the use and application of the metals. Glaucus of Chios is mentioned as the inventor of the art of soldering metal, and Rhœcus of Samos, with his son Theodorus, as the inventor of the art of casting figures of bronze in a mould. The magnificent temples erected at this time also called into exercise the talent of the sculptor, since the friezes and pediments were usually adorned with figures in relief. Finally, the practice of erecting statues of the victors in the great public games, which began about B. C. 550, was likewise of great service in the development of the art.

PAINTING appears to have developed later than architecture or sculpture. The most ancient specimens of Grecian paintings that have come down to us, are found on Corinthian vases dating no farther back than the sixth century B. C. Mention is made of paintings, in relation to the capture of Phocæa by Harpagus in B. C. 544; and, a few years afterwards, Mandrocles, who constructed for Darius the bridge across the Bosphorus, had a picture painted representing the passage of the army with the king seated on his throne and reviewing the troops.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ASIATIC GREEKS.

INFLUENCE OF LYDIA UPON THE ASIATIC GREEKS.—The Assyrian and Babylonian empires, not including any countries inhabited by the Greeks, exercised only a remote influence upon Grecian civilization. Not so Lydia, which stood in the close proximity of the Greek cities in Ionia. The Lydians were a wealthy and industrious people. They carried on an extensive commerce, practised manufactures, and were acquainted with various arts. From them the Ionic Greeks derived various improvements in the useful and the ornamental arts, especially in the weaving and dyeing of fine fabrics, in the processes of metallurgy, and in the style of their music. The growth of the Lydian monarchy was attended with another advantage to the Grecian cities

on the coast. As the territory of the Lydians did not originally extend to the sea, the whole of the commerce with the Mediterranean passed through the Grecian cities, and was carried on in Grecian ships. This contributed greatly to the prosperity of Phocæa, and other Ionian communities. How the Asiatic Greeks were subdued by Cræsus, and after his fall passed under the sway of the Persians, has been related above.

POLYCRATES OF SAMOS.—Not only the Asiatic Greeks on the mainland, but even the inhabitants of the islands of Chios and Lesbos, became the subjects of Cyrus. Samos, however, maintained its independence some time longer. At the beginning of the reign of Cambyses, it reached, under its despot Polycrates, an extraordinary degree of prosperity. Samos was then the most important naval power in the world. Everything which its ruler undertook, seemed to prosper. Such good fortune excited the alarm of Amāsis, the ally of Polycrates. He advised his friend to avert the envy of the gods by throwing away one of his most valuable possessions. Polycrates thereupon cast into the sea a favorite ring of great value. But this, a few days afterwards, was found in the belly of a fish, which a fisherman sent him as a present; and Amasis, concluding the ruin of Polycrates to be inevitable, renounced his alliance. Not long after, Orætes, the satrap of Sardis, allured Polycrates to the mainland, where he was treacherously seized, and hanged upon a cross (B. C. 522). Like many other Grecian despots, Polycrates was a patron of literature and the arts. The poets Ibycus and Anacreon found a welcome at his court; and to him are attributed the vast temple of Juno at Samos, the mole to protect the harbor, and a magnificent aqueduct which supplied the city with water.

THE ASIATIC GREEKS AND DARIUS.—When Darius invaded Scythia, his fleet of 600 ships was furnished by the Asiatic Greeks. These threw for him the bridge of boats across the Danube, and under their care it was left until his return. When invited by the Scythians and by the Athenian Miltiades to break down the bridge, and thus recover their own liberty by bringing about the destruction of the whole Persian army, the rulers of the Ionian cities were at first disposed to follow the suggestion. But, as soon as Histæus of Miletus reminded them that their own sovereignty depended on the support of the Persian king, they

changed their mind, and resolved to preserve the bridge. For this service Darius gave to Histiaëus the important town of Myrcinus, near the Strymon; but, soon suspecting him of dangerous designs against Persian sovereignty, he took him to Susa, where he detained him in honorable captivity.

THE IONIC REVOLT (B. C. 500).—In the absence of Histiaëus, Miletus, now the most flourishing city of Ionia, was ruled by his son-in-law, Aristagōras. This despot, having incurred the displeasure of the Persian government, was thinking of exciting a revolt of his countrymen, when a message from Histiaëus fixed his purpose. The latter longed to escape from captivity at Susa, and saw no other chance of effecting his object than an insurrection, which Darius, he expected, would dispatch him to quell. Not daring to trust any one with the dangerous message he wished to transmit to his son-in-law, Histiaëus shaved the head of a trusty slave, branded upon it the necessary words, and, as soon as the hair had grown again, sent him off to Miletus. Aristagōras forthwith assembled the leading citizens, and laid before them the project of revolt, which was adopted. He then resigned the supreme power, leaving to the people the management of their own affairs. The other Grecian despots were seized; and, a democratical form of government was established.

Aristagōras now crossed over to Greece, in order to solicit assistance from the more powerful states in the mother-country. At Sparta, he was disappointed. But at Athens, the second power in Greece, and the mother-city of the Ionic states, he experienced more sympathy. The Athenians, moreover, were incensed against Artaphernes, who had recently commanded them to recall Hippias. So they agreed to send a squadron of 20 ships to the assistance of the Ionians. "These ships," says Herodotus, "were the beginning of mischief between Greeks and barbarians."

In B. C. 500, the Athenian squadron, joined by five ships from Eretria in Eubœa, crossed the Ægean. The troops were disembarked at Ephesus, and, being reinforced by a strong body of Ionians, marched forthwith to Sardis. Artaphernes, taken unprepared, withdrew into the citadel, leaving the town a prey to the invaders. While the latter were engaged in pillage, one of the soldiers set fire to a house. As most of the houses were built of wickerwork and thatched with straw, the conflagration rapidly spread, and

in a short time the whole city was in flames. The invaders, however, were soon forced to evacuate the place; and, before they could reach the walls of Ephesus, were overtaken and defeated with great slaughter.

ANGER OF DARIUS.—Darius on hearing of the burning of Sardis, burst into a paroxysm of rage. It was against the obscure strangers—Athenians and Eretrians—who had dared to invade his dominions and burn one of his capitals, that his wrath was chiefly directed. "The Athenians," he exclaimed, "who are they?" Upon being informed, he took his bow, shot an arrow high into the air, saying, "Grant me, Supreme God, to take vengeance upon the Athenians!" and he charged one of his attendants to remind him thrice every day, at dinner, "Master, remember the Athenians." Such, at least, is the account of the incident, as transmitted by Herodotus. The whole passage well illustrates the epical handling usual with 'the father of history.'

SUPPRESSION OF THE IONIC REVOLT.—The insurrection spread to the Greek cities in Cyprus, as well as to those on the Hellespont and the Propontis. The Carians made common cause with the Ionians; and, a few months after the burning of Sardis, the revolt had reached its height. The Asiatic Greeks, however, were no match for the whole power of Darius, which was soon brought against them. Cyprus yielded to a Persian army transported thither by a Phœnician fleet. The Carians were vigorously attacked. Many cities, in various parts, were subdued; and, in the sixth year of the revolt, Artaphernes concentrated his troops to besiege Miletus on the land-side, while the Phœnicians would attack it from the sea. In this emergency, the Pan-Ionic council resolved to leave Miletus to its own defences on the land-side, and to embark all their forces on board their ships. But the combined armament was defeated by the Phœnician fleet, and this action decided the fate of the war. Miletus was taken by storm, and treated with signal severity. Most of the males were slain; the women and children were carried into captivity. The islands of Chios, Lesbos, and Tenedos were swept of their inhabitants. The people of Byzantium and Chalcedon, not choosing to await the arrival of the Persians, sailed away at their approach. The Asiatic Greeks suffered more from this than from their former subjugation by Crœsus and Cyrus: they never fully recovered their ancient prosperity.

CHAPTER X.

THE PERSIAN WARS.—B. C. 490-479.

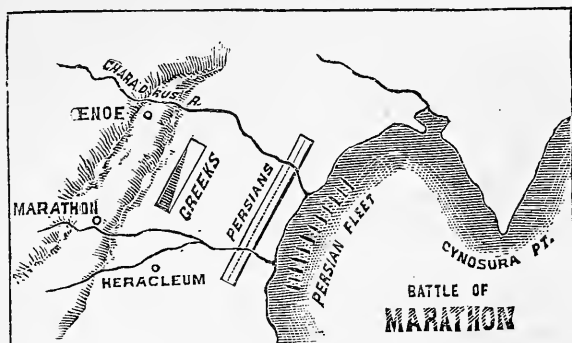
EXPEDITION OF MARDONIUS (B. C. 492).—The conquest of Ionia being now completed, Mardonius, a son-in-law of Darius, was sent at the head of a large armament, with injunctions to bring to Susa those Athenians and Eretrians who had insulted the authority of the Great King. But a storm at Athos shattered the fleet; and the land army, which had taken the coast route through Thrace and Macedonia, was crippled by a night attack of the Bryges, a tribe of Thracians. The failure of this expedition did not shake the resolution of Darius, and he began at once preparations for another attempt on a larger scale.

BATTLE OF MARATHON (B. C. 490).—In the spring of B. C. 490, a Persian fleet of 600 vessels, commanded by the Median Datis, landed near Marathon, in Attica, an army of 150,000 men. To this overwhelming force the Athenian general Miltiades* could oppose no more than 11,000.† But every man in his little troop was a hero. As soon as the signal was given, the Athenians rushed on the enemy with all the fury which national honor, courage, and the dread of oppression, can inspire; and, attacking the two wings of the Persians, before these were well prepared for the fight, threw them into disorder. Datis, however, who noticed the comparative weakness of the Athenian centre, so pressed it with his best troops, that Aristides and Themistocles, who commanded there, were unable to withstand the shock and began to give way. Just at that moment, Miltiades, drawing back his two wings, led them against the triumphant Persians, who could not long resist the combined attack.

*Ten generals, or strategi, had been elected for the year according to custom, one for each tribe; but they surrendered to Miltiades their days of command, that, by investing the whole power in a single person, there might be more unity in the military operations.

†Of this number, 1000 were furnished by the little town of Plataea in Bœotia. At the approach of the Persians, the courier Phidippides was sent to Sparta to solicit assistance, and such was his extraordinary speed of foot that he performed this journey of 150 miles in 48 hours. The Spartans promised their aid. But, thinking themselves bound to wait for the full moon before setting out, they were too late for the combat.

Their rout became general, and they fled to their ships, leaving 6,400 men on the field. Of the Athenians only 192 fell. The Persians having reembarked, their fleet at once made for Athens. But Miltiades, who foresaw the danger, hastened back to the city and arrived in time to prevent a fresh landing of the invaders. Finding himself anticipated, Datis sailed to the Cyclades.



EFFECT OF THE BATTLE UPON THE ATHENIANS.—Marathon became a magic word at Athens. The Athenian people, in succeeding ages, always looked back upon this day as the most glorious in their annals, and they had reason to be proud of it. It was the first time that the Greeks had ever defeated the Persians in the field. It was the exploit of the Athenians alone. It had saved not only Athens, but all Greece. "Hitherto," says Herodotus, "the very name of Medes had struck terror into the hearts of the Greeks; and the Athenians were the first to endure the sight of their armor, and to look them in the face on the field of battle." Marathon proved to the world that the undisciplined Persians, whose bodies were unprotected with armor, and who fought only with javelins and daggers, were no match for the mailed warriors of Greece, fighting in serried ranks and armed with long spears.

DEATH OF MILTIADES.—Shortly after Marathon, Miltiades failed in an attack on the island of Paros, which he undertook to gratify a private animosity. For this he was brought to trial; and, not being able to justify his conduct, was condemned to a heavy fine. He died soon afterwards of a wound received at the siege of Paros.

ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES.—The two leading citizens of Athens, after the death of Miltiades, were Aristides and Themistocles. The latter possessed abilities most extraordinary; but they were marred by a want of honesty. The uprightness of the former was universally acknowl-

edged. Themistocles was the leader of the democratical, and Aristides of the conservative party. After some years of rivalry, the two chiefs appealed to the ostracism, and Aristides was banished (B. C. 483). On the voting day, an unlettered countryman, who did not know Aristides, requested him to write the name of Aristides upon his shell. "Has he done you any injury?" asked Aristides. "No," replied the stranger, "but I am annoyed to hear him everywhere called the just." Aristides, without saying a word, wrote his name, and set out for his exile.

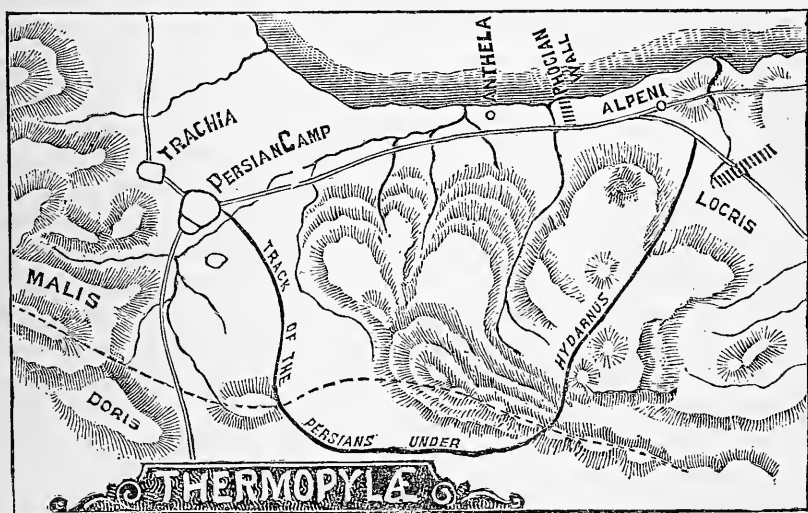
FRESH PREPARATIONS OF DARIUS.—The overthrow of Marathon exceedingly surprised and annoyed king Darius. His wrath against the Athenians was more inflamed than ever; and he commenced vigorous preparations for a renewed attack upon them, as well as upon Greece in general. Nor was his determination abated by a revolt of the Egyptians. He was on the point of undertaking simultaneously the two enterprises—the conquest of Greece and the reconquest of Egypt—when he was overtaken by death.

ARMY OF XERXES.—Xerxes without much difficulty put down the Egyptian revolt. Foreseeing that the subjection of Greece would prove a harder task, he spent four years in careful preparation. The whole force of the empire, now more extensive than ever, was called out. Fifty-four nations subject or tributary to Susa, swelled with their contingents the fleet and army of the Great King. Never probably, in the history of mankind, has there been assembled such a body of men, as Xerxes reviewed after the passage of the Hellespont.

FAINTHEARTEDNESS OF THE GREEKS.—Such was the terror inspired by the countless host of Xerxes that most of the Greek states at once tendered their submission. The only people, north of the Isthmus of Corinth, who remained faithful to the cause of Grecian liberty, were the Athenians and Phocians, and the inhabitants of the small Bœotian towns of Plataea and Phocia. In Peloponnesus, the powerful city of Argos stood sullenly aloof. The Achæans likewise took no part in the contest; and from the more distant members of the Hellenic race no assistance was obtained.

RESOLUTION OF ATHENS AND SPARTA.—Though deserted by so many of the Greeks, the Athenians and Spartans stood firm. The former, especially, set a noble example of

an enlarged patriotism. They became reconciled to the Ægenitans, with whom they had been long at war; and thus gained for the common cause the powerful navy of their rival. They readily granted to the Spartans the supreme command of the forces by sea as well as by land, although they furnished two-thirds of the vessels of the entire fleet. Their illustrious citizen Themistocles succeeded in breathing into them and their confederates his own invincible spirit; and it was resolved to resist to the death. But, as the time of the celebration of the Olympic games was at hand, the Spartans contented themselves with sending an advance guard, under their king Leonidas, to defend the pass of Thermopylæ.* They hoped that he would hold it until



after the festivals, when they would march to his aid with their whole military force. This they engaged to assemble in Bœotia for the defence of Attica, whilst the Athenians were serving on shipboard. While the land forces were to make a stand at Thermopylæ, the allied fleet, under the Spartan Eurybiades, was to take up its station at Artemisium, to the

*The pass is about one mile in length. At each of its extremities, the mountain approaches so near to the sea as to leave barely room for the passage of a single carriage. The space between these narrow entrances—gates, or *pylæ*—was noted for its hot springs, from which the pass derived the name of Thermopylæ or the Hot-Gates.

north of Eubœa, and prevent the enemy from landing troops at the southern end of the pass.

BATTLE OF THERMOPYLÆ (B. C. 480).—When Xerxes came to Thermopylæ, he tried at first to frighten or gain over the little garrison which defended the pass. Seeing threats and promises equally unavailing, he sent against them the bravest men in the Persian army. Though constantly repulsed, for two successive days the attack was as constantly renewed. The Greek troops were sufficiently numerous to relieve one another, when fatigued, since the space was so narrow that few could contend at once. But, at that critical moment, traitors revealed to Xerxes the existence of an unfrequented mountain path, by means of which he could turn the position of Leonidas. The one thousand Phocians, who had been stationed to guard it, proved unequal to the task, and soon Leonidas perceived that the enemy were closing upon him from the rear. It was evident that Thermopylæ could be no longer held. Yielding to the force of circumstances, most of the defenders withdrew. But Leonidas together with his 300 Spartan companions, and 700 Thespians, took the generous resolution of selling their lives on the spot. Disdaining to confine themselves to the defensive, they advanced into the wider space beyond the pass, where, fighting with the recklessness of despair, they perished on the field. On the hillock where they made their last stand, a marble lion was set up in honor of Leonidas. Another monument contained the memorable inscription :

“Go, tell the Spartans, thou that passest by,
That here, obedient to their laws, we lie.”

NAVAL OPERATIONS.—While the land-forces were engaged at Thermopylæ, several desultory combats took place at sea. Terrified by the immense superiority of the Persian fleet, the Greeks had already abandoned their station at Artemisium and were in full retreat, when a furious storm, by destroying no fewer than 400 vessels of the enemy, revived their spirits. They sailed back; and, through the exhortations of Themistocles, mustered sufficient courage to offer battle to the foe. The result of this first engagement added to their confidence. They were still further encouraged by the events of the following night, when another terrific storm burst upon the Persians. As soon, however, as the latter had collected their scattered squadrons, they

brought their whole fleet to bear upon the Greeks. The battle raged furiously the whole day, and each side fought with determined valor. But the intelligence reaching Eurybiades that Xerxes was master of Thermopylæ, he withdrew forthwith to the island of Salamis.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS (B. C. 480).—It was the intention of Eurybiades to take his station at Trœzen, to help in the defence of the Isthmus of Corinth; and he stopped at Salamis for no other purpose than to assist the Athenians in transporting their families and effects out of Attica. But Themistocles prevailed upon him to await here the approach of the enemy. Soon Xerxes entered Attica, and proceeded to Athens, which he reduced to ashes. His fleet also arrived about the same time in the bay of Phalerum. Its strength is not accurately known, but must have exceeded 1,000 vessels. The combined Grecian fleet consisted of 366 ships. Of these the Athenian squadron, commanded by Themistocles, comprised 200. On this force, and still more on the character of its commander, hung the fate of Greece. Even at the last moment, though no other place could be found so favorable to the Greeks, since its narrowness would of itself render superiority of numbers useless, Eurybiades would have stolen away but for the threats* and shifts of Themistocles, who went so far as to warn Xerxes of the contemplated flight of the confederates. Xerxes, who feared nothing so much as to see his prey escape him, gave orders for immediate action; and, to encourage his troops by his presence, caused a throne to be erected on an eminence near the sea-shore. The Persians advanced with great impetuosity and courage; but their ardor was soon checked by the superior discipline and resolution of the Greeks, and even by the very number and bulk of their own vessels, which could scarcely move in that narrow passage. Thus embarrassed, they fought in disorder, wavered, and fled.

ARTEMISIA.—An incident occurred in the fight, which is

* Plutarch relates that, as Themistocles on one occasion urged his opinion with great vehemence, Eurybiades angrily lifted up his staff as if he were going to strike, whereupon the Athenian exclaimed: "Strike, but hear me!" In the narrative of Herodotus, it is not Eurybiades, but Adimantus, the Corinthian commander, who appears as the chief opponent of Themistocles.—Previous to the battle of Salamis, Themistocles procured the recall of his rival, Aristides, who hastened back to share in the present dangers of his countrymen.

worthy of notice. Artemisia, queen of Halicarnassus in Caria, who commanded five ships, distinguished herself by deeds of great daring. At length, to avoid being taken, she turned and fled, pursued by an Athenian galley. Full in her course lay the vessel of a Carian prince. Instead of avoiding, she struck and sunk it, sending to the bottom her countryman and his crew. The captain of the Athenian ship, believing from this act that she was a deserter from the Persian cause, suffered her to escape. Xerxes, who from his lofty throne, beheld the feat of the Halicarnassian queen, but who imagined that the sunken vessel belonged to the Greeks, exclaimed, full of admiration: "My men are become women, my women men!"

MARDONIUS REOCCUPIES ATTICA (B. C. 479). Great as was the loss of the Persians, their fleet was still formidable by its numbers, whilst their land-force was yet untouched. But the pusillanimity of Xerxes relieved the Greeks from further present danger. Passing at once from overweening confidence to unreasonable distrust, and anxious only for his personal safety, he hastened back to Asia, leaving behind 300,000 picked Asiatics and 50,000 Greeks, under Mardonius, who undertook to complete the conquest of Greece. The following summer, this general reoccupied Attica, the Athenians again withdrawing to Salamis. The Spartans, for some time, evinced no disposition of sallying from Peloponnesus to meet the enemy. At length, however, yielding to more generous sentiments, they mustered their own levies, and called upon their Peloponnesian allies to furnish their quota of troops. Thus the Spartan regent, Pausanias, and Aristides, the Athenian general, soon were able to take the field at the head of 110,000 men, of whom nearly 40,000 were heavy-armed. Mardonius, at their approach, withdrew into Bœotia. Thither the confederates followed, and both armies took up a position along the Æsopus, not far from the town of Platæa.

BATTLE OF PLATÆA (B. C. 479). Mardonius had selected his position with judgment. But his sanguine expectations were not shared by his men. With the exception of the Thebans and Bœotians, his Grecian allies were become lukewarm or wavering; and, even among the Persians themselves, the disgraceful flight of their monarch had damped all hopes of success. For some time the two armies remained in presence. At last, Mardonius ordered a

general advance; his Persian host—cavalry and infantry—dashing in a confused mass against the Lacedæmonians, while the Thebans attacked the Athenians. The Persian cavalry first came up to the troops of Pausanias; the infantry followed, who, planting in the ground their long wicker shields, or *gerrha*, as a sort of breastwork, from behind began to annoy the Lacedæmonians with showers of arrows. But no sooner was the order to charge given, than the line of wicker shields was overthrown, and the unprotected bodies of the light-armed, undisciplined Persians afforded an easy mark to the long spears of their foes. In vain Mardonius and his cavalry threw themselves upon the serried Grecian ranks, endeavoring to get into close combat, when they could use their javelins and daggers; they could make no impression on the mailed bodies of the Spartan phalanx. The fall of their general was the signal for flight to the Asiatics; they withdrew into their intrenched camp, and here kept the Spartans at bay. But, upon the arrival of the Athenians, who had just beaten off their Theban aggressors, the camp was stormed, and became a scene of the most horrible carnage.—A body of 40,000 Persians, under Artabazus took no part in the fight, and withdrew leisurely towards the Hellespont. Of the Greeks in the Persian service, none but the Thebans were engaged. These, though repulsed with considerable loss, retreated in good order to Thebes, protected by their cavalry. A siege of 20 days sufficed to place Thebes at the mercy of the confederates. The *Medizing* leaders were put to death without any form of trial.

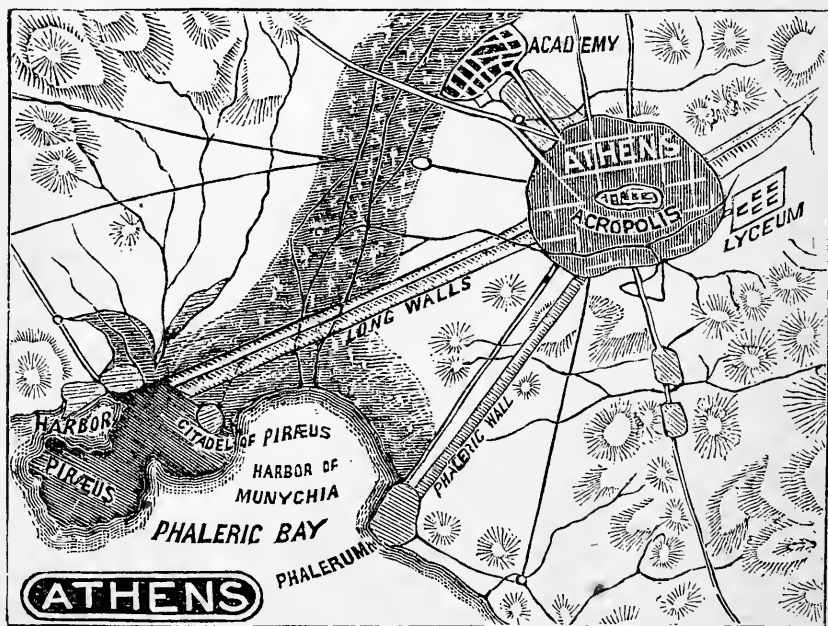
BATTLE OF MYCALE (B. C. 479).—The very day on which the battle of Plataea was fought, witnessed another Grecian triumph at Mycale, near Miletus. Disheartened by previous reverses and unwilling to hazard another naval engagement, the Persians had hauled ashore a large number of ships, which they surrounded with a rampart, whilst an army of 60,000 Persians lined the coast for their defence. These Leotychides, though only disposing of a very inferior force, did not hesitate to attack. The Persians, after a sharp contest, fled to their fortifications, pursued by the Greeks, who entered along with them. Here a bloody struggle ensued. The Persians fought desperately, though without discipline, and for some time maintained an unequal conflict. At length they were overpowered, and their fleet was burnt.

Its loss deprived Xerxes of his hold upon the islands in the Ægean. Nor could he long retain his possessions in Thrace, or his control of the Asiatic Greeks.

CHAPTER XI.

SUPREMACY OF ATHENS.—B. C. 479-431.

REBUILDING OF ATHENS.—Of all the states of Greece, none had displayed greater energy in the late struggle, or acquired greater honor, than Athens. But that city was now a heap of ruins; and the Lacedæmonians, yielding to a



base feeling of jealousy, were throwing difficulties in the way of its reestablishment. The genius of Themistocles again surmounted every obstacle. By his activity and care not only the city was rebuilt, but it was made stronger than before, its harbor was enlarged and its navy increased.

TREASON OF PAUSANIAS.—In the year after the battle of Plataea, a fleet was fitted out to carry on the war against the

Persians. Pausanias, its commander, freed most of the Grecian towns in Cyprus and expelled a large Persian force from Byzantium. But, in the course of this expedition, he gave much offence to the allies by his haughtiness. His pride carried him still farther. Weary of the simplicity of Spartan life, he sought to ingratiate himself with Xerxes; and, in the hope of an adequate reward from the Persian monarch, promised to aid him in the conquest of Greece. His designs being suspected, he was recalled. From a first trial he came out triumphant. But, as he continued his intrigues, such proofs of his treachery were at last obtained as made his guilt palpable. To escape arrest he fled to a temple of Athêné, and took refuge in a small chamber attached to the building. From this it was unlawful to drag him. But the ephors caused the doors to be walled up and the roof to be removed, and his own mother is said to have placed the first stone at the doors. When at the point of death, he was carried from the sanctuary before he polluted it with his corpse.

CONFEDERACY OF DELOS.—The war with Persia now required the constant employment of considerable forces at a distance from home, as well as the occupation of the Ægean with a powerful navy. After the recall of Pausanias, the allies begged Aristides to assume the command; and he profited by the confidence reposed in him, to organize a league of various states which desired to unite for common protection against the attacks of Persia. The league consisted of the Ionic islands of Samos and Chios; of Rhodes, Cos, Lesbos, and Tenedos; of the Greek towns on the peninsula of Chalcidicé; of Byzantium, Miletus, and other continental cities. Each state engaged to furnish, as occasion required, its quota of men, ships, and money. The league obtained the name of the Confederacy of Delos, because there the deputies of the states belonging to it were to meet, and there was to be the common treasury. The first assessment was entrusted to Aristides, whose impartiality was universally applauded. Athens was made the head of the league, and to her was left the appointment of the officers who were to collect and administer the contributions.

THE ATHENIAN EMPIRE.—Such was the commencement of the Athenian empire. The league began as a free confederation. But soon the right to secede was denied. The meetings of the congress were discontinued. The money

and ships of the allies were employed by the Athenians, not for the common defence alone, but also for their own aggrandizement. The members of the confederacy, excepting the most powerful, were treated as Athenian subjects. Thus the headship of Athens was gradually converted into sovereignty, a result partly due to the imprudence of the allies themselves. Many of the smaller states, weary of incessant warfare, commuted for a money payment the ships which they were bound to supply. Thus, by depriving themselves of a navy, they lost the only means whereby they could assert their independence.

PROGRESS OF ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY. — The crisis through which Athens had recently passed, had rendered the progress of the democratical sentiment irresistible. While the greater part of the male population were serving on ship-board without distinction of ranks, and the remainder were dispersed in temporary exile, political privileges had been necessarily suspended; and the whole body of the people, rendered equal by common danger, became also equal in their civil rights. The archonship and the council of Areopagus, hitherto accessible only to the two richest classes, were thrown open to all citizens alike.

CLOSING YEARS OF ARISTIDES AND THEMISTOCLES. — The reforms just mentioned, which swept away the last vestige of property qualification, were proposed by the leader of the aristocracy, Aristides. Owing both to the liberal spirit which he exhibited on this occasion, and to his great services in establishing the confederacy of Delos, his popularity never was greater than at the present time, and until his death suffered no decline. On the contrary, the conduct of Themistocles, his rival in politics, soon laid him open to the attacks of his enemies. He offended the Athenians by his ostentation and vanity, continually boasting of his services to the state. But, worse than all this, while engaged abroad, he received bribes from the allied cities which he visited. When Pausanias was recalled from Byzantium on suspicion of *Medism*, the political opponents of Themistocles accused him of being implicated in the same crime. He was acquitted of the charge. But so embittered did party spirit now become at Athens, that recourse was had to ostracism, and Themistocles was banished (B. C. 471). He retired to Argos, and had been residing there about five years, when proofs were discovered that he was implicated in the correspondence of

Pausanias with the Persians. Joint envoys, therefore, were sent from Athens and Sparta to arrest him. Not daring to stand a trial, he fled to Artaxerxes. According to the tales current at the time, the Persian monarch experienced such joy from the coming of the illustrious exile, that, starting from his sleep at night, he thrice cried out: "I have got Themistocles the Athenian!" Magnesia was appointed as his place of residence, the revenues of that city which amounted to the yearly sum of 50 talents, being assigned to him for bread, whilst Myos was to supply condiments, and Lampsacus wine. Here he died some time after, at the age of sixty-five. Acuteness in foreseeing, readiness and wisdom in contriving, vigor and decision in acting, were perhaps never possessed by any man in a higher degree. But all this greatness was debased by avarice and pride; and these vices earned him the hatred of his countrymen, the reputation of a traitor, and the death of an exile.

RISE OF CIMON AND PERICLES.—It was the privilege of the Athenian people to possess, during this period, an uninterrupted series of great men. After the banishment of Themistocles and the death of Aristides, the chief influence among them was exercised by Cimon and Pericles—the respective leaders of the conservative and democratical party. Cimon was generous, affable, magnificent. He had inherited the military genius of his father, Miltiades, and was the greatest commander of his time. Pericles was inferior to Cimon in military talent, but surpassed him in eloquence, love of literature, and relish for the fine arts. His mind had received the highest polish which that period was capable of giving. To oratory in particular he had devoted much attention, as an indispensable instrument for swaying the public assemblies. By birth, station, and temperament, he was naturally inclined to take side with the rich. But, seeing Cimon trusted by the aristocracy, he joined the party of the people. At first he caressed the populace. But, when he had obtained due control of them, he did not hesitate, as justice or public interest required, to oppose their wishes. His extraordinary influence he owed to his eloquence, administrative talents, and unspotted integrity.

BATTLE AT THE EURYMEDON (B. C. 465).—The year 466 B. C. was marked by the memorable battle of Eurymedon. Cimon, at the head of 200 Athenian triremes and 100 furnished by the allies, proceeded to the coast of Asia

Minor, where he expelled the Persians from several towns in Caria and Lycia. Meanwhile the Persians assembled a large armament at the mouth of the river Eurymedon, in Pamphylia. The fleet consisted of 200 ships, chiefly Phœnicians, and a reinforcement of 80 more was expected. Cimon, knowing this, lost no time in making an attack. After speedily capturing or destroying most of the ships, he led his troops against the Persians who were drawn up on the shore. The enemy received the first shock with great firmness, but were at length put to the rout. Not yet satisfied, Cimon again set sail, and was so fortunate as to destroy also the other squadron of 80 vessels.

REVOLT OF THE HELOTS (B. C. 464-455).—In the year 464 B. C., Lacedæmon was visited by an earthquake, which laid it in ruins, and cost the lives of a great number of the inhabitants, many of them Spartans. Thereupon the Helots flew to arms; and, being joined by some of the *Periæci*, marched straight upon Sparta. Though repulsed, they still kept the field; and, receiving aid from the Messenians, fortified themselves in Mount Ithome. After vainly attempting to dislodge them, the Lacedæmonians called in the assistance of their allies, and, among the rest, of the Athenians.

INEFFECTUAL AID AFFORDED BY CIMON.—With great difficulty Cimon persuaded his countrymen to send him with 4,000 hoplites to the assistance of Lacedæmon. The aid of the Athenians had been solicited on account of their acknowledged superiority in the art of attacking fortified places. As, however, Cimon did not succeed in dislodging the Helots, the Lacedæmonians, suspecting a want of good will, abruptly dismissed him. The other allies were retained and the siege continued; but the revolt was not put down till the year 455 B. C.

FULL-BLOWN ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY.—The popular party had from the first opposed the expedition. Its failure, coupled with the insulting dismissal of Cimon, afforded an opportunity for ruining that leader and weakening his party. Henceforth the election to magistracies, the office of strategus, with some others excepted, was made dependent upon lot. Paid *dicasteries*, or jury-courts, were instituted. The judicial power of the senate of Areopagus, already impaired by previous measures, was still further diminished. These changes, as we may well suppose, were not effected without violent party strife. In the heat of political contention,

recourse was had to ostracism, and Cimon was banished (B. C. 461). But before the ten years were expired, he was recalled on the motion of Pericles himself.

ATHENIAN POWER AT ITS HEIGHT (B. C. 461-447).—From the ostracism of Cimon, the long administration of Pericles may be said to have commenced. A disciple of Themistocles in politics, his aim was to secure for Athens the supremacy in Greece. Already her maritime power was preponderant. This was further increased; and soon all the states of the Delian confederacy, with the exception of Chios, Lesbos, and Samos, became her tributaries. At the same time, by means of alliances and conquests her influence was made predominant from the Gulf of Corinth to the Straits of Thermopylæ—Megăra, Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, together with Trœzen and Achaia, being brought under her control. But this, her empire on land, was destined to vanish even more speedily than it had been acquired.

THE THIRTY YEARS' TRUCE (B. C. 445).—The jealousy of Sparta, the impatience of foreign control inherent to the Grecian mind, which looked upon separate town autonomy as essential to a freeman and a citizen, the cessation of hostilities with Persia and consequent disappearance of the motive which brought about the confederacy of Delos, the use made by Athens of her headship for private purposes—were so many causes which betokened ruin, sooner or later, to Athenian supremacy. In 447 B. C., the fabric of her land-empire began to be shattered by the successful revolt of Bœotia. Phocis, Locris, and Megăra, also shook off the yoke; and a Spartan army, invading Attica, further increased the difficulties of the Athenian government. The crisis, however, was met by Pericles with firmness and wisdom. He concluded with Sparta and her allies a thirty years' truce, which procured for Athens a long term of repose.

ADMINISTRATION OF PERICLES.—About two years after the conclusion of this truce, the aristocracy, under the leadership of Thucydides, a relation of Cimon, made fresh efforts to regain power. Their exertions had no other result than the exile of their chief by ostracism, and the complete prostration of their party. From this time Pericles enjoyed the sole direction of affairs. Under his administration, Athens truly became the queen of cities. Within a few years (B. C. 445-431), she saw the erection of the *Odœon*, a theatre intended for musical and poetical representations; of the

Parthēnon, a splendid temple of Athēné, adorned with masterpieces of decorative sculpture, friezes, and reliefs; lastly, of the *Propylæa*, a magnificent entrance to the Acropolis. Besides these ornamental works, Pericles undertook others of a useful kind. Two walls about 4 miles in length had already been constructed to connect Piræus and Phalerum with Athens. A third, parallel to the former, was now built to render the communication between Athens and the Piræus still more secure. At the same time, the Piræus itself was improved by the construction of a new dock and arsenal, said to have cost 1000 talents.—Of the works of art, artists, and writers belonging to this period, an account will be given in a subsequent chapter.

INDIRECT ATTACKS ON PERICLES.—Pericles, despite his influence with the mass of the people, had bitter enemies, who assailed him through his private connections, and even endeavored to wound his honor by a charge of peculation. After divorcing a wife with whom he had lived unhappily, he took Aspasia to live with him. She was a native of Miletus, distinguished for mental culture and personal accomplishments. Their intimacy with Anaxagoras afforded the enemies of Pericles a pretext for including Aspasia in the charge of impiety brought against the philosopher. Pericles himself pleaded the cause of his mistress; and, on this occasion, the statesman whom the most violent storms of the assembly could not deprive of his self-possession, was for once seen to weep. Aspasia was acquitted; but a fresh trial awaited Pericles. An indictment, in which he himself was included, was preferred against Phidias, for embezzlement of the gold intended to adorn the celebrated ivory statue of Athēné. Fortunately, the gold had been so fixed that it could be detached and weighed, and thus the groundlessness of the charge was easily made evident. Phidias, however, died in prison before the day of trial.

CHAPTER XII.

THE PELOPONNESIAN WAR.—B. C. 431-404.

AIMS AND FORCES OF THE BELLIGERENTS.—The struggle known as the Peloponnesian war, was in reality a war for supremacy between the two great powers of Greece, Athens

and Sparta. The former fought to preserve her empire ; the latter, while professing no other aim than the liberation of Greece, wished to supplant a rival. The war, involving almost every Grecian state, extended from Sicily to Cnidus and Rhodes in the Ægean. On the side of Sparta were ranged the whole Peloponnesus, except Argos and Achaia, together with the Megarians, Bœotians, Phocians, Opuntian Locrians, Ambraciots, Leucadians, and Anactorians. The force collected from these tribes consisted chiefly of hoplites, or heavy-armed foot-soldiers ; but Bœotia, Phocis, and Locris, also supplied some excellent cavalry. A good navy was the great deficiency on the side of the Peloponnesians, though Corinth and several other cities furnished ships.

The allies of Athens, with the exception of the Thessalians, Acarnanians, Messenians at Naupactus, and Plataeans, were all insular, and consisted of the Chians, Lesbians, Corcyreans, Zacynthians, and Cephallenians. To these must be added her tributary towns on the coast of Thrace and Asia Minor, together with all the islands north of Cretê, except Melos and Thera. The resources of Athens consisted of 300 triremes ready for active service, 1200 cavalry, 1600 bowmen, and 29,000 hoplites.

INVASION OF ATTICA (B. C. 431).—The occasion of this war was a difficulty between Corinth and Corcyra, one of her colonies. Athens took sides with the latter, and the former appealed to the Dorian confederacy for support. Thereupon the Lacedæmonians issued orders to their allies to send, by a certain day, two-thirds of their disposable troops to the isthmus of Corinth. Here Archidamus, king of Sparta, assumed the command ; and, at the head of some 80,000 men—the greater part of them animated with bitter hatred and jealousy of Athens—began to ravage Attica. Unable to cope in the open field with so superior a force, the inhabitants with their families and goods took refuge either in Athens itself, or in the vast space within the long walls. The cattle were, for the most part, conveyed to Eubœa or some other of the adjoining islands.

ATHENIAN OPERATIONS.—Whilst the Attic territory was thus abandoned to the enemy, Pericles sent out two fleets to retaliate on the invaders. The Athenians made descents at various points, on the coast of Peloponnesus and elsewhere, inflicting considerable damage. Their last naval operation of the year was the total expulsion of the Æginetans from

their island. After the withdrawal of the Peloponnesians, Pericles, at the head of 13,000 hoplites and a large force of light-armed troops, marched into the Megarid, which he ravaged up to the very gates of the capital. The Athenians repeated the same ravages once, and sometimes twice, every year whilst the war lasted.

FUNERAL ORATION BY PERICLES.—At the end of an expedition, it was the custom at Athens to celebrate, with suitable encomium, the obsequies of those who had fallen. Pericles, on this occasion, was chosen to deliver the commemorative discourse. His speech, or at least the substance of it, as preserved by Thucydides, is a valuable monument of eloquence and patriotism, particularly interesting for the sketch which it contains of Athenian manners, as well as of the Athenian constitution. The picture of Athens in her social glory, which this memorable eulogy contains, was well calculated both to rouse the pride, and nerve the courage, of those individual citizens who had been compelled once and would be compelled again and again, to abandon their country residence and fields for a thin tent or confined hole in the city. The bright colors and tone of cheerful confidence, which pervade this discourse, are, alas! in sad contrast with the awful calamity ready to burst upon devoted Athens.—The law which provided the public interment of those slain in battle, assigned also maintenance at the public expense to their children until they attained the military age.

PLAGUE AT ATHENS (B. C. 430-425).—Whilst the Peloponnesians were renewing their invasion of Attica, the second year of the war, the Athenians were attacked by a still more formidable enemy. A plague broke out in the crowded city. A great proportion of those who were seized, perished in from seven to nine days. Even in those who recovered, it generally left behind some dreadful and incurable distemper, sometimes even a complete loss of memory. The physicians finding no remedy in the resources of their art, despair seized every one; and many abandoned themselves to all manner of excess, debauchery, and crime. Those alone who had recovered from the disorder, formed the single exception to the all-pervading misery of the time, as experience proved that the disease seldom attacked anyone twice, and the relapse was never fatal. Three years altogether did this calamity desolate Athens. Out of 1200 horsemen, who were the richest class

of citizens, 300 died of the epidemic; and out of the hoplites, 4,400. Of the victims among the poorer part of the population, the number has not been preserved. But there can be no doubt, that the death-rate among these was much higher. Grateful posterity has recorded the devotedness of the celebrated physician Hippocrates in behalf of the plague-stricken Athenians. Disdaining the splendid offers of the Persian king, he did not leave the city till the contagion had entirely disappeared.

THE ECLIPSE (B. C. 430).—Pericles conducted in person the naval expedition which made descents on the Peloponnesian coast, the second year of the war. As he was preparing to set sail, an eclipse of the sun, bringing on sudden darkness, occasioned great consternation among the seamen, who deemed the occurrence an unfavorable omen. Covering the pilot's eye with his cloak, Pericles asked whether he considered this action a presage of evil. The pilot answered in the negative. "Then," said Pericles, "where is the difference in the two circumstances, except that some object larger than my cloak causes the eclipse?"

DEATH OF PERICLES (B. C. 429).—Pericles did not long survive this expedition, and his life closed amidst a train of domestic calamities. The epidemic carried off not only many of his friends, but also several members of his family, among others, his sister and his only two legitimate sons. At the obsequies of the younger, when it became his duty to place a wreath on the body, his grief became uncontrollable, and he burst out into profuse tears and sobbing. His own strength of body and mind was gradually undermined by a low, lingering fever, which succeeded an attack of the prevailing epidemic. His last moments, were are told, were cheered by the thought that no Athenian had ever put on mourning through any action of his.

HIS CHARACTER.—The career of Pericles is without parallel in the history of Athens. Not only did he maintain, for nearly 40 years, the first place among distinguished statesmen; but, during his last 15 years, he was annually reelected to the office of *strategus*. His long-continued supremacy and unmatched eloquence, are attested even by his bitterest opponents. His copiousness and grace of diction, coupled with the force and cogency of his arguments, made Eupolis say, that persuasion itself sat upon his lips, and Aristophanes characterized his eloquence as producing

the same effects upon the social elements, as a storm of thunder and lightning exerts upon the atmosphere. He combined in a singular degree the power of persuasion, with that more rapid and abrupt style of oratory which takes an audience by storm, and defies all resistance. It is true that Aristotle and Plato unite in condemning his political innovations, whereby he made the humblest citizens a partaker in all the judicial and legislative functions of the state, and even paid him for the performance of them. But if Pericles the statesman be not deserving of unqualified praise, Pericles—the consummate genius and liberal patron of literature and art—is undoubtedly worthy of the highest admiration. He has justly given his name to the most brilliant intellectual epoch that the world has ever seen.

SIEGE OF PLATÆA (B. C. 429-427).—In the third year of the war, Archidamus led his whole force against the town of Plataea. Before the approach of the enemy, the inhabitants removed to Athens; and the garrison, left to defend the place, consisted of only 400 citizens and 80 Athenians, together with 110 women to manage their household affairs. Yet, this insignificant force repulsed all the assaults of the besiegers. The latter, unable to take the place by storm, turned the siege into a blockade, and built a double wall around Plataea, so as both to prevent all egress and to reduce the place by famine. One half of the besieged, however, when the provisions were nearly consumed, availing themselves of a dark and stormy night, made good their escape. The rest, after surrendering, were arraigned before five Spartan commissaries, who merely asked the prisoners whether, during the present war, they had rendered any assistance to the Peloponnesian confederacy. Upon their negative answer, they were immediately led away to execution. The town of Plataea was transferred to the Thebans, who levelled it to the ground.

ATROCIOUS FEATURES OF THE WAR.—Though the Peloponnesians durst not cope with the enemy on the open sea, yet their privateers inflicted considerable loss on the Athenian fisheries and commerce. A revolting feature of this predatory warfare, was the cruelty with which the Lacedæmonians treated their prisoners. They were mercilessly slain, and their bodies cast into clefts and ravines. The Athenians retaliated by putting to death, without even the form of a trial, Peloponnesian envoys to the Persian court who fell

into their hands. The cruelty inherent to ancient warfare was still more strikingly displayed, when, after putting down the revolt of Mytilene, a thousand prisoners implicated in the rebellion were sent to Athens and there put to death. The fortifications of the city were raised, and the lands given over to Athenian settlers.

CORCYREAN REVOLUTIONS (429-425).—Not less shocking were the cruel deeds perpetrated at Corcyra. Some Corcyreans who had been detained as prisoners at Corinth, were released and sent back to Corcyra, nominally under the heavy ransom of 800 talents, but in reality with the view of withdrawing the island from the Athenian alliance. With the help of the oligarchal citizens, these exiles on their return assassinated the leaders of the democratical party; and, proceeding to put down that party by force, seized the harbor, the arsenal, and the market-place. The people, however, having got possession of the higher parts of the town, defended themselves bravely, till the arrival of an Athenian squadron restored peace between the parties. But, soon, the appearance of a large Peloponnesian fleet once more emboldened the oligarchs. Thereupon the fury of the people knew no bounds. The vengeance which they took on their opponents, was fearful. The most sacred sanctuaries afforded no protection; the nearest ties of blood and kindred were sacrificed to civil hatred. About 500 oligarchs, however, effected their escape, and fortified themselves on mount Istone, not far from the capital, where, aided by mercenaries, they maintained themselves for nearly two years by a system of ravage and plunder, which inflicted great misery on the island. At last, they surrendered on condition of being sent to Athens, and left to the discretion of the Athenian people. But the terms of the capitulation being violated, some were summarily put to death by their Corcyrean enemies, and the rest, about 300 in number, chose to die by their own hands. The women taken along with them, were sold as slaves. Similar cruelties engendered by the bitterness of political animosities, occurred at this time in various other Hellenic states.

CAPTURE OF SPHACTERIA (B. C. 425).—The most notable event of the seventh year of the war, was the capture of Sphacteria, a small island on the western coast of Peloponnesus, which shuts in the modern bay of Navarino. A happy train of events enabled the Athenians to blockade in

this island, the flower of the Lacedæmonian army, many of them native Spartans of the highest families. The force thus shut up consisted of no more than about 420 men. But such was the awe inspired by the reputation of the Spartan arms, that the Athenian commanders, Demosthenes and Cleon, considered it necessary to concentrate against them no fewer than 10,000 soldiers of different descriptions, among whom were 800 Athenian hoplites. The light-armed troops were divided into small bodies, which were to hover round and among the enemy; the hoplites were drawn up in battle array near the spot where they had landed. Against these, Epitades, the Lacedæmonian commander, advanced over difficult ground, and amidst a shower of missiles from the light troops on his flanks and rear. In vain did he order the most active among his followers to rush upon the assailants. Pursuers with spear and shield could not overtake men lightly clad and armed, who always retired before the enemy, to draw near again and redouble their annoyance, so soon as the latter resumed their place in the ranks. The Lacedæmonians, distressed by this species of warfare, at last retreated to a strong position at the extremity of the island. Here they kept their assailants at bay, till some Messenians, stealing over crags and cliffs which were deemed impracticable, suddenly appeared on the high ground which overhung their rear, and began to overpower them with arrows, javelins, and stones. Unable to defend themselves any longer, the survivors, 292 in number, surrendered. By this act the prestige of Sparta was greatly impaired; the previous feats of the Spartans having inspired the notion that they would rather die than yield.

EXPLOITS OF BRASIDAS (B. C. 424-422).—The good fortune of the Athenians had now reached its culminating point. But, before long, the defeat of Delium inflicted upon them by the Bœotians, and especially the loss of their empire in Thrace, more than counterbalanced the advantages they had previously gained. With no other resource than his own personal ascendancy, the Spartan Brasidas took upon himself the task of striking a fatal blow at the power of Athens, by freeing the Grecian cities of Thrace from her yoke. By dint of boldness and activity, as well as by kind and conciliating demeanor, he detached in succession from her empire Olynthus, Acanthus, Stagirus, Argilus, and even Amphipolis—the most important of her foreign possessions.

A truce, concluded at this juncture, arrested the progress of Brasidas. But, upon the resumption of hostilities, when an effort was made by Cleon to retake Amphipolis, he routed the Athenians with great slaughter. A mortal wound, however, which he received in the charge, freed Athens from her most dangerous enemy; and a peace for 50 years, commonly called the Peace of Nicias, was concluded on the basis of a mutual restitution of prisoners and captured places. Unhappily, Athens nourished in her bosom a son that was soon to undo the peaceful work of Nicias.

ALCIBIADES traced his paternal descent from the heroes Eurysaces and Ajax, whilst on his mother's side he claimed relationship with the Alcmæonidae. From early youth his conduct was marked by violence, recklessness, and vanity. But his beauty had made him the darling of the Athenian ladies; nor did the men, blinded by his riches, talents, and high birth, regard him with less admiration. He possessed both boldness of design and vigor of execution; and, though still young, had distinguished himself by great personal bravery. But he was utterly destitute of morality, whether public or private. Such was the man who was to plunge Athens once more into all the horrors of war, and to bring upon her an endless train of miseries.

WAR BETWEEN ARGOS AND CORINTH (B. C. 421-416).—Some of the most powerful allies of Sparta refused to accept the peace of Nicias. Corinth especially showed herself indefatigable in forming coalitions against Athens. To counteract her influence, the Athenians, at the suggestion of Alcibiades, whose motive was personal pique, organized in Peloponnesus a counter-league with Argos at its head. War being now declared between Argos and Corinth, Sparta took the field against the former, and Athens against the latter. Thus, though there was peace between the Athenians and the Lacedæmonians, and though they abstained from direct attacks upon each other's territories, they once more met in conflict. At the end of two years, king Agis gained over the Argives and their allies the great victory of Mantinea, which enabled the oligarchal party at Argos to regain the preponderance and bring the city once more into the Peloponnesian league. But the oligarchs abused their power. Bryas, the captain of a chosen body of 1000 hoplites, ravished from the very midst of a wedding procession a bride of the humbler class, and carried her to his house. At night, she

put out the eyes of the tyrant with the pin of her brooch ; and, having effected her escape, roused by her tale of woe the indignation of the people. The latter rose against the aristocrats, obtained possession of the city, and renewed their alliance with Athens.

CONQUEST OF MELOS BY THE ATHENIANS (B. C. 416).—The island of Melos, a colony of Sparta, did not belong to the Athenian alliance. As the Melians refused to submit voluntarily to Athens, the latter, without any other provocation than the refusal, but likely by a desire of humiliating Sparta through her colony, blockaded Melos by sea and land, and forced it to surrender. On the proposal, as it appears, of Alcibiades, all the adult males were put to death, the women and children sold into slavery, and the lands given over to 500 Athenian settlers—a proceeding the more indefensible, as Athens had attacked the Melians in full peace. Her empire from this period began rapidly to decline.

ATHENIAN EXPEDITION TO SICILY (B. C. 415).—A quarrel had broken out between the two Sicilian towns of Egesta and Selinus ; and the latter, having obtained the aid of Syracuse, was pressing very hard upon the Egestæans. These, therefore, applied for help to Athens, representing how fatal it would be to her, if the Dorians prevailed in Sicily, and joined the Peloponnesian confederacy. Their application was supported by Alcibiades, who beheld in a distant expedition the means of gratifying his passion for adventure, as well as of retrieving his fortune, which had been dilapidated by extravagant expenditure. Carried away by his bold eloquence, and dazzled by the idea of conquering, not only Syracuse, but even the whole of Sicily, the Athenians voted the expedition, and began to make preparations for it on a scale commensurate with the enterprise. Young and old, rich and poor, all vied with one another to obtain a share in the expedition.

DESTRUCTION OF THE ATHENIAN ARMAMENT BEFORE SYRACUSE (B. C. 415-413).—The mighty armament set on foot for the conquest of Sicily, was placed under the command of Alcibiades, Nicias, and Lamachus. Alcibiades, who had conceived the project, was also the only man able to deal with all the peculiar difficulties of the expedition. His conduct having rendered him an object of suspicion to the popular party at home, he was unfortunately recalled, when, fearing for his safety, he fled to Sparta, revealed the

plans of his countrymen to their enemies, and taught the Lacedæmonians how to frustrate them. The departure of Alcibiades, and soon after the death of Lamachus, left Nicias sole commander of the Athenian army. This general had already approached Syracuse; and the city, blockaded by sea and almost entirely surrounded by land, seemed on the point of surrendering. But want of vigor on his part, and the arrival of the Spartan Gylippus, suddenly changed the aspect of affairs. The Athenians suffered a double defeat on sea and land. Nicias thereupon sent for aid to Athens, and received powerful reinforcement under Demosthenes and Eurymedon. More vigorous measures were now adopted by the Athenian commanders. All their efforts, however, proving of no avail, they resolved to abandon the siege, and were on the point of quitting their ill-fated quarters, when an eclipse of the moon took place. The soothsayers being consulted said that the army must wait thrice nine days—a full circle of the moon—before departing. By this decision the devout Nicias resolved to abide. Meanwhile the Syracusans, penetrating the intentions of the besieged, so vigorously attacked the Athenian fleet in the harbor, and so harassed the land army during its retreat, that all the ships were taken or destroyed, and all the soldiers slain or made prisoners. Ten thousand captives—the remnant of 40,000—were confined in the stone-quarries of the neighborhood. Here they were crowded together without any shelter, and with scarcely provisions enough to sustain life. The bodies of those who died, were left to putrify where they fell, till the fear of pestilence induced the Syracusans, at the end of 70 days, to remove the survivors, who were sold as slaves. Both Nicias and Demosthenes were put to death.

THE SPARTANS OCCUPY DECELEA (B. C. 413).—The Spartans, who had witnessed the first success of the Athenians before Syracuse with great jealousy, were not content with sending Gylippus to the aid of the besieged; but discarding, after eight years, the worn-out fiction of a pretended amity with Athens, resolved once more to marshal the whole Peloponnesian force against their rival. So soon, therefore, as the departure of the reinforcements sent to Nicias left Attica in a comparatively defenceless state, king Agis invaded it; and, following the advice of Alcibiades, established a garrison at Decelea, a post situated about 14 miles from

Athens and commanding the Athenian plain. The city was thus placed in a state of siege, and scarcity was soon felt within the walls. Then came the destruction of the Sicilian armament, which gave to the Peloponnesians the command of the sea, and encouraged the subject-allies of Athens to shake off the yoke. To crown all, Sparta concluded an alliance with the Persians, whereby she obtained all the gold necessary to complete the ruin of her rival. Asia Minor, the islands, and the Hellespont, were henceforth to be the theatre of war.

BATTLE OF CYZICUS (B. C. 410), ARGINUSÆ (B. C. 406), ÆGOSPOTAMI (B. C. 405).—Athens now seemed on the brink of ruin. But her wonderful elasticity of spirit, her indomitable energy, and fertility of resource, enabled her to prolong the contest, and gain such triumphs as made the final issue once more appear doubtful. Even in her declining fortune she was cheered by the great victory of Cyzicus, gained by Alcibiades, who now cordially cooperated with his countrymen, and that of Arginusæ, one of the most obstinately disputed of the war. But these very successes, by filling the Athenians with excessive confidence, contributed to the final ruin of the state. The Spartan admiral Lysander, who commanded the enemy's fleet, by feigning cowardice, increased in his opponents those feelings of security. The Athenians, with 180 triremes, met him at the strait of the Hellespont, and offered him battle near the mouth of a small river called Ægospotami. But, although his vessels and troops seemed ready for action, he did not move from his position. The enemy came four days in succession to make the same offer; the Lacedæmonians still remained motionless. Nothing could now equal the confidence and security of the Athenians. Lysander, fully aware of the circumstance, waited, on the fifth day, till they had returned to their station, and the soldiers had, as usual, left the vessels to scatter themselves and take repose on the shore. Just at that moment, the Spartan fleet bore down upon them, and without meeting any resistance captured the empty ships, except a small squadron with which Conon made his escape. Lysander then landed, and most of the crews were made prisoners on shore. The victory was obtained, not merely without the loss of a single ship, but almost without that of a single man. All the Athenian prisoners, nearly 4,000 in number, were put to death. This blow virtually ended the

Peloponnesian war. The closing scene, however, was enacted at Athens itself.

FALL OF ATHENS (B. C. 404).—From the scene of his triumph the Spartan admiral proceeded to blockade Athens by sea, while Agis invested it by land. The city, cut off from its usual supplies, soon felt all the horrors of famine, and at the end of five months was forced to surrender at discretion. The Athenians were ordered to confine themselves within the borders of Attica, to demolish their fortifications, to deliver up all their ships but twelve, to place themselves under the leadership of Sparta, and be in readiness to serve, as directed, by sea or land. Hard as were these terms, they did not satisfy the Thebans, the Corinthians, and others of the more bitter enemies of Athens, who urged the very extinction of her name, and the sale of her whole population into slavery. Thus fell imperial Athens, in the seventy-third year after the formation of the confederacy of Delos. If, during the interval, she had committed many mistakes and much injustice, she had also used the power won in that brief career for the noblest of purposes, averting an overwhelming deluge of barbarism, and becoming the nurse of literature and art.

CHAPTER XIII.

THE THIRTY TYRANTS.—B. C. 404-403.

RETURN OF THE OLIGARCHAL EXILES.—In consequence of an attempt to overthrow the Athenian democracy and replace it by an oligarchal government, a number of conspirators had been banished. That these should be recalled, was one of the conditions imposed upon the Athenians by Ly-sander. In consequence, a host of exiles reentered Athens, all of them enemies of her democratical institutions. By these men clubs were organized, and plans formed for the immediate establishment of an oligarchy.

THE THIRTY.—The first step of the conspirators was to procure the arrest of the leaders of the democratical party, whom they accused of a design to overturn the peace just made with Sparta. The way being thus prepared, they invited

Lysander into the city. In his presence, it was proposed in the assembly that a committee of thirty should be named to draw up laws for the future government of the state, and to undertake its temporary administration. The proposal was of course carried, and the chief oligarchs were designated to compose the new board of administrators. Most conspicuous among these were Theramenes and Critias—the latter a man distinguished for his literary and political talents, an uncle of Plato, and once the intimate friend of Socrates.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE THIRTY.—The Thirty at once named an entirely new senate and appointed fresh magistrates, all chosen from among their adherents. They next proceeded to rid themselves of their most obnoxious opponents, whose condemnation they insured by presiding in person over the tribunals, and obliging the senators to deposit their voting pebbles immediately under their own eyes. Even the show of legality was in many cases dispensed with, and the accused were put to death by the mere order of the Thirty. Nay more, a band of assassins was organized, and blood flowed on all sides. Meanwhile a Spartan garrison, installed in the Acropolis, overawed the people.

PROSCRIPTIONS.—The board of Thirty bestowed the franchise on 3000 citizens, chiefly their own adherents. The rest were disarmed, and a regular proscription took place. A list was drawn up of those who were deemed dangerous and irreconcilable enemies to the new order of things. In this number, the adherents of the Thirty were permitted to insert whatever names they pleased, and many a man was put to death merely for the sake of obtaining his wealth.

SUPPRESSION OF INTELLECTUAL CULTURE.—The tyrants even took means to repress all intellectual culture, and to convert the government into one of brute force. A decree was promulgated, forbidding the teaching of the 'art of words,' under which name were included logic, rhetoric, and literature in general. The decree was particularly levelled at those ingenious and learned men who went by the name of sophists. Socrates, the most distinguished among them, who had commented with just severity on the enormities perpetrated by the Thirty, was summoned before Critias, and prohibited in future all conversation with youths.

DEATH OF ALCIBIADES (B. C 404).—No fewer perhaps than 1500 victims were slain without trial by the Thirty; others were banished. In the list of the latter, Alcibiades had

been included ; and he was living in Phrygia, when a dispatch came from Sparta, directing Lysander to have him put to death. Lysander communicated the message to the satrap Pharnabazus, and executioners were sent who surrounded the house of their victim, and set it on fire. Alcibiades rushed out with drawn sword upon his assailants, who shrank from his attack, but slew him from a distance with their javelins and arrows. Thus perished this singular man, endowed with most of those qualities which constitute greatness—talent, enterprise, courage, great presence of mind, inexhaustible resources in emergencies ; but, at the same time, tainted by profligacy, selfishness, pride, rapacity, and utter want of principle. With endowments which might have rendered him the greatest benefactor of Athens, he attained the infamous distinction of her greatest injurer.

OPPRESSIVE YOKE OF SPARTA.—The triumph of Sparta was the triumph, throughout Greece, of the oligarchal principles. The condition of Athens under the Thirty, may be regarded as a sample of the Greek communities which the fortune of war placed at the mercy of Lacedæmon. By Lysander, governors that were either Spartans or creatures of Sparta, were established with indefinite powers in the cities which he had reduced : he himself, in the name of Sparta, exercised everywhere an uncontrolled authority. The Greeks soon discovered that, instead of the freedom promised by the Spartans, only another empire had been established, rendered more intolerable by the overweening pride and harshness of Lysander.

ATHENIAN DEMOCRACY RESTORED (B. C. 403).—Fallen Athens had ceased to be an object of jealousy. Many of her democratic exiles, who had sought refuge in Bœotia, found there sympathizers and supporters. So Thrasybulus, starting from Thebes at the head of a small band of fellow-exiles and Thebans, marched upon Athens, overthrew the Thirty, and prevailed upon the Peloponnesian garrison to quit Attica. After offering up a solemn sacrifice and thanksgiving in the Acropolis, an assembly of the people was held, and the democracy was restored. This important revolution appears to have taken place in the spring of 403 B. C. The archons, the senate of 500, the public assembly, and the dicasteries, after an interruption of eight months, were reconstituted as before. But, though Athens thus obtained internal peace, she was left a mere shadow of her former self.

Her fortifications, her fleet, her revenues, and the empire founded on them, had vanished. Her history henceforward consists of struggles, not to rule over others, but to maintain her independence.

CHAPTER XIV.

ARCHITECTURE, SCULPTURE, AND PAINTING AT ATHENS, DURING THE PERIOD OF HER SUPREMACY.

THE MONUMENTS OF ATHENS.—Whilst Athens rose to the headship of Greece, she founded an empire of taste and genius far more glorious than her political supremacy, but especially far more lasting. Of her public buildings, dating from this period, the principal were the temple of Niké Apteros (wingless victory), the Thesëum, the Pœcilé Stoa (painted colonnade), the Propylæa, and the Parthënon.

The temple of Niké, erected in commemoration of Cimon's victory at the Eurymedon, stood till A. D. 1672, when the Turks destroyed it in order to form a battery. But its remains were discovered in 1835, and it has been restored with the original materials.

The Thesëum, built to receive the bones of Theseus, which Cimon brought from Scyros, is the best preserved of all the monuments of ancient Athens. Though the sculptures, the subjects of which are the exploits of Hercules and Theseus, have sustained great injury, the temple itself is nearly perfect. It is of the Doric order, 104 feet in length by 45 feet broad; and is surrounded with columns, of which there are 6 at each end and 13 at the sides. It is less by its size than by its symmetry, that it impresses the beholder.

The Pœcilé Stoa, which stood near the Agora, or market-place, was an extensive colonnade formed by pillars on one side and a wall on the other. In panels fixed against the wall, were the paintings from which it derived its name.

The Propylæa rose at the entrance of the Acropolis, at the top of a magnificent flight of marble steps, 70 feet broad. The Propylæa were themselves entirely of marble, and covered the whole of the western end of the Acropolis, having a

breath of 168 feet. The central portion, 58 feet in width, consisted of two porticoes, each of which had a front of 6 fluted Doric columns. The wings on each side were in the form of a Doric temple; one had its walls covered with paintings, the other was an open gallery. The cost of the Propylæa was nearly two and a half million dollars.

But the pride of Athens was its Parthenon, or temple of Athêné *Parthenos* (the virgin). It stood on the highest part of the Acropolis, and was, like the Propylæa, entirely of Pentelic marble. Its dimensions were about 228 feet in length, 101 in breadth, and 66 in height to the top of the pediment. It consisted of a cella, surrounded by a peristyle, which had 8 columns at either front, and 17 at either side. The cella was divided into two chambers of unequal size, whose ceiling was supported by rows of columns. The whole building was adorned with the most exquisite sculptures, executed by various artists under the direction of Phidias. But its chief wonder was the statue of the virgin goddess by Phidias himself, which stood in the principal chamber. Up to this time, colossal statues not of bronze, had only the face, hands, and feet of marble, the rest being of wood concealed by real drapery. But, in the statue of Athêné, Phidias substituted ivory for marble in those parts which were uncovered, and supplied the place of the real drapery with robes and other ornaments of solid gold. Its height, including the base, was nearly 40 feet. It represented the goddess standing, clothed with a tunic reaching to the ankles, with a spear in her left hand, and an image of Victory in her right. She was girded with the ægis,* and had a helmet on her head, her shield resting on the ground by her side.

The Acropolis was adorned with two other colossal figures of Athêné in bronze, also the work of Phidias. The larger, called Athêné Promachos,† stood in the open air between the Propylæa and the Parthenon, and rose to a height of 70 feet, so that the point of its spear and the crest of its helmet were visible afar off, even from the sea. It was still standing in A. D. 395, and is said to have scared away Alaric, when he came to sack the Acropolis.

* A goat's skin, covered with scales, and adorned with the head of Medusa.

† The *Defender*, because it represented the goddess armed, and in the very attitude of battle.

Another monument, which adorned the Acropolis, the Erechtheum, commenced by Pericles the year preceding the breaking out of the Peloponnesian war, was not completed till 393 B. C.

ARTISTS OF THE PERICLEAN AGE.—Chief among the artists of this period stands Phidias, who superintended all the monumental constructions erected under the auspices of Pericles. The architects of the Parthenon and the other buildings, worked under his instructions. Besides the three statues of Athênê just mentioned, he made the statue of the Olympian Jove—his masterpiece, for the great temple of Olympia, at Elis. This stupendous work was 60 feet high, of ivory and gold, embodying in visible majesty the grandest conceptions of Grecian poetry and religion. Its effect upon all beholders, we are told, was such as has never been equalled in the annals of art, sacred or profane.

While Phidias excelled in statues of gods, his contemporary Polyclētus excelled in those of men. In a competition for the statue of an Amazon, he carried away the palm from Phidias. The greatest of his works was the ivory-and-gold statue of Hera (Juno) in her temple between Argos and Mycenæ, which always remained the ideal model of the queen of the gods, as the Olympian Jove of Phidias was of the king of heaven.

Contemporary also with Phidias, though somewhat older, was Polygnōtus, the first Grecian painter of any great renown. Cimon brought him from Thasos to Athens, to adorn the Thesëum and the Pæcilé Stoa. He excelled in accuracy of drawing, in the nobleness, grace, and beauty of his figures. But painting reached a further stage of progress in the hands of Apollodōrus, Zeuxis, and Parrhasius, the greatest names of the period.

Apollodōrus, a native of Athens, first directed attention to the effect of light and shade in painting. Zeuxis and Parrhasius are represented as great masters of colors. They were particularly celebrated for the accuracy of their drawing, and the excellent proportions of their figures. How life-like some of their paintings were, is shown by the following anecdote. As a trial of skill, they painted two pictures. That of Zeuxis represented a bunch of grapes, and was so naturally executed that the birds came and pecked at it. After this proof, Zeuxis, confident of success, called upon his rival to draw aside the curtain which concealed his picture.

But the painting of Parrhasius was the curtain itself. The masterpiece of Zeuxis was his picture of Helen. Among the best of Parrhasius, was a portrait of the personified Athenian *Demos* (people), which is said to have expressed, as seen from different points, the most contradictory qualities of that many-headed personage.

CHAPTER XV.

LATER GRECIAN LYRISTS (B. C. 556-442).—ATHENIAN DRAMATISTS
DOWN TO 380.

LYRIC POETRY; SIMONIDES (556-467).—Lyric poetry attained its highest pitch of excellence in the hands of Simonides and Pindar. Simonides, a native of Iulis in the island of Ceos, was from his youth trained up in music and poetry as a profession. For some years, he resided at the court of Hipparchus and Hippias, together with Anacreon, and Lasus of Hermione the teacher of Pindar. After the expulsion of Hippias, he spent some time in Thessaly. But, at the time of the Persian wars, we find him again residing at Athens, employed in celebrating the momentous events of that memorable epoch. He carried away the prize from Æschylus with an elegy upon the warriors who had fallen at Marathon. He celebrated the heroes of Thermopylæ, Artemisium, Salamis, and Plataea. He was upwards of 80, when his long poetical career at Athens was closed by a last victory in a dithyrambic contest, making the 56th prize that he had won. The remaining ten years of his life were spent at Syracuse with Hiero, whom he entertained with his poetry, and instructed by his wisdom.

Simonides employed himself on all the subjects which fell to the lyric poet, then the mouth-piece of human life with all its joys and sorrows, its hopes and disappointments. He wrote hymns, poems, elegies, dancing-songs, dithyrambs, epinician odes, and dirges, in which last he chiefly excelled. For his genius was inclined to the pathetic, and none could touch with truer effect the chords of human sympathy. But few fragments of this most prolific poet have descended to us.

PINDAR (B. C. about 522-442).—Pindar's family ranked among the noblest in Thebes. At an early age, he gave such indications of a poetic genius as induced his father to send him to Athens, where he might receive more perfect instruction in the art. Here he was the pupil of Lasus, of Hermione, who was the founder of the Athenian dithyrambic school. Later on, he profited by the example and lessons of two Theban poetesses, Myrtis and Corinna, who then enjoyed great celebrity in Bœotia. With these he contended for the prize in music; and soon acquired such reputation, as to be employed by various states and princes to compose choral songs. He was courted especially by Alexander of Macedon, and by Hiero of Syracuse. But his own predilections ran strongly in favor of the free states of Greece. To the Athenians, in particular, he was greatly attached, often praising them and their city in his poems. They testified their gratitude by making him their public guest, and bestowing upon him a donation of 10,000 drachmas; subsequently, they erected a statue in his honor.

The only poems of Pindar which have come down to us entire, are his Epinicia, or triumphal odes, commemorating victories in the great public games. He also wrote hymns, pæans, dithyrambs, odes for processions, drinking-songs, dirges, and panegyrics on princes. His style is marked by abrupt transitions, daring flights, and sublimity. With him ended the ancient school of lyric poetry.

ORIGIN OF TRAGEDY AND COMEDY.—Both tragedy and comedy, in their rude incipient form, rose out of the worship of Dionysius (Bacchus). There was at first but little distinction between these two species of the drama, except that comedy belonged more to the rural celebration of the Dionysiac festivals, and tragedy to that in cities. The name of *tragedy* is said to have been derived from the goat-like appearance of those who, disguised as satyrs, performed the old Dionysiac songs and dances. In like manner, *comedy* was called after the song of the band of revellers, who celebrated the vintage festivals of Bacchus, and vented their rude merriment in jibes and extempore witticisms levelled at the spectators. Tragedy, in its more perfect form, was the offspring of the dithyrambic odes with which the worship of Dionysius was celebrated. These were not always of a joyous cast. Some of them expressed the sufferings of the god; and it was from this more mournful species of dithyramb

that tragedy, properly so called, arose. The dithyrambs, as improved by Arion, formed a kind of lyrical tragedy, and were sung by a chorus of fifty men, dancing round the altar of Dionysius.

THESPIA, a native of Attica, who flourished about B. C. 530, was the first to give the dithyramb a really dramatic character. His innovation consisted in the introduction of an actor, for the purpose, it is said, of giving rest to the chorus. He probably appeared in that capacity himself, taking various parts in the piece by means of disguises effected by linen masks. Thus by his successive appearance in various characters, and by the dialogue which he maintained with the chorus, or rather with its leader, a dramatic fable of tolerable complexity might be represented. He was succeeded, at Athens, by Chœrilus and Phrynichus.

SATYRIC DRAMA.—Pratinas, a native of Phlius, who also exhibited his tragedies at Athens, introduced the next improvement, by separating the satyric from the tragic drama. As neither the popular taste, nor the ancient religious associations connected with the festivals of Dionysius, would have permitted the chorus of Satyrs to be entirely banished from the tragic representations, Pratinas invented what is called the Satyric drama, that is, a species of play in which the ordinary subjects of tragedy were treated in a lively and farcical manner, and in which the chorus consisted of a band of Satyrs in appropriate dresses and masks.

TETRALOGIES.—After Pratinas, it became customary to exhibit dramas in *tetralogies*, or sets of four; namely, a tragic *trilogy*, or series of three tragedies, followed by a Satyric play. These were often on connected subjects; and the satyric drama, at the end, served like a merry after-piece, to relieve the minds of the spectators. We must recollect that the representations of tragedies took place at the festivals of Dionysius, of which they formed one of the greatest attractions. During the whole day, the Athenian public sat in the theatre witnessing tragedy after tragedy; and a prize was awarded by judges appointed for the purpose to the poet who produced the best set of dramas.

ÆSCHYLUS (B. C. 525-456).—With Æschylus properly begins the splendid list of Athenian dramatists. His first play was exhibited in B. C. 500, when he was twenty-five years of age; but it was not till 484 that he gained his first tragic prize. Defeated in a tragic contest by his younger

rival Sophocles in 468, he retired to the court of king Hiero. Ten years later, we find him again at Athens, where he produced his trilogy of the *Oresteia*, which was composed of the tragedies of the *Agamemnon*, the *Choëphoræ*, and the *Eumenides*. The defence of the Areopagus contained in the last of these, proved unpalatable to the new and more democratic generation of Athenians; and, either from disappointment or fear of the consequences, Æschylus again quitted Athens, and retired once more to Sicily, where he died in 456. Tradition relates that an eagle, mistaking the poet's bald head for a stone, let a tortoise fall upon it in order to break the shell, thus fulfilling an oracle predicting that he was to die by a blow from heaven. The Athenians, holding his memory in reverence, decreed that a chorus should be provided at the public expense for any one who might revive his tragedies. Hence it happened that they were frequently reproduced on the stage. Of the seventy which he is said to have written, only 7 are extant.

Æschylus introduced into tragedy a second actor and the use of painted scenes, together with more appropriate and more magnificent dresses, more varied and expressive masks, and lastly the thick-soled cothurni, or buskins, which raised the stature of the actors to the heroic size. From the introduction of a second actor arose the dialogue properly so called, and the limitations of the choral parts, which now became subsidiary. Æschylus paid great attention to the choral dances, and invented several new figures. But it is especially in its tone and style that tragedy was improved by this great master, who was regarded by the Athenians as its father or founder. He excelled in representing the superhuman, in depicting demigods and heroes, and in tracing the irresistible march of fate. His style resembles the ideas which it clothes. It is bold, sublime, and full of gorgeous imagery, but sometimes borders on the turgid.

SOPHOCLES (B. C. 495-405) was early trained in music and gymnastics, as appears from the fact that, in his 16th year, he was chosen to lead, naked and with lyre in hand, the chorus which danced round the trophy, and sang the hymns of triumph, on the occasion of the victory of Salamis. He seems to have wrested the prize from Æschylus, upon his very first appearance as a dramatist; and from this time forward he retained the almost undisputed possession of

the Athenian stage, until a young but formidable rival arose in the person of Euripides. This, however, but served to spur him on to greater exertions, and the second half of his long life was the period of his greatest literary activity. When nearly 90, he was summoned before the tribesmen by his son Iophon, who, on the ground that his mind was affected, wished to have him declared incapable of administering his estate. The old man's only reply was to read from his *Œdipus at Colonus*, just finished and not yet brought out, some passages with the beauty of which the judges were so struck that they at once dismissed the case. By all Sophocles is admitted to have brought the drama to its greatest perfection. His plays unite grace with sublimity; and the development of the plots is so skillful that the interest of the piece increases through each succeeding act. By the introduction of a third actor, he greatly enlarged the scope of the action. He curtailed the length of the songs, and gave the chorus the character of an impartial spectator and judge. Of his 117 tragedies, only 7 are extant.

EURIPIDES (B. C. 480-406) was born in the island of Salamis, where his mother, during the invasion of Attica by Xerxes, fled for safety. In early life he practised painting with some success; but he devoted himself with more earnestness to philosophy and literature. He studied rhetoric under Prodicus, and physics under Anaxagoras, and also lived on intimate terms with Socrates. Euripides wrote a tragedy at 18, and had his first play acted when he was 25 years of age. It was not, however, till 441 that he gained his first prize. From that time he continued to exhibit plays to the very end of his life.

Unlike his predecessors Æschylus and Sophocles, Euripides, in the treatment of subjects, freely departed from the received legends. A more serious innovation was his depriving tragedy of its ideal character, by bringing it down to the level of every-day life. His dialogue is often too garrulous and wanting in dignity, or frigid through misplaced philosophical disquisitions. His plays, however, have so many beauties, and are so remarkable for pathos, that Aristotle calls him the most tragic of poets. Eighteen of his tragedies are still extant. One of them, the *Cyclops*, is particularly interesting as the only surviving specimen of the Greek satyric drama.

THE OLD ATTIC COMEDY: ARISTOPHANES (B. C. 444-380).—Athenian comedy received its full development from Cratinus, who lived in the age of Pericles. Cratinus, and his younger contemporaries, Eupolis and Aristophanes, were the chief poets of what is called the *old* Attic comedy. Aristophanes, the greatest of the three, exhibited his first play in 427, and, from that time till near his death, was a frequent contributor to the Athenian stage. Most of the comedies of Aristophanes turned either upon political occurrences, or upon some other actual subject of public interest. His chief object was to excite laughter by the boldest and most ludicrous—even if unjust—caricature. The gods, the institutions, the politicians, philosophers, poets, private citizens, and even the women, whose life at Athens was entirely domestic, are in turn held up to ridicule by the poet, who has at his command a poignancy of derision and satire, a fecundity of imagination, and a richness of poetical expression that cannot be surpassed. Towards the end of the career of Aristophanes, the unrestricted license and libellous personality of comedy began to give offence. The chorus, which was the chief vehicle of satire, was first curtailed, and then entirely suppressed. Thus sprung up what is called the *Middle Comedy*, which had no chorus at all. Living persons were still attacked, but under fictitious names.

CHAPTER XVI.

GRECIAN HISTORIANS.

SLOW RISE OF HISTORY AMONG THE GREEKS.—The Greeks had arrived at a high pitch of civilization before they possessed a history. Dazzled and fascinated by the glories of the heroic ages, they took but little interest in the events which were daily passing around them. At last, however, a more critical and inquiring spirit began to spring up, especially among the Ionians of Asia Minor. Here it was that natural philosophy took its rise; and here also historical compositions originated. To Hecataeus of Miletus, who lived to the close of the Persian wars, are ascribed two works, respectively called *Periodus* and *Genealogies*. The former

constituted the first regular system of Grecian geography; the latter related to the descent and exploits of the mythological heroes.

The first prose writer whose subjects were selected from the historical times and treated with proper discrimination, was Charon, of Lampsacus, who flourished in the first half of the 5th century B. C. He might therefore be regarded as the father of history. But the Greeks, by common consent, reserved that title for Herodotus.

HERODOTUS (B. C. 484-408) was born in the Dorian colony of Halicarnassus, in Caria. When about 30, desiring to escape the tyranny of Lygdamis, a grandson of Artemisia, he withdrew to Samos. How long he remained there, cannot be determined. He seems to have been recalled to his native city by some political crisis; for, on his return, he took a prominent part in the expulsion of Lygdamis. Fresh political dissensions, however, once again induced him to withdraw, and he now undertook the travels of which he speaks in his work. He explored not only Asia Minor and Greece, but Thrace and the coasts of the Black Sea; he penetrated in Egypt as far south as Elephantine; and he visited the cities of Babylon, Ecbatāna, and Susa. The latter part of his life was spent at Thurii, in Italy; and here he composed the greater part of his history. When it was completed, he recited it, at the great Olympic festival, to the assembled Greeks. The effect was prodigious; the author's celebrity eclipsed that of the victors in the games.

Herodotus interwove into his history all the knowledge acquired in his travels and by his own personal researches. The real subject of his work is the conflict between the Greek race and the Asiatics, from mythical times down to the attempts of the Persians upon Greece. After touching lightly on the old legends, Herodotus, in the first book, reviewed the subjection of the Asiatic Greeks by Cræsus; next, the quarrel between Cræsus and Cyrus, which brings in a retrospective view of the rise of the Medo-Persian empire; and, lastly, the reduction of Asia Minor and Babylonia by the Persian conqueror. The second book follows Cambyses to Egypt, and is wholly taken up with the description of that country. The third relates the annexation of Egypt to the Persian empire, the abortive attempts of Cambyses against the Ethiopians and Ammonians, and the reign of the Pseudo-Smerdis. The fourth is chiefly occupied with the Scythian

expedition of Darius; whilst at the same time, a Persian armament, fitted out in Egypt for the conquest of Libya, serves to introduce an account of the discovery and colonization of the latter country by the Greeks. In the fifth, the termination of the Thracian expedition under Megabazus is related, and a description given of the Thracian people. This book also contains an account of the origin of the quarrel between Persia and the Greek colonies in Asia Minor. The history of the wars between the Greeks and the Persians, then runs on with little interruption in the remainder of the work.

The ease and simplicity of the style of Herodotus lend it an indescribable charm. He had formed a high notion of the value of history, and was a sincere lover of truth. Where he speaks from his own observation, his accounts may be implicitly relied on; but, in accepting the statements of others, he not unfrequently displays an almost childish credulity. These, however, he always gives for what they are worth, leaving the reader to form his own judgment, and often cautioning him as to their source and value.

THUCYDIDES (B. C. 471-401) was an Athenian, whose family was connected with that of Miltiades and Cimon. He was a man of wealth, and we know from his own account that he possessed gold mines in Thrace, and enjoyed great influence in that country. We also learn from himself that he was one of the sufferers from the plague at Athens, and among the few who recovered. Condemned for his share of responsibility in the loss of Amphipolis (B. C. 414), he remained in banishment for twenty years. To the leisure thus forced upon him we probably owe his invaluable history of the Peloponnesian war.

The history of Thucydides is prefaced with a rapid sketch of Grecian affairs from the remotest time to the breaking out of the war, accompanied with an explanation of the events and causes which led to it, and a digression on the rise and progress of Athenian power. The remainder of the history is filled with the details of the war itself down to the middle of the 21st year, when the work was interrupted by the death of the author. The materials of Thucydides were collected with the most scrupulous care. An exile, he fully availed himself of his opportunities of personally consulting neutrals and enemies, and thus was able to impart to his im-

mortal work that comprehensive spirit for which it has been so much admired. The style is brief, sententious, and forcible; but occasionally harsh and obscure.

XENOPHON (B. C. 444-357), an Athenian like Thucydides, was a pupil of Socrates, and also received instructions from Prodicus of Ceos, and Isocrates. At the age of 40 or thereabouts, he joined the expedition of the younger Cyrus, which he has recorded in his *Anabasis*. He subsequently served under the Spartan Agesilæus against the Persians, in Asia Minor,* and fought with the Lacedæmonians against his own countrymen at the battle of Coronæa (B. C. 394). He then settled at Scillus, in Elis, near Olympia, agreeably spending his time in hunting and other rural diversions, as well as in literary pursuits. Here it was that he composed the book on which his fame as an historian chiefly rests—the *Anabasis*, a work written in a simple and agreeable style, and conveying much curious information. His *Cyropædia*, or education of the Great Cyrus, is a sort of political romance, wherein he exhibits what he deemed a picture of a perfect state. Though the scene is laid in Persia, the materials of the work are drawn from the author's philosophical notions and the usages of Sparta, engrafted on the current stories respecting Cyrus. Xenophon displays in this book his dislike of democratic institutions like those of Athens, and his preference for an aristocracy, or even a monarchy. Among his minor compositions may be mentioned the *Memorabilia*, a series of dialogues intended as a defence of his old master Socrates against the charges on which he was condemned. Though simple and elegant, Xenophon's style is rather monotonous and deficient in vigor.

CHAPTER XVII.

GRECIAN EDUCATION.—RHETORS AND SOPHISTS.—SOCRATES.

GRECIAN EDUCATION.—A certain amount of elementary education seems to have prevailed, at this time, among the

* Banishment from Athens was decided against him about this time or a little later, in consequence of his connection with Lacedæmon. Many years after, the sentence was repealed; but there is no evidence that he ever returned to Athens.

free citizens of all the Grecian States. Instruction was usually imparted in schools. The pedagogue, or private tutor, was not a teacher. His office was merely to watch over his pupils, in their idle hours and on their way to school. So soon as a child could read with fluency, he was made to learn by heart passages selected from the best poets, in which moral precepts and examples of virtue were inculcated and exhibited. The works of Æsop and Theognis were much used for this purpose. The youth was next taught those accomplishments which the Greeks comprehended under the name of music, that is the art of playing on the lyre, of singing and dancing, and of reciting poetical compositions with grace and propriety of accent and pronunciation. Whilst he was thus fitted to bear a worthy part in a chorus, his physical powers were developed and strengthened, by a course of gymnastic exercises.

At the age of 18 or 20, the sons of the more wealthy citizens attended the classes of the rhetors and sophists. These, at Athens, gave their lectures principally in the Lycæum and Academy; and, elsewhere, in similar institutions and places of public resort. Here the young man studied rhetoric and philosophy—under which heads were included mathematics, astronomy, dialectics, oratory, criticism, and morals. The

RHETORS AND SOPHISTS thus played the most important part in the formation of the future citizen. They gave the last bias to the mind, and sent him forth into the world with habits and thoughts which, in after-life, he would perhaps have neither the leisure nor the inclination to alter or even to examine. But most of the young men who attended the lectures of the rhetors, wished merely to obtain such knowledge of rhetoric and dialectics as would enable them to confute an adversary, to defend themselves, or to persuade a public assembly. They cared but little for the speculative principles of their masters, except in so far as they served to sharpen dialectic skill, and qualified one to take a part in active life. Among the most eminent rhetors of the age of Socrates, were Protagoras of Abdëra, Gorgias of Leontini, Polus of Agrigentum, Hippias of Elis, Prodicus of Ceos, and others. The name of sophist borne by these men, far from possessing an invidious meaning, then meant only a *wise* or a *clever* man. In this sense it was applied to the seven sages and to the poets. This honorable meaning the word sophist retained down to the time of Socrates. Plato and

Xenophon were the first to use it as a term of reproach, preferring, when they spoke of a truly wise man, to call him a philosopher. We may therefore suppose that the name of sophist began to fall into contempt through the teaching of Socrates; it is plain that he shrank from the appellation.

SOCRATES (B. C. 468-399)—THE CITIZEN—PHILOSOPHER—AND TEACHER.—This eminent man, the most original of Grecian philosophers, was the son of a sculptor, and practised in early life the profession of his father. As a hoplite, he served with credit at Potidæa, Delium, and Amphipolis, giving singular proofs of intrepidity, and evincing such power of bearing fatigue and hardship, such indifference to heat or cold, as excited the astonishment of all. A good citizen, he strictly observed the laws, and was a model of uprightness. But it is as a philosopher and teacher, that he chiefly deserves our admiration.

Regarding man as the proper object of one's study, he set himself to the consideration of such questions as, What is justice? What are piety, courage, political government? What is the character befitting a citizen? What is authority?—how should it be discharged? Nor was he content with mastering these and similar questions. From knowledge, he proceeded to practice; he studied to make his life conformable to his principles. Among the virtues which he valued most and practised best, were contempt of wordly goods and patience. He limited, as much as possible, the number of his wants, controlling such as were natural, and discarding the purely artificial. Though of an irascible temper, self-discipline made him most patient. As he one day felt himself very much excited, he said to a slave, "I would beat you, were I not angry." At another time, being insolently struck on the face, he smiled and said, "It is rather unpleasant not to know when one should put on a helmet." The bad temper of his wife, Xantippé, whose name has become proverbial for a conjugal shrew, he bore with admirable patience. On one occasion, after loading him with a torrent of abuse, she poured the contents of a filthy vase on his head. Socrates, as usual, contented himself with laughing at her fury: "After such claps of thunder," said he "it was natural to expect a shower."

Socrates did not confine his exertions to self-improvement. He devoted the latter half of his life to the task of teaching all who might be willing to hear his instructions. In the

public walks, in the gymnasia, in the schools of youths, in the market, in all places and at all hours, he would be found discoursing on human wisdom, and explaining the duties and purposes of life. Besides casual hearers, not a few won by the persuasiveness of his manner, usually attended him in public as companions and listeners. Many even came from foreign parts, attracted by his reputation for wisdom. Never had any man more illustrious disciples. Among others, it is enough to mention here Plato, Euclides, and Aristippus—the respective founders of the Academic, Megaric, and Cyrenaic schools of philosophy.

TRIALS AND DEATH OF SOCRATES (B. C. 399).—Whilst thus acquiring a few devoted friends and admirers, Socrates provoked the antipathy of the greater number. Under the persuasion that he was divinely commissioned to expose popular fallacies and prejudices, he would publicly question, not only the young and humbler sort of persons, but the leading men—politicians, sophists, poets, and others, who thought themselves, and were thought to be wise, and yet on being cross-examined could not reply to his queries without being driven to contradictory answers. The usual and natural result of this scrutinizing method with the persons whose ignorance had been exposed, was strong, inveterate hatred. For thirty years, Socrates persevered in his self-imposed task of teaching wisdom. Meanwhile, the force of antipathy was accumulating. At last, availing themselves of the fact that the young men who were under his influence, often brought home novel ideas, some of them opposed to the existing constitution, his enemies accused him of being a corrupter of youth. He replied that he acted in pursuance of a divine inspiration, following the mandates of a genius whose admonitions he frequently heard—an answer which furnished his opponents with a fresh ground of accusation. They impeached him also as guilty of introducing new deities, and of impiety in not worshipping the gods of the city, and demanded his death.

Socrates made no preparation for his defence, and seems indeed not to have desired an acquittal. But, although he addressed the judges in a bold and uncompromising tone, he was condemned only by a small majority of five or six, in a court composed of between five or six hundred *dicasts*. When the verdict had been pronounced, he was entitled, according to the practice of the Athenian courts, to make

some counter-proposition in place of the penalty of death which the accusers had demanded. Had he done so with any show of submission, it is probable that the sentence would have been mitigated. But his tone was even higher than before: "Having spent" he said, "my whole life in earnest endeavors to serve my country and benefit my fellow-citizens by teaching them the way of virtue, I know of no other punishment that I deserve, than to be maintained in the Prytanēum at the expense of the government, as a public benefactor." This seems to have enraged the dicasts, and he was condemned to drink hemlock, the usual punishment of state criminals.

It happened that the vessel which proceeded to Delos on the annual deputation to the festival, had sailed the day before the condemnation. During its absence, it was unlawful to put any one to death. Socrates was thus kept in prison thirty days, till the return of the vessel. He spent the interval in conversing with his friends on philosophical subjects, especially the immortality of the soul; refused the means of escape which were offered to him; and, having taken the fatal draught with the utmost composure, expired.

THE SOCRATIC METHOD OF TEACHING.—The method of Socrates was both negative and positive. The negative or cross-questioning method, intended to disprove and upset what is advanced by a disputant, he used to unmask either falsehood or unsupported assertion, yet without attempting to establish anything in its place. His positive method, meant to gain or convey clear and distinct ideas on moral subjects, consisted chiefly in the use of definition and inference, which he was the first to employ as the means of eliciting truth. With him, speech ceased to be a vehicle for empty display, as it was too often with the sophists. Unlike these, also, he taught high and low, rich and poor, without fee or reward. Whatever learning was founded merely on guesses and conjectures, no matter how prized, he opposed, and thought himself commissioned to unmask. Socrates never wrote anything himself. His teaching has been known to us by his disciples, especially by the most illustrious of these—Plato.

CHAPTER XVIII.

CYREIAN EXPEDITION AND RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND.—

B. C. 401-400.

PREPARATIONS OF CYRUS.—Cyrus, surnamed the younger, a son of Darius Nothus, had been invested by his brother, Artaxerxes II, with the government of Asia Minor. But, believing himself entitled to the crown of Persia, he resolved to wrest it from his brother; and, under the pretence of a private quarrel with the satrap Tissaphernes, he began secretly to make extensive preparations for war. From his intercourse with the Greeks, Cyrus knew well their superiority to the Asiatics, and he was desirous of enlisting numbers of them in his service. This was the more easy, as the peace which followed the fall of Athens, left without employment many Greeks bred up in the practice of war during the long Peloponnesian struggle, and many more who had been driven into exile by the establishment of Spartan oligarchies in the various conquered cities. So, no fewer than 14,000 Greeks were found willing to fight under the standard of Cyrus. Among them was the Athenian Xenophon, who accompanied the expedition as a volunteer, at the invitation of his friend Proxenus, a Bœotian, and one of the generals of Cyrus. The Greek in whom the Persian prince placed most confidence, was Clearchus, a Lacedæmonian. Clearchus alone knew the real object of Cyrus; the rest did not begin to suspect it, till after they reached Tarsus, a city on the coast of Cilicia.

BATTLE OF CUNAXA (B. C. 401).—Cyrus, at the head of his Greek mercenaries and 100,000 Asiatics, reached the Euphrates and crossed the river without experiencing any resistance. But, at Cunaxa, in the fertile plains of Babylonia, he was confronted by his brother with an army of 900,000. The Persian left, which happened to be opposed to the Greeks, did not await the onset, but turned and fled so soon as they saw them spring forward for the charge. Whilst the Greeks imprudently rushed to the pursuit of the fugitives, the rest of the Persian army stood its ground, and Artaxerxes ordered his right to wheel about, and encompass the Asiatics who were under the immediate command of Cyrus.

No sooner did the latter find himself outflanked, than with his body-guard he impetuously charged the enemy's centre, and, penetrating to where Artaxerxes was, madly rushed at him, and wounded him in the breast; but he was himself overborne by superior numbers, and slain on the spot.

RETREAT OF THE TEN THOUSAND (B. C. 401-400).—Cyrus dead, the Greeks thought of nothing but regaining their homes. They concluded a convention with the enemy, whereby the Persians engaged to escort them safe to the Ionian coast. Instead of this, the satrap Tissaphernes led them further away beyond the Tigris, decoyed their five generals into a snare, and then called upon the men to lay down their arms. Ruin appeared inevitable, and consternation seized every breast. The Greeks were in the midst of a hostile country, 1500 miles from home, surrounded by enemies, hemmed in by impassable rivers and mountains, without generals, without guides, without provisions. Happily for the army, one in whom there was a full measure of soldierly strength and courage, combined with prudence, skill, and eloquence, the Athenian Xenophon, addressed himself to the task of raising the drooping spirits, and persuaded his companions to proceed on their march, after appointing new leaders. Himself and four others were chosen. The troops committed themselves to their guidance, and set out fully determined to force their way through the enemy. For want of boats, they could not cross the Tigris and Euphrates, till, by marching towards the north for many days, they reached the mountains of Armenia, where these rivers take their rise. During this time, they were often compelled to fight, either against the Persians who pursued them, or against the inhabitants of the countries through which they passed. A thousand other obstacles impeded their progress. But by their patience, constancy, and valor, they overcame all difficulties; and, in about four months, reached the Grecian colonies near the Euxine sea. They thence proceeded towards the Hellespont, and as far as the city of Pergamus, where they enlisted themselves among the troops of Thymbron, the Lacedæmonian, who was preparing to march against the satraps Tissaphernes and Pharnabazus.

RESULTS OF THE CYREIAN EXPEDITION.—Not only did this celebrated retreat of the Ten Thousand bring out more fully than ever the superiority of Grecian over Asiatic soldiers;

but it laid bare both the weakness of Persia, and the facility with which a Greek force might penetrate to the very midst of the empire, and remain or return, as it might think proper. Hitherto Babylon and Susa had been, even to the mind of a Greek statesman, entirely too remote to be reached by force of arms. Henceforward they began to be looked upon as prizes quite within the legitimate scope of Greek ambition.

There was another discovery made during the retreat, which partly indicated the weakness of the Persian power, and partly accounted for it. The Greeks had believed that the whole vast space between the Black Sea, Caucasus, Caspian, and Jaxartes on the one hand, and the Arabian Desert, Persian Gulf, and Indian Ocean on the other, formed but a single centralized monarchy. They now found that even on the confines of Media and Assyria, near the heart of the empire, there existed independent tribes which set the arms of Persia at defiance; while, farther on, whole provinces once held in subjection had regained their independence.

CHAPTER XIX.

SPARTAN SUPREMACY.—B. C. 405-371

THE SPARTAN EMPIRE.—The battle of Ægospotami, and the consequent capture of Athens, left Sparta without a rival in Greece. In every city which had belonged to the Athenian empire, she had established *harmosts*, or governors, who maintained her ascendancy. The government of the harmosts was corrupt and oppressive; no justice could be obtained against them by an appeal to the Spartan authority at home, and the Grecian cities soon had cause to regret the milder and more equitable sway of Athens.

SPARTAN DEGENERACY.—The commencement of the Spartan degeneracy may be dated from her entrance upon imperial power. Before the victories of Lysander, iron had formed the only Spartan money. But the vast sums of gold and silver brought into the treasury by that commander; the 1,000 talents paid by the subject-states for the maintenance of the fleet; the peculiar facility which so many Spartans

now enjoyed to enrich themselves abroad—fanned in their breast that love of money which, even under the old system, they had so often contrived to gratify. With the influx of money, those homely virtues which previously formed Sparta's chief distinction, were greatly impaired. The leading men, who enriched themselves by foreign commands or at the expense of the treasury, raised the scale of living at the public tables. Many Spartans thus became unable to bear their share at the *syssitia*, and sank into a degraded and discontented class.

AGESILAUS IN ASIA (B. C. 396-394).—Artaxerxes II, wishing to be revenged on the Greeks for the aid they had given to Cyrus, ordered (B. C. 399) his satrap Tissaphernes to attack the Ionian cities, which were now under the protection of the Spartans. A considerable force was dispatched to their assistance. But nothing of importance occurred until king Agesilaus arrived at Ephesus, and took the command, B. C. 396. The mind of Agesilaus was as great as his presence was mean. His appearance, on the scene of war, was at once felt. Having restored discipline among the troops, and inspired all with his own confidence, he repeatedly defeated the Persians, took from them many cities, and carried off immense spoils. Elated by these achievements, he was preparing a grand expedition into the interior of Asia Minor, when an unexpected summons recalled him to Sparta.

CORINTHIAN WAR: BATTLE OF CNIDUS (B. C. 394).—On leaving Asia, Agesilaus remarked that he was driven from it by *ten thousand archers* of the king, meaning the Persian coins, stamped with an archer, which Artaxerxes had distributed among influential persons in the Grecian states, to rouse them against Lacedæmon. At first, Thebes alone declared war. Some success which she obtained, encouraged the other enemies of Sparta. Athens, Corinth, and Argos, now formed an alliance with Thebes; and the league was soon joined by the Eubœans, the Acarnanians, and others. A war of a checkered character followed. The Spartans, through the genius of Agesilaus, maintained for some years longer their superiority by land. But Conon, the Athenian, having obtained ships and money from Persia, entirely destroyed their fleet near Cnidus, on the coast of Caria (B. C. 394). This defeat proved a terrible blow to Sparta. It deprived her of the command of the sea, and detached from her most of her Asiatic allies, some of whom declared

for the Athenians, whilst others proclaimed their independence.

PEACE OF ANTALCIDAS (B. C. 387).—After his victory at Cnidus, Conon ravaged without opposition the coast of Laconia. Then, proceeding to Athens with his victorious fleet and a supply of Persian gold, he rebuilt the walls and fortifications of the city. Alarmed at this return of prosperity in a rival state, Sparta felt the necessity of procuring peace, even at the price of her honor and the liberties of Greece. By the disgraceful treaty which her envoy, Antalcidas, concluded with Persia, the Greek cities in Asia together with the islands of Cyprus and Clazomenæ were surrendered to the king; Corinth was to be separated from Argos, and Thebes deprived of her hegemony over the Bœotian cities. Sparta alone not only lost nothing, but was even entitled to receive from the Persian king, thus made the arbiter of Greece, all the money and troops that might be needed to enforce the execution of the treaty. Crushed by the combined strength of Sparta and Persia, the Grecian states yielded. But Sparta's selfishness and arrogance were hastening the day of retribution.

SEIZURE OF THE CADMEA (B. C. 383).—Another disgraceful step of the Lacedæmonians was the fraudulent occupation of the citadel of Thebes, the Cadmæa. The loud complaints occasioned by this act of treachery, were of no avail, and numbers of Thebans were forced into exile. For three years, Thebes remained in the power of the Spartan faction, supported by a garrison of 1500 Lacedæmonians.

THE LACEDÆMONIANS EXPELLED FROM THEBES (B. C. 379).—The power of Sparta on land had now attained its greatest height. But her unpopularity in Greece daily increased; and her successes, unscrupulously earned, were shortly to be followed by misfortunes. The first blow came from Thebes. Discontent arose among the resident citizens; and a party of exiles, who had taken refuge at Athens, watched their opportunity. Among these was Pelopidas, a young man of birth and fortune, distinguished for activity and patriotism. Between him and his friends at Thebes, it was arranged that a supper should be given to the Spartan polemarchs, Archias and Philippos, during which Pelopidas, introduced in female attire with a few other youths, would dispatch those magistrates. While the polemarchs were at table, an envoy arrived from Athens with a letter for Archias

accurately detailing the whole plot, and a warning that the message related to matters of importance. But the polemarch, completely engrossed by the pleasures of the table, thrust the letter under the pillow of his couch, exclaiming, "Serious matters to-morrow." In a few moments, the disguised youths were ushered into the room. Falling upon the polemarchs, they slew them, and called upon such citizens as valued their liberty to muster in the market-place. These, with the aid of the other exiles and of some Athenian volunteers who accompanied them, succeeded in driving the Lacedæmonian garrison from the citadel. Thebes was thus free. The better to secure her independence, she formed an alliance with the Athenians; and the latter, through their illustrious citizens, Chabrias and Timotheus, organized a confederacy which ultimately numbered 70 cities. The Thebans, on their side, instituted the famous Sacred Band, consisting of 300 choice hoplites, specially entrusted with the defence of the Cadmæa.

CHAPTER XX.

THEBAN SUPREMACY.—B. C. 371-362.

EPAMINONDAS (B. C. 441-362).—Thebes possessed at this time, besides Pelopidas, another citizen of still greater merit, Epaminondas, the most conspicuous perhaps of all Grecian heroes. Sprung from an ancient family, he had all the best qualities of his nation, without that heaviness, either of body or of mind, which characterized the Thebans. He was both a philosopher and an orator. Though poor, he was above the temptation of avarice or corruption. Though naturally firm and courageous, he was averse to violence or bloodshed. A true patriot, he was a stranger to personal ambition, and scorned the little arts by which popularity is too often courted. A great statesman and general, he wrested from Sparta her supremacy, and advanced his own state to the headship of Greece.

SUCCESSSES OF THE THEBANS (B. C. 378-371).—Sparta was not disposed to relinquish her hold on Thebes without trying the chances of war. Repeatedly was Bœotia invaded,

but with each invasion the Thebans acquired more skill and confidence. On one occasion, Pelopidas, with only the Sacred Band and a small body of cavalry, put to the rout a Lacedæmonian force nearly twice as numerous. At last, the Spartans were driven from all their posts in Bœotia, except Orchomenus; and the Bœotian confederacy was reorganized. But, at this juncture, the old jealousy of Athens towards Thebes also revived; and, though the Athenians had gained considerable advantages at sea, they signified their willingness to come to terms with Lacedæmon. Accordingly, in the spring of 371 B. C., a congress assembled at Sparta to discuss the conditions of peace.

CONGRESS AT SPARTA (B. C. 371).—The terms agreed upon were, that the armaments on both sides should be disbanded, the Spartan harmosts and garrisons dismissed, and the independence of the various Grecian cities recognized. Sparta ratified the treaty for herself and her allies. Athens took the oath only for herself, and was followed separately by her allies. But when the turn of the Thebans came, Epaminondas, their representative, refused to sign except in the name of the Bœotian confederation, maintaining that the right of Thebes to the headship of Bœotia was as good as that of Sparta to the sovereignty of Laconia, both being derived simply from the power of the sword. Never before had such language been heard at Sparta. Agesilæus was incensed beyond measure; and, starting from his seat, abruptly told Epaminondas: "Speak out—will you, or will you not leave each Bœotian city independent?" "And will *you*," retorted the Theban, "leave each of the Laconian towns independent?" Agesilæus made no answer, but directed the name of the Thebans to be struck out of the treaty.

BATTLE OF LEUCTRA (B. C. 371).—But one feeling now prevailed at Sparta—a desire to crush Thebes; and Bœotia was invaded at once by Cleombrotus. The Thebans, encouraged by Epaminondas and Pelopidas, were no less resolute. Their discipline and efficiency, already so much improved, were made irresistible by a novel arrangement suggested to Epaminondas by his own genius, which consisted in concentrating upon a given point of the enemy heavy masses of troops. Thus prepared, he did not hesitate to encounter, at Leuctra, the much superior force of Lacedæmonians led by Cleombrotus in person. Forming his

left wing into a dense column 50 ranks deep, he directed it against the Lacedæmonian right, wherein were drawn up the best troops in their army under the immediate command of the king. The shock was terrible. Cleombrotus himself was mortally wounded in the onset. Numbers of his officers, as well as of the men, were slain; and the whole wing was driven back into the camp. On no other part of the line was there any serious fighting, because partly of the disposition made by Epaminondas, and partly of the lukewarmness of the Spartan allies, many of whom hardly concealed their satisfaction at the result. Out of 700 Spartans in the army, 400 had fallen. The survivors, according to Spartan custom, were to have been looked upon as degraded men, and to have been subjected to the penalties of civil infamy. On this occasion, however, owing to the great number of the survivors, the usual penalties were suspended. But the relatives of the dead, by order of the government, rejoiced; whilst the friends of the others seemed overwhelmed with grief and shame.

INVASION OF PELOPONNESUS (B. C. 361-362).—The effect of the battle was electrical. It was felt throughout Greece that a new military power had arisen, and the prestige of the old Spartan discipline and tactics vanished. All Central Greece at once joined Thebes. Even in Peloponnesus, an Arcadian confederation formed itself in opposition to Sparta. To support this new power, Epaminondas advanced into Laconia, which he plundered to the very suburbs of the capital. Sparta, which was wholly unfortified, was now filled with confusion and alarm. The women, who had never yet seen the face of an enemy, gave vent to their fears in wailing and lamentation. But the bold front presented by the aged king Agesilæus, warned Epaminondas not to risk an attack on the city. He withdrew from its neighborhood into Arcadia, whose new confederation he busied himself in consolidating. For this purpose, a town destined to be its capital—Megalopolis, was built on the banks of the Helisson, and peopled with the inhabitants of 40 distinct Arcadian districts. Here a synod of deputies from the towns composing the federation, called the Ten Thousand, was to meet periodically for the dispatch of business. Nor was Epaminondas satisfied with this. The better to cripple the efforts of Sparta, he planned the reestablishment of the Messenian state, which he effected by inviting back to the

possessions of their ancestors the descendants of the first exiles, and founding for them the town of Messêné. Its citadel was placed on Mount Ithomé, which had, three centuries before, been so bravely defended by the Messenians against the Spartans. The strength of its fortifications was long afterwards a subject of admiration.

BATTLE OF MANTINEA (B. C. 362).—So low had Sparta sunk, that she was fain to beg the assistance of the Athenians. These, jealous of the increase of Theban power, listened to the proposal, and with Achaia, Elis, and part of Arcadia formed an alliance with Lacedæmon. To reestablish the influence thus lost in Peloponnesus, and to release the friends of Thebes in the peninsula from a situation which had become one of danger, Epaminondas led an army to the support of the Theban party in Arcadia, and prepared to attack the Mantineans. Agesilæus, on his part, brought a powerful force to their assistance. In the battle which ensued, Epaminondas again formed his troops into a column of extraordinary depth, which bore down all before it. But he received a mortal wound; and, being informed that Iolaïdas and Daïphantus, whom he intended to succeed him in the command, were both slain, "Then," he observed, "you must make peace."—His friend Pelopidas had likewise fallen in battle, a year before, while fighting in Thessalia.

CHAPTER XXI.

GREECE AFTER THE THEBAN WAR.

COLLAPSE OF THE THEBAN POWER.—The glory of Thebes, for which she was indebted to Pelopidas and Epaminondas, departed from her with these illustrious men. The last advice of Epaminondas was adopted, and peace was concluded probably before the Theban army quitted Peloponnesus. Its basis was a recognition of the *status quo*—to leave everything as it was, to acknowledge the Arcadian confederation and the independence of Messêné. Henceforth, the Thebans relapsed into their former obscurity.

SPARTA indeed refused to sign the peace; but she was not supported by her allies. Her late defeats had so

weakened her that she ceased to be formidable. Shorn of their national energy and former strength, the Lacedæmonians never afterwards accomplished anything worthy of their ancient renown.

DEATH OF AGESILAUS.—Agesilæus, however, had not yet abandoned all hope of restoring Spartan ascendancy. Turning his views to the east, as the quarter whence the means for the resuscitation of his country's power might be more easily obtained, the indomitable old man proceeded with a force of 1000 hoplites to assist Tachos, king of Egypt, in his revolt against Persia. The age and mean appearance of the veteran warrior made him, however, a butt for Egyptian ridicule, and he was not entrusted with the supreme command. In spite of this affront, he accompanied the Egyptian army in an expedition against Phœnicia; and when Nectanebo rose against Tachos, Agesilæus aided him in securing the throne of Egypt. For this service the Spartan king received a present of 230 talents. But he did not live to carry this money home, having died on his road to Cyréné, where he had intended to embark. His body was embalmed in wax, and splendidly buried at Sparta.

ATHENS, during the Theban war, evinced considerable sagacity. By assisting alternately Thebes and Sparta as each proved the weaker, she derived from the exhaustion of both no small profit. She succeeded in regaining some portion of her former strength; reconstituted in part the old Athenian confederacy; and, by the occupation of Samos and Chersonesus, began to restore her empire. But, as will be seen in the next chapter, this return of good fortune did not last long. Though now the leading power in Greece, she was unable to arrest the progress of Philip of Macedon.

CHAPTER XXII.

PHILIP II OF MACEDON.—B. C. 359-336.

MACEDONIA AND ITS INHABITANTS.—Macedonia, by its position north, of Thessaly, was not considered a part of Greece. By the Greeks themselves, the inhabitants were looked upon as barbarians, that is, as not of Hellenic origin.

In fact, they were probably an Illyrian people. But though the Macedonians were not Greeks, their sovereigns claimed to be of Argive, and therefore of Hellenic descent; and, as such, were allowed to contend at the Olympic games.

ORIGIN OF THE MONARCHY.—Perdiccas is commonly regarded as the founder of the monarchy. Under his fifth successor, Amyntas, Macedonia became subject to Persia, and remained so till after the battle of Plataea. The reigns of the succeeding sovereigns down to Philip II, with the exception of that of Archelaus, present little that is remarkable. But Archelaus did much for Macedonia by improving the condition of the army, erecting fortresses to check his barbarous neighbors, constructing roads, and introducing among his subjects a taste for literature and art. Zeuxis was employed to adorn his palace with paintings; and many literary men, among whom Euripides, were entertained at his court. The celebrated Philip II was his son.

CHARACTER OF PHILIP II.—In his youth, Philip had lived at Thebes as a hostage. His residence in that city gave him some tincture of Grecian philosophy and literature. But the most important lesson which he learned there, was the art of war with all the improved tactics introduced by Epaminondas. Philip succeeded to the throne at the age of twenty-three (B. C. 359), and displayed at once extraordinary energy and abilities. After defeating the Illyrians, he established a standing army, in which discipline was maintained by the severest punishments. He introduced the far-famed Macedonian phalanx,* 16 files deep, and armed with spears 24 feet long. He improved all the branches in his army—infantry, cavalry, commissariat service, implements of siege—till they were decidedly superior to any other in Greece. Nor were these the only elements of success he relied on. Philip was a perfect master of finesse and dissimulation. None knew better what use to make of fair words, deceitful promises, intrigues, and bribes. He was in the habit of saying, that he considered no fortress impregnable which could be reached by a mule loaded with gold.

CAPTURE OF AMPHIPOLIS (B. C. 358) AND POTIDÆA (B. C. 356).—Philip's first views were directed towards the acquisition of Amphipolis, a commercial post near the mouth of the Strymon, and the gate of Thrace. Aware that the

*This famous body of heavy-armed infantry amounted to 16,000 men.

Athenians and Olynthians had a common interest in preventing him from taking it, and that their union could frustrate his design, he bought off their opposition by secretly promising Amphipolis to the Athenians, if they would give him Pydna, and by ceding Anthemus to the Olynthians. Thus prepared, he laid siege to Amphipolis, which fell into his hands. Thence he marched against Pydna, and captured it also; but, on the plea that it was not the Athenians who had put him in possession of it, he refused to give it to them. To guard against the resentment of Athens, and prevent her from obtaining aid from the Olynthians, Philip assisted the latter in recovering Potidæa, which had formerly belonged to the confederacy, but was now in the hands of the Athenians. Plutarch relates that the capture of this town was accompanied with three other fortunate events in the life of Philip, namely, the prize gained by his chariot at the Olympic games, a victory of his general Parmenio over the Illyrians, and the birth of his son Alexander.

FOUNDATION OF PHILIPPI (B. C. 356).—Philip now crossed the Strymon; conquered the district of Pangæus, a range of mountains abounding in gold mines; and founded there the city of Philippi. By improved methods in working the mines, he made them yield an annual revenue of nearly \$1,250,000. But it was chiefly as a military post and the key to ulterior conquests eastward, that Philippi was valuable to Macedonia.

THE SOCIAL (357-355) AND THE SACRED (351-346) WAR.—Two wars now raging in the Grecian world, the social and the sacred, singularly facilitated Philip's projects of aggrandizement. The chief cause of the social war, or war between Athens and her allies, was the contributions which she levied upon them. Most of them revolted, and after a three years' conflict secured their independence. The Athenians retained only some of the smaller towns and islands, and their revenue from this source was reduced to the moderate sum of 45 talents.

The sacred war was occasioned by the ill will of the Thebans towards the Phocians. Taking advantage of their influence in the Amphictyonic council, the Thebans induced this body to impose a heavy fine on the Phocians, because they had cultivated a spot consecrated to the Delphian god. The Phocians, driven to despair by the exorbitant amount of the fine, seized the temple of Delphi itself, and used its

treasure to pay their troops. During the war which ensued, Philip penetrated into Thessaly; and, assuming the character of a champion of the Delphic god, encountered and defeated the Phocians. This victory made him master of Thessaly (B. C. 352).

DEMOSTHENES (B. C. 382-322)—THE STUDENT, ORATOR, AND STATESMAN.—After his return from Thessaly, Philip's views were directed towards Thrace and the Chersonese. It was at this juncture that the Athenian orator Demosthenes stepped forward as his declared opponent, and delivered the first of those celebrated orations which, from their subject, have been called *Philippics*. Demosthenes was the son of a rich Athenian citizen. Having lost his father at the early age of seven, he fell into the hands of faithless guardians, who defrauded him of the greater part of his inheritance. But this misfortune was one of the causes that made him an orator. Wishing to plead his own case at some future day, he placed himself under the tuition of the rhetor Isæus; and, so soon as he felt qualified, accused his guardians before the dicastery. His success encouraged him to speak in the public assembly. But here his weak voice, imperfect articulation, and ungraceful delivery, coupled with the want of a proper degree of assurance, provoked general laughter. The more judicious of his hearers, however, perceived marks of genius in his speech; and one of them, rightly attributing his failure to timidity and want of due preparation, bade him take courage and persevere. Thereupon Demosthenes, withdrawing awhile from public life, subjected himself to a fresh process of training. To strengthen his voice and accustom himself to the noise of popular assemblies, he declaimed on the seashore, amidst the roaring of the waves, and whilst walking in steep places. He corrected his articulation by pronouncing several verses together with pebbles in his mouth. He perfected his delivery through the assistance of Satyrus, the actor, who exercised him in reciting passages from Sophocles and Euripides. Nor did he fail to increase his knowledge also and improve his style of composition, studying for this purpose the best rhetorical treatises and orations, and copying, we are told, no fewer than eight times the whole history of Thucydides. And in this most laborious course he persevered throughout his whole career. He had a small subterranean chamber built, where he would often remain

engaged in study for two or three months together, shaving one side of his head, that the shame of appearing in this condition might prevent him from leaving his retreat. Here, by the light of a lamp, he composed the admirable orations which were said by the envious to smell of oil. "Yours," he would reply on such occasion, "most assuredly did not cost you so much trouble." He rose very early, in order, as he said, that no one might be at work sooner than he. Such application was crowned with merited success. Demosthenes carried the art of speech to the highest perfection. Before the period we have reached, he had already established himself as a public speaker. But it is chiefly in connection with Philip that we view him now. As a statesman and an orator, he so ably defended the cause of Grecian liberty, that he was feared by Philip, honored by the Persian king, and admired by all Greece.

PHOCION.—FALL OF OLYNTHUS (B. C. 347).—The first Philippic of Demosthenes failed to rouse his countrymen, who no longer had that spirit of enterprise which characterized them in the days of their supremacy. It was not till Olynthus, with its confederacy of 32 Greek towns, began to be seriously menaced, that the Athenians were induced to prosecute the war with some energy. In three celebrated orations, the *Olynthiacs*, Demosthenes warmly advocated an alliance with Olynthus, the last counterpoise to the power of Philip. But he was opposed by a strong party, with which Phocion commonly acted. This Phocion viewed the multitude and their affairs with a scorn which he was at no pains to disguise, receiving their anger with indifference and their praises with contempt. Yet, his known probity gave him influence with the assembly. He was the only statesman that Demosthenes feared; and, when Phocion rose, the great orator was accustomed to say, "Here comes the pruner of my periods." But Phocion's desponding views, and his mistrust of the Athenian people, injured the cause of his country, by contributing to check the more enlarged and patriotic views of Demosthenes. Though his own conduct was pure and disinterested, he unintentionally threw his weight on the side of those who, like Demades and others, were actuated by the basest motives. This division of opinion rendered the operations of the Athenians for the aid of the Olynthians, languid and desultory. Town after town of the confederacy fell before Philip; and, in 347,

Olynthus itself was taken. The whole of the Chalcidian peninsula thus became a Macedonian province.

END OF THE SACRED WAR (B. C. 340).—In the sacred war, the Athenians had taken side with Phocis against Thebes. But, growing weary of the protracted struggle, they discontinued their aid to the Phocians, who were forced to submit to Philip. This prince then occupied Delphi, where he assembled the Amphictyons to pronounce sentence upon those who had been concerned in the sacrilege. The council decreed that all the cities of Phocis, except Abæ, should be destroyed. On this occasion, Sparta was deprived of her share in the Amphictyonic privileges, and the two votes in the council possessed by the Phocians were transferred to the kings of Macedonia. These were, henceforth, to share with the Thebans and Thessalians the honor of presiding at the Pythian games.

BATTLE OF CHÆRONEA (B. C. 338).—Philip's next enterprise was against the Chersonese and the Athenian colonies in that quarter. This act of aggression at last opened the eyes of the Athenians. They now listened to Demosthenes, and sent such troops as forced Philip not only to raise the siege of Byzantium and Perinthus, but to evacuate the Chersonese altogether. His partisans in Greece, however, were busy, and procured him a fresh opportunity of marching again into the very heart of that divided country.

Amphissa, a Locrian town, having been declared guilty of sacrilege by the Amphictyonic council, Philip was requested to inflict punishment upon the offenders. But, instead of proceeding to Amphissa, he seized the important town of Elatea, thus showing that his real design was against Bœotia and Attica. The Athenians thereupon allied themselves with the Thebans, in order to drive back the common enemy. But the Macedonian giant was now too strong to be successfully resisted. Philip met the confederates at Chæronea; and, with the help of his youthful son Alexander, under whom he placed his left wing, gained a decisive victory which laid Greece at his feet. In a congress held at Corinth the following year, war was declared against Persia, and Philip was appointed generalissimo of the expedition. But death surprised him before his preparations were completed (B. C. 336).

PHILIP'S LITERARY ATTAINMENTS.—An excellent general and an able sovereign, Philip also possessed literary

attainments, and was not less skillful in using the pen than in wielding the sword. Desiring to vindicate his political conduct in the eyes of the Athenians, he addressed to them a letter, which for vigor of thought, strength of reasoning, and elegance of style, is considered a masterpiece. Eloquent himself, he entertained the highest idea of the eloquence of Demosthenes, and feared it more than the Athenian arms. He esteemed learned men, and knew the importance of education. At the birth of his son Alexander, he wrote thus to Aristotle: "I inform you that Heaven has blessed me with the birth of a son. I return thanks to the gods, not so much for having given him to me, as for having given him during the life of Aristotle. I can justly promise myself that you will render him a successor worthy of me, and a king worthy of Macedonia."

ILLUSTRATIVE ANECDOTES.—Several anecdotes are related of Philip, which further illustrate his character. Whilst he was engaged in the siege of Methōné, in Thrace, a certain man, called Aster, offered to serve in his army as marksman, saying he was so skillful that he could bring down birds in their most rapid flight. Philip replied, that he would take him into his service, when he waged war against meadow-larks. This answer deeply wounded the feelings of the archer. Having thrown himself into the besieged town, he shot an arrow on which was written, "To Philip's right eye," and which actually pierced the right eye of the prince. The king sent back the same arrow with this inscription: "If Philip takes Methōné, he will hang Aster;" and so he did.

As he was rising one day from a long repast, a woman applied to him for justice, but failed to persuade him of the strength of her reasons. When he gave judgment against her, "I appeal," she exclaimed. "Why?" said Philip, "you appeal from your sovereign! and to whom?" "To Philip in his sober senses." The answer struck the monarch; he reconsidered the affair, and reversed his former sentence.

Another woman had frequently begged him to terminate her lawsuit; but Philip always answered that he had not time. Annoyed by these refusals, she replied with emotion: "If you have no time to do me justice, cease to be king." Philip felt the rebuke. Far from being offended, he immediately satisfied her, and was afterwards more punctual in giving audience.

Although Philip availed himself of the treasonable prac-

tices of others for his own purposes, he heartily despised the traitors. Having bribed two citizens of Olynthus to betray their city into his hands, he took an early opportunity to manifest his contempt for them. Every one, even the common soldiers of the Macedonian army, reproached these men with their perfidy. They complained to the king, who contented himself with answering: "Do not mind what may be said by vulgar people, who call things by their name."

CHAPTER XXIII.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT.—B. C. 336–323.

ALEXANDER'S EDUCATION.—Alexander's extraordinary endowments were well improved by the care of excellent tutors and his own application. To Aristotle, whose lessons he began to receive at about the age of thirteen, he thought himself no less indebted than to his father Philip. Under him, he made rapid progress in every branch of knowledge, acquired a manly eloquence, and imbibed considerable relish for all the fine arts. But, in the midst of his studies, Alexander already manifested an insatiable thirst for glory. Whenever news was brought that Philip had taken some city or gained a victory, "Alas!" he would say to his companions, "my father will make every conquest, and leave us nothing to do."

HIS FIRST EXPLOITS.—Appointed regent during his father's absence, when only sixteen years of age, he learned that some barbarous tribe had revolted. Without a moment's hesitation, he marched against the rebels, and took their city. Having expelled the inhabitants, he replaced them with people collected from various parts, and gave to the town the name of Alexandropolis. At seventeen, in the famous battle of Chæronea, he displayed the intrepidity of a veteran and the skill of a general. He was the first to break the sacred band of the Thebans.

HIS ACCESSION (B. C. 336).—A still more extended field for the display of his abilities opened before Alexander, when, at twenty, he succeeded his father. The situation was extremely critical. He had many rivals at home.

Abroad, the conquered nations were ready to shake off the yoke. Throughout Greece, at Athens especially, under the impulse of Demosthenes, vigorous preparations were made against him. Alexander was equal to the occasion. He seized the throne, and executed or drove out his rivals. Forestalling any open hostility on the part of Greece, he marched in haste to Corinth, and required the same leadership that had been granted to his father, as generalissimo for the Persian war.

DIOGENES.—When at Corinth, Alexander was visited by many philosophers and persons of note, who came to congratulate him. But Diogenes of Sinōpé, who was then living in one of the suburbs, did not make his appearance. Alexander, therefore, resolved to pay a visit to the eccentric cynic, whom he found basking in the sun. On the approach of Alexander, Diogenes raised himself up a little, and the monarch affably inquired how he could serve him. "By standing out of my sunshine," replied the churlish philosopher. Alexander was struck with surprise at a behavior to which he was so little accustomed. While his retinue were ridiculing the manners of the cynic, he turned to them, and said: "Were I not Alexander, I should like to be Diogenes."

DESTRUCTION OF THEBES (B. C. 335).—Having, as he thought, settled the affairs of Greece, Alexander retraced his steps northward, in the hope of being able to begin his Persian expedition in the spring of B. C. 335. But reports of disturbances among the Thracians and Triballians diverted his attention to that quarter. He marched into Thrace, defeated the Triballians in a great battle near the Danube, made the Getæ flee at his approach, subdued several other tribes, and, notwithstanding the bold assertion of their ambassadors that their only fear was lest the heavens should fall upon them, caused all to respect his power.

Meanwhile a false report of his death induced Thebes to raise the standard of revolt. Demosthenes was active in aiding the movement. He persuaded the Athenians to furnish the Thebans with subsidies, and to assure them of support. On learning this, Alexander, then in Illyria, marched straight southward. When he had passed the Thermopylæ, he said to his followers: "Demosthenes called me a child whilst I was among the Tribalians and Illyrians. He called me a youth, when I was in Thessaly; and I must now show him, near the walls of Athens, that I am a grown man."

Having surprised the Thebans by the rapidity of his march, he defeated them with great slaughter, levelled all the houses except that of Pindar, and sold the inhabitants as slaves. This signal vengeance had the effect intended. All Greece was terror-struck. Alexander felt that he might commence to carry out his designs against Persia in tolerable security. Greece was not now likely to rebel, unless he suffered some considerable reverse.

ALEXANDER, DEMOSTHENES; AND PHOCION.—When the Athenians heard of the chastisement inflicted upon Thebes, they immediately voted that ambassadors should be sent to congratulate Alexander on his safe return from his northern expedition, and on his recent success. Alexander, in reply, wrote a letter, demanding that eight or ten of the leading Athenian orators should be delivered up to him. At the head of the list was Demosthenes. The young conqueror, however, through regard for Phocion, relented; and the orators were spared.—It was at this time that Alexander is said to have sent a present of 100 talents to Phocion. But Phocion asked the persons who brought the money, “why he should be selected for such a bounty.” “Because,” they replied, “Alexander considers you the only just and honest man, in this place.” “Then,” said Phocion, refusing the gift, “let him suffer me to be what I seem and retain that character.”

DARIUS III CODOMANNUS (B. C. 336–333).—The prince who was now reigning in Persia, was Darius III Codomannus, whom historians represent as a brave, kind, and generous prince. In ordinary circumstances, he might have reigned with honor. It was his misfortune to have to contend against such an enemy as Alexander. His empire, moreover, though it still maintained a show of splendor, was tottering to its fall, owing to the degeneracy of Persian manners, the frequent revolts of the provinces, and the almost incessant intrigues and conspiracies which, during previous reigns, had distracted the court itself.

PERSIAN POLICY.—Persia, however, in the midst of all these evils, had not been totally wanting to itself. Distrusting the growing power of Macedonia, the Persian government, previous to the accession of Darius, had combined with Athens and prevented Philip from obtaining the command of the Bosphorus, by saving from his grasp the cities of Perinthus and Byzantium. Darius himself, who ascended

the throne the same year with Alexander, was ready to resume against the new Macedonian monarch the policy pursued against his father. But Alexander's prompt and decisive measures defeated all such plans. Greece was awed into submission; and Persia, instead of carrying war into the enemy's territory, was on the point of being herself invaded, overrun, and subjugated.

BATTLE OF THE GRANICUS (B. C. 334).—Having appointed Antipater to govern Macedonia in his absence, Alexander crossed the Hellespont with about 35,000 men—a small force compared to the vast multitudes which the Persians could bring to the field, but all true soldiers, who deemed themselves invincible under their invincible leader. On the banks of the Granicus, in Phrygia, they encountered the first hostile array, which, from the opposite shore, was ready to dispute the passage of the river. Without the least hesitation, Alexander, at the head of his cavalry, threw himself into the stream and rushed against the Persians. A battle-axe, brandished by a vigorous hand, broke his helmet. A second stroke was about to follow, when Clitus saved the king's life by cutting off the hand of the Persian warrior. The Macedonian horsemen, greatly excited by the perilous situation of their leader, pressed onward with the utmost rapidity, and succeeded in putting the enemy's cavalry to flight. Then, in concert with the phalanx, which had now crossed the river, they fell upon the Persian infantry, and utterly routed them. This victory placed Asia Minor at the mercy of the invader, and Alexander with his usual celerity proceeded to overrun it.

THE GORDIAN KNOT.—In the course of these expeditions, Alexander forced his way to Gordium, once the capital of the Phrygian kings. Here was preserved the chariot in which the celebrated Midas, the son of Gordius, had entered the town, before he was elevated to the monarchy. An ancient prophecy promised the sovereignty of Asia to him who should untie the knot of bark, which fastened the yoke of the wagon to the pole. Alexander repaired to the acropolis, where the vehicle was kept, to attempt this feat. Whether he untied the knot by drawing out a peg, or cut it through with his sword, is a matter of doubt; but that he had fulfilled the prediction, was placed beyond dispute, the ensuing night, by a great storm of thunder and lightning.

ALEXANDER'S ILLNESS.—In the spring of B. C. 333, Alexander resumed his march eastwards. After crossing Cappadocia and the passes of Mount Taurus, he descended into the plains of Cilicia, and pushed on rapidly to Tarsus. Here, while still heated with the march, he plunged into the clear but cold stream of the Cydnus, which runs by the town. The result was a dangerous fever. Aware of the approach of the Persians, the sick monarch desired his physicians to prescribe strong remedies, since he preferred a speedy death to a slow cure. But his impatience alarmed everyone, and none was found willing to undertake so perilous a case. At last, however, the Acarnanian Philip, who was much attached to Alexander, thought it his duty to comply, and set about preparing the desired remedy. In the meantime, the king received from Parmenio, his most trusty general, a note stating that Philip had been bribed by the Persians to poison his sovereign. When the physician brought the medicine, Alexander gave him the letter to read, and, at the same instant, taking the cup from his hands, swallowed the whole draught without hesitation. Philip showed more indignation than fear. "My lord," said he, "your recovery will soon place my innocence in the clearest light." Within three days Alexander was restored to health.

BATTLE OF ISSUS (B. C. 333).—In the meantime, king Darius was approaching at the head of an almost countless multitude. He had intended to fight in the plain of Antioch, where there was room enough for his vast army. But, as Alexander did not come to meet him, he grew impatient, and advanced into the defiles which lie between Syria and Cilicia. Their forces met, almost without warning, in a position where numbers gave no advantage. Hence the issue of the combat was not long uncertain. Alexander, with his right wing, soon broke the left of the Persians. On beholding their defeat, the timid Darius immediately took to flight. His example was followed by his whole army. His camp and treasures were taken, together with his mother and wife, his two daughters and infant son.

The conqueror at once proceeded to utilize his victory by securing Phœnicia and Egypt, the possession of which would give him the command of the sea.

CAPTURE OF TYRE AND GAZA (B. C. 332).—During Alexander's march through Phœnicia and Palestine, only two cities—Tyre and Gaza—closed their gates. Tyre was

by nature a place of great strength, and had been rendered still stronger by art. The island on which it stood, was half a mile distant from the main-land; and, though the channel was shallow near the coast, it deepened to three fathoms near the island. As Alexander possessed no ships, the only method by which he could approach the town, was by filling the gap between it and the continent. This astonishing work he accomplished, in spite of winds and waves and incessant attacks from the besieged. When the mole was at length pushed to the foot of the walls, and a practicable breach had been effected, he ordered a general assault. The Tyrians made a desperate resistance. Even after the outward fortifications were carried by storm, they still defended the avenues and streets with incredible obstinacy. Exasperated by the difficulties they had undergone, the besiegers showed themselves unmerciful. Alexander caused 2,000 of the inhabitants to be crucified, and had the remainder put to the sword or sold into slavery. The strong city of Gaza, which held out about three months, was treated with equal severity.

ALEXANDER AND THE JEWS.—The Jewish historian Josephus relates that, after the fall of Tyre, Alexander went up to Jerusalem, intending to punish its inhabitants for their fidelity to the Persian king. But, through God's special providence, his heart was suddenly changed at the sight of the high-priest Jaddus, who came to meet him out of the city. The king recognized in that pontiff a venerable personage, who once appeared to him in his sleep, and promised him the empire of Asia. His admiration increased, when he saw, in the book of Daniel's prophecies, the predictions concerning him, which foretold the overthrow of the Persian empire by a Greek prince.—Whatever may be thought of these details, it is certain that Alexander not only maintained, but augmented the privileges conferred on the Jews by the Persian government. By his conquest, Judea was brought under the influence of the Greek language and Greek ideas; and the contest of the old religious patriotism with these influences will form, for a considerable period, her chief history.

ALEXANDER IN EGYPT (B. C. 332).—From Gaza, Alexander advanced into Egypt. The Persians, by disregarding the national superstitions, had incurred the hatred of the natives. Alexander, by following an opposite line of con-

duct, conciliated their affection, and subjected the whole country to his power without any opposition.

ALEXANDRIA.—The favorable situation of the coast near the western mouth of the Nile, induced the Macedonian conqueror to trace there the plan of the new city of Alexandria, which became, and remained for several ages, not only the greatest emporium in the world, but also the principal centre of intellectual life.

THE ORACLE OF AMMON.—Being now on the confines of Libya, Alexander resolved to visit the celebrated oracle of Zeus Ammon. He was received by the priests with all the honors of sacred pomp, consulted the oracle in secret, and is said to have been saluted by Ammon as the son of Jupiter. After thus gratifying his vanity, Alexander returned to Egypt. He visited the rising city of Alexandria, granted valuable privileges to the inhabitants, and settled the government both military and civil of the whole country. He then set out for Palestine and Phœnicia, in order to give his undivided attention to affairs of the east.

PROPOSALS OF DARIUS.—Soon after the battle of Issus, Darius had sent a letter to Alexander, offering to become his friend and ally. These first overtures being rejected, the Persian king made further and more advantageous proposals. He offered, to pay 10,000 talents, to cede all the provinces west of the Euphrates, and to give Alexander his daughter Barsiné in marriage. When the young conqueror, who was then engaged in the siege of Tyre, submitted these offers to his council, Parmenio was not unnaturally struck with their magnificence, and observed that, were he Alexander, he would accept them. "And so would I," replied the king, "were I Parmenio." As nothing less than the possession of the whole world could satisfy the ambition of his foe, Darius prepared himself for a desperate resistance. He collected all the forces of the empire, and awaited the invaders in an open plain, some twenty miles from Arbēla, on ground carefully selected and prepared.

BATTLE OF ARBELA (B. C. 331).—Alexander was allowed to reach unmolested the neighborhood of the Persian camp. Here, before leading his men to the attack, he gave them a few days' rest. His army consisted of only 40,000 foot and 7,000 horse. That of Darius was, at least, ten times larger, and included, it is said, 50,000 Greek mercenaries. But paucity of numbers, on the Macedonian side, was compen-

sated by the superior resolution of the men, and, above all, by the greater genius of the leader. Indeed such was the tranquillity with which Alexander contemplated the result of the approaching conflict, that, at daybreak on the morning of the battle, when the officers came to receive his final instructions, they found him in deep slumber. At the head of his cavalry, he broke, without much difficulty, the Persian left, and then fell upon the centre, where Darius stood, surrounded by his best troops. These, animated by the presence of their sovereign, fought with considerable bravery. But they could not long withstand the impetuosity of the Macedonians. Alexander approached so near to the chariot of Darius, that, with a javelin, he killed the driver. Many, on both sides, imagined that Darius himself was slain, and the Persians began to give way. Up to this moment, Darius had behaved with judgment and coolness. But now, believing that all was lost, he ran away, mounted a fleet horse, and the rout of the Persians soon became general.

DEATH OF DARIUS (B. C. 330).—The conflict at Arbela was decisive. The three capitals, Babylon, Susa, and Persepolis, surrendered to Alexander. Darius became a fugitive, and soon after a prisoner in the hands of one of his satraps, Bessus, who entertained the design of establishing himself in Bactria as an independent sovereign. In that direction Bessus was hastening with his royal captive, when Alexander, who had long been on the track of the fugitives, overtook them with part of his cavalry and a chosen body of foot. Warned by the approaching danger, Bessus now endeavored to persuade Darius to flee with him, and provided a fleet horse for that purpose. But the Persian monarch refused, preferring to trust to the generosity of Alexander, whereupon he was pierced with arrows, and left on the road mortally wounded. He was thus found by a Macedonian, of whom he asked a drink of water. Then, pressing the soldier's hand, he requested him to convey his thanks to Alexander for the great kindness shown to his family, and expired. In a few moments, Alexander came up, and threw his own cloak over the body. He then ordered him to be magnificently buried in the tomb of his ancestors, and provided for the fitting education of his children.

FURTHER CONQUESTS (B. C. 330-328).—The pursuit of both Darius and Bessus led Alexander in an incredibly short

space of time through Media, Hyrcania, Aria, Drangiana, and Bactria, all of which provinces successively yielded. Marching thence to the north, he crossed the Jaxartes, and defeated the Scythians. Then, retracing his steps, he completed the reduction of Sogdiana, the only portion of the empire which offered any serious resistance. At Maracanda (now *Samarcand*), the capital of Sogdiana, he married a Bactrian princess, named Roxāna. Here also it was that, enraged at some disparaging remarks made by Clitus, he ran him through the body with a spear.

INVASION OF INDIA (B. C. 327-326).—After reducing Sogdiana, Alexander returned into Bactria, whence the way was opened into a new world, generally believed to be one of immense wealth—India. The sovereign of Penj-âb, Taxiles, surrendered his district, and joined the Macedonian force with 5,000 men. Thence Alexander proceeded to the river Hydaspes. On the opposite bank, Porus, a powerful king, stood ready to dispute his progress with a large and well-appointed force. Alexander made preparations, as if he meant to pass the river in front of the enemy; but, in the night, conveyed his army safely across in another place. An obstinate battle ensued. The elephants of the enemy, at first, occasioned some confusion among the Greeks. But these unwieldy animals ultimately proved as dangerous to the Indians as to the invaders; for, when driven into a narrow passage, they became unmanageable, and contributed in no small degree to the defeat of Porus. Mounted on an enormous elephant, this prince continued to fight long after the day was lost, and he would not surrender till overcome by thirst and fatigue. He appeared before his conqueror, still retaining his majestic bearing, the effect of which was increased by the extraordinary height of his stature. On Alexander's inquiring how he wished to be treated, he replied, "Like a king." "And have you no other request?" asked Alexander. "No," answered Porus; "everything is comprehended in the word king." Struck by his answer, Alexander not only reinstated him in his kingdom, but even added to it several provinces.

HOMEWARD MARCH (B. C. 325).—Alexander rested a month on the banks of the Hydaspes, where he celebrated his victory by games and sacrifices. He then overran the whole of the Penj-âb, as far as the Hyphasis, its southern boundary. It was his intention to cross the Ganges, and

complete the subjugation of the continent. But the army, worn out with their toils, positively refused to proceed any farther. Thus compelled to desist from a forward movement, Alexander would not retrace his steps, but returned by an entirely new route. Following the course of the Indus in ships built for the purpose, he conquered the valley as he descended. Upon arriving at the mouth of the river, Nearchus, with the fleet, was directed to explore the Indian Ocean, the Persian Gulf, and the mouth of the Tigris and Euphrates. Alexander himself proceeded with the bulk of his troops, by land, in the direction of Persepolis, marching on foot and sharing the privations and fatigues of his men. Their sufferings in the desert of Gedrosia were terrible, and the losses here incurred exceeded those of all the rest of the expedition. At length, they emerged into the fertile province of Carmania, and soon after entered Persepolis, whence they proceeded to Susa.

ALEXANDER AT SUSAL (B. C. 325).—Upon reaching Susa, Alexander allowed his soldiers time to repose from their fatigues, and amused them with a series of brilliant festivities. He celebrated his nuptials with Statira, the oldest daughter of Darius, caused about 100 of his officers to espouse Asiatic women of rank, and encouraged no fewer than 10,000 of the common soldiers to take native wives. Besides these intermarriages, he adopted another means of amalgamating the Europeans and the Asiatics, by enlisting numbers of the latter into his army. But these innovations, particularly the last, were regarded with a jealous eye by most of the Macedonian veterans. Their discontent was increased by the conduct of Alexander, who assumed more and more the state and manners of an eastern despot, and they profited by a review to break into open mutiny. Alexander's decision, however, promptly restored order. He commanded thirteen of the ringleaders to be seized and executed; and, addressing the remainder, he upbraided them for their conduct, showing how, by his own and his father's exertions, they had been raised from the condition of scattered herdsmen to be the masters of Greece and the lords of Asia. He then secluded himself for two whole days, during which his Macedonian guard was exchanged for a Persian one, while nobles of the same nation were appointed to the most confidential posts about his person. Ashamed of themselves, the Macedonians now supplicated with tears to

be restored to favor. A solemn reconciliation was effected and 10,000 veterans were allowed to return home. Soon after these occurrences, Alexander proceeded to Ecbatana. Here Hephæstion, his bosom friend, was carried off by a fever. By this loss Alexander was plunged into a deep melancholy, from which he never entirely recovered.

ALEXANDER AT BABYLON (B. C. 324-323).—HIS DEATH.—Alexander reentered Babylon in the spring of B. C. 324. Ambassadors from all parts of Greece, from Libya, Italy, and probably from still more distant regions, were waiting to salute him, and do homage to him as the conqueror of Asia. He gave them audience with a dignity worthy of a great monarch, and, at the same time, with the affability of a prince desirous of winning universal affection. In the mean while, his mind was occupied with new enterprises—the conquest of Arabia, the circumnavigation of Africa, the war against Carthage, and the subjugation of Europe. Death, however, prevented the execution of these projects. At the close of a banquet, he was seized with a violent fever, and in a few days was reduced to extremity. As a last mark of affection, he presented his hand for the soldiers to kiss, and shortly after expired. His premature death makes it impossible to determine whether Alexander's administrative abilities were on a par with his military genius; whether or not he would have succeeded in consolidating his vast heterogeneous empire. Cut off unexpectedly in the vigor of early manhood, he left no inheritor of his power or of his projects. The empire which he had so rapidly constructed, was broken into fragments soon after his death.

CHARACTER OF ALEXANDER.—Of all the conquerors of antiquity, Alexander was without doubt the most renowned. In an incredibly short space of time, he overran and subdued the greater part of the then known world. His strategic ability was of the highest order; his boldness and activity most surprising; his power of communicating his own enthusiasm to his troops, without example. He won their confidence by his abilities, their affection by his kindness, and their devotedness by his readiness to share the common dangers. He studied to awake courage and arouse emulation, by conferring merited praise and rewards. Seeing one day a soldier, who, by taking a load on himself, sought thus to relieve a mule laden with the king's money, he cried out, "Hold on, my friend, the rest of the way, and carry the bur-

den to your own tent; for the treasure is yours." At the time of a difficult march, some Macedonians, seeing the king greatly distressed with thirst, presented him some water in a helmet. Alexander took the helmet; but, observing that those around him were suffering like himself, and that there was not water enough for all, he refused to drink it. He is said to have shed tears over the body of Darius, whose family he treated with great generosity; he behaved toward Porus with like magnanimity. His confidence in his physician Philip is also a touching incident.

But, in contrast to these actions, how many others there are that must lower our estimation of Alexander! The battle of Issus began to work a fatal change in his moral character. After that of Arbela, which raised him to the height of human glory, he plunged into an abyss of degrading excesses. Not satisfied with imitating the Persian manners, he required adoration to be paid to him by his new subjects. He began to indulge in intemperance and debauchery; and, in the paroxysms of his anger, often proved as formidable to his friends as he was in battle to his enemies. He put to death, on a slight suspicion of conspiracy, his most distinguished generals, Philotas, the son of Parmenio, and Parmenio himself. He caused the virtuous philosopher Callisthenes, who had rebuked his pride, to expire in the midst of torments; and, as before related, when heated with wine, he killed with his own hand, Clitus, the officer who had saved his life in the battle of the Granicus. More than this, he sacrificed, without a single pang of remorse, numberless fellow-creatures, merely to gratify his thirst for glory.

BENEFICIAL RESULTS.—His achievements, however, though they undoubtedly occasioned great partial misery, must be regarded as beneficial to the human race. By his conquests, the two continents were put into closer communication with each other; and both, but particularly Asia, were the gainers. The language, the arts, and the literature of Greece, were introduced into the east. An opening was thus made for the Roman conquest first, and afterwards for the spread of the gospel.

CHAPTER XXIV.

FROM THE DEATH OF ALEXANDER TO THE BATTLE OF IPSUS.—

B. C. 323-301.

A PERIOD OF ANARCHY (B. C. 323-315).—Alexander, on his death-bed, is said to have foretold that his friends would celebrate his obsequies with many bloody conflicts. Such was the case. Anarchy set in; and, for twenty-two years, the history of his successors presents but little else than a series of dissensions, usurpations, and murders. Within a short time, Alexander's queen Statira, his mother Olympias, his half-brother Philip Arrhidæus, his Bactrian wife Roxāna, and his posthumous son Alexander, were all put to death. Meanwhile his chief officers wrangled and fought among themselves, until three successive regents, Perdiccas, Antipater, and Polysperchon, had come to a natural or violent end, as also did Craterus, Leonnatus, and Eumenes. The latter was the only one to show loyalty to the family of his master. The contest for preeminence was henceforth confined to Ptolemy, Seleucus, Antigonus, Lysimachus, and Cassander, who presided respectively over Egypt, the satrapy of Babylon, Asia Minor, Thrace, and Macedonia.

COALITION AGAINST ANTIGONUS (B. C. 315-311).—Antigonus, by his victories over Eumenes which gave him control of Paphlagonia and Cappadocia besides the satrapy of Babylon, was thought to have acquired excessive power. This led to a general coalition against him, consisting of Ptolemy, Seleucus, Cassander, and Lysimachus. For four years, war was carried on with great vigor in Syria, Phœnicia, Asia Minor, and Greece. It produced little results, however, beyond the mutual exhaustion of all parties; and peace was made in B. C. 311, on condition that the Greek cities should be free.

DEMETRIUS POLIORCETES AT ATHENS (B. C. 307).—Under the pretext that Antigonus had not withdrawn his garrisons from Greece, Ptolemy renewed the war against him at the end of one year. Soon Cassander joined Ptolemy, and between them they took possession of all the principal Greek towns. To dislodge them, Antigonus, in the summer of 307 B. C., sent a large armament under his son Demetrius,

the same that afterwards obtained the name of Poliorcetes, or besieger of cities. The first exploit of this young, but skillful commander, was the taking of Athens, from which he expelled the Macedonian garrison. The restoration of their popular government, together with the promise of a large donation of corn and ship-timber, excited the enthusiasm of the Athenians. Both Demetrius and his father were deified; and two new tribes, those of Antigonias and Demetrias, were added to the existing ten, which derived their names from the ancient heroes of Attica.—The census of Attica for the year 309 B. C., gave 21,000 freemen, 10,000 metics, and 400,000 slaves.

BATTLE OF SALAMIS (B. C. 306).—The following year, Antigonus directed his son to undertake the siege of Salamis, in Cyprus. Ptolemy hastened to its relief with 140 vessels and 10,000 troops. The battle which ensued, is memorable in ancient naval warfare on account of the large size of the vessels engaged. Ptolemy was signally defeated, and Salamis surrendered. Antigonus celebrated this triumph of his arms by assuming himself, and conferring on his son, the title of king—an example which Ptolemy, Seleucus, and Lysimachus, shortly afterwards imitated.

SIEGE OF RHODES (B. C. 305).—THE COLOSSUS.—Demetrius next directed his efforts against the city of Rhodes, whose inhabitants had refused him their aid against the Egyptians. He attacked them with a fleet of 200 sail and 40,000 men. The Rhodians, a brave and warlike people, well skilled in naval tactics, were dismayed neither by the reputation nor by the powerful armament of their enemy. To a gigantic attack they opposed a no less formidable resistance. In proportion as Demetrius invented new machines to batter the walls or throw darts and stones, they contrived fresh means of destroying or rendering them harmless. Not being able to burn an immense tower, nine stories high, which, filled with smaller engines, missiles, and combatants, seemed to forebode the fall of their city, they undermined the ground over which the terrible machine had to pass in its approach to the walls; and when it reached the excavated spot, it sank so deep that no exertions of the besiegers could raise it again. Demetrius, despairing of success, entered into a treaty with the Rhodians, to whom he made a present of his war-machines. These they sold; and, with the produce of the sale, erected, at the entrance of their harbor, the

Colossus, or brazen statue of the sun, which was reckoned among the seven wonders of the world.

PROTOGENES.—At the time of the siege of Rhodes, there lived, in the suburbs of that city, the celebrated painter Protopogenes. Neither the presence of the enemy, nor the tumult of arms, could induce him to quit his abode, or discontinue his work. Being asked the reason, "I know," he said, "that Demetrius has declared war against the Rhodians, and not against the arts." Nor was he disappointed. Demetrius placed a guard round his house, and frequently went to see him at work.

MILITARY ENGINES OF THE ANCIENTS*.—The most powerful machines used by the ancients in offensive warfare, was the *aries*, or battering ram—a long beam strengthened at one end with an iron head, and hung by the middle to another beam, which lay across a couple of strong posts. Being set in motion by a great number of men, it could shake and batter down any wall or tower. The ram was usually covered with a *vineæ*, to protect it from the attacks of the enemy.

Of the other offensive engines the principal were the *Scorpio*, *Catapulta*, and *Balista*. Smaller darts and arrows were thrown with the *Scorpio*; javelins and spears, with the *Catapulta*; and large stones, with the *Balista*. The force of the *Balista* and *Catapulta* was prodigious. A *Balista* three feet long, could send darts to the distance of 500 paces. Stones weighing 300 pounds, were cast forth to the distance of 125 paces. A soldier once had his head carried off by a stone discharged by an engine 1,800 feet distant.

Among the machines intended for defence, may be mentioned the *vineæ*, *musculi*, and *testudines*. The *vineæ*, or wooden galleries, were composed of posts and wicker hurdles, forming a roof under which the soldiers might approach the walls in comparative safety, when preparing to scale

*They seem to have been invented, or, at any rate, to have come into use among the Greeks, shortly before the time of Alexander the Great. The Romans learned from the Greeks the art of building these machines, and appear to have employed them for the first time, to any considerable extent, at the siege of Syracuse, in the second Punic war.—We here employ for these engines the Latin names, as being the most familiar to the classical student. Neither from the descriptions of authors, nor from the figures on coins or monuments, can we always form an exact idea of their construction.

them. The *musculi* and *testudines* (tortoises) were made of boards, and covered over with raw hides, to protect the assailants against the darts and blows of the besieged, while the former approached either the ditches to fill them up, or the walls of the town to undermine them with pickaxes and other instruments. The *musculi* and *testudines* were borne upon wheels; the *vineæ*, being comparatively light, were carried by the very soldiers whom they sheltered and protected. The Roman legionaries often improvised a *testudo* with their shields, by merely holding them close together over their heads, like a roof.

BATTLE OF IPSUS (B. C. 301).—After his ineffectual attempt on Rhodes, Demetrius marched against Cassander, and reestablished the ascendancy of his party in Greece. He then set out for Asia; and, joining his father Antigonos, advanced with him against the chief army of the confederates, commanded by Seleucus and Lysimachus. The rival hosts met near the city of Ipsus, in Phrygia. With his cavalry, Demetrius made so successful a charge, that he put the enemy to flight. But, having rashly continued the pursuit of the vanquished, he lost a victory which already was his. On his return, he found the way to his own army obstructed by the elephants of Seleucus. His infantry, left unsupported, was forced to surrender; and his old father, Antigonos, after maintaining for a time the unequal contest, at last fell under a shower of darts. Demetrius, seeing every thing lost, collected 9,000 soldiers, and fled with them to Ephesus, whence he shortly after returned to Greece.

THE FOUR KINGDOMS OF EGYPT, THRACE, MACEDONIA, AND SYRIA.—After the battle of Ipsus, the four allied princes distributed among themselves the dominions of their vanquished enemy. Phœnicia, Coelosyria, and Palestine, were added to the kingdom of Egypt; the greater part of Asia Minor, to that of Thrace; and Greece, to that of Macedonia. The rest fell to the share of Seleucus, king of Syria, whose territory greatly exceeded that of the others. He founded on the Orontes a new capital of his empire, which he named Antioch, after his father, Antiochus, and which long continued to be one of the most important Greek cities in Asia.

CHAPTER XXV.

EGYPT UNDER THE PTOLEMIES.—B. C. 323–222.

PTOLEMY I SOTER (B. C. 323–285).—Ptolemy, son of Lagus, the founder of the Greek dynasty of the *Lagides*, or Ptolemies, was by the Rhodians surnamed *Soter* (savior), in acknowledgment of signal services which he conferred on them. He reigned about forty years, if we reckon from the death of Alexander, and sixteen from the battle of Ipsus. This prince was the ablest, as well as the best sovereign of his dynasty. He displayed, whilst on the throne, the same simplicity which characterized him before his accession; and, when told that his dignity required greater pomp and splendor, he answered that a king ought to make his true greatness consist, not in being rich himself, but in enriching others. Ptolemy was a patron of learning. He did much to promote its progress, and laid the foundation of the Alexandrian library, so justly famed for the number of its volumes, which amounted, in the course of time, to no fewer than 700,000.

PTOLEMY II (B. C. 285–249), ironically surnamed *Philadelphus* (friend of his brothers), because he put two of them to death, inherited from his father a great esteem and relish for the fine arts, sciences, and learned men. He completed the building of the lighthouse of Pharos, one of the seven wonders of the world. He made valuable additions to the library founded by his predecessor, and enriched it with a translation of the Old Testament from Hebrew into Greek. This is the version known under the name of the *Septuagint*, or of the seventy interpreters. The work is supposed to have been executed at the suggestion of Demetrius Phalereus, who, after governing Athens for ten years, had withdrawn into Egypt, and become the superintendent of the Alexandrian library.

Ptolemy Philadelphus devoted his chief care to the improvement of commerce. He constructed excellent harbors on the north and east of Egypt; and, by means of a canal and the river Nile, opened an easy communication between the Red Sea and the Mediterranean. Thus he placed nearly all the trade of the east in the hands of his subjects, and rendered Alexandria the general emporium of the then

known world. In consequence, that city rose, in a few years, to an astonishing degree of splendor and prosperity. It became also preeminent as a seat of learning. Its inhabitants consisted of three elements : the Egyptians ; the mercenaries in the king's service ; and the *Alexandrians*, a name given to strangers, mostly Greeks and Jews, who settled there.

PTOLEMY III (B. C. 247-222) received from his grateful subjects the name of *Evergëtes*, or the beneficent. He carried on a successful war against Syria, to avenge the death of his sister Berenicé, who had been cruelly murdered by her rival Laodicé. On his return from this triumphant expedition, Evergëtes passed through Jerusalem, where he offered sacrifices to the true God in thanksgiving for his victories over the Syrians. He was the last prince of his dynasty that showed some moderation and virtue.

The decline of Egypt dates from the reign of his successor, Ptolemy IV *Philopätor*. In the reign of the sixth Ptolemy, we shall see the first instance of Roman intervention in that unhappy country.

CHAPTER XXVI.

SYRIA UNDER THE SELEUCIDÆ.—B. C. 323-164.

SELEUCUS (B. C. 322-280) surnamed *Nicator* (conqueror) the founder of the kingdom of Syria was a brave, active, and truly able sovereign. He pursued with great zeal the plan of *Hellenizing* the east, by founding Greek and Macedonian colonies in various parts of his dominions. Besides Antioch, his capital, he built many other considerable cities, such as Apamëa, Laodicëa, and Seleucia on the banks of the Tigris. The situation and magnificence of this last, by attracting the inhabitants of Babylon, greatly contributed to the utter decay of the once superb capital of the Chaldeans.

EXTINCTION OF THE KINGDOM OF THRACE (B. C. 281).—Till the year B. C. 281, Seleucus had ever been on terms of friendly alliance with Lysimachus, king of Thrace. But, when both were more than eighty years old, they became enemies. Seleucus invaded the districts belonging

to his opponents in Asia Minor, and Lysimachus advanced to arrest his progress. A battle was fought at Corupedion, near Sardis, in which Lysimachus was defeated and slain. With him fell the kingdom of Thrace. From its Asiatic provinces there arose afterwards the petty states of Pergamus and Bithynia. Seleucus did not long enjoy the fruit of his victory. That monarch, who had never beheld his native land since he first joined the expedition of Alexander, now crossed the Hellespont to take possession of Macedonia. But, as he stopped to sacrifice at a celebrated altar near Lysimachia, in Thrace, Ptolemy Ceraunus, an Egyptian prince, whom he had kindly received at his court, assassinated him by stabbing him in the back. His Asiatic dominions fell to his son Antiochus.

ANTIOCHUS I SOTER (B. C. 280-360) was the fruit of one of those marriages which Alexander celebrated at Susa, between his generals and the princesses of Persia. His mother's name was Apama. His reign presents little that is remarkable beyond his wars with the Gauls, who had invaded Asia Minor. Over them he is said to have gained a great victory, and from this circumstance he derived his name of Soter. He was subsequently killed in a battle with the Gauls.

ANTIOCHUS II (B. C. 261-247) impiously surnamed *Theos* (god), had a most unprosperous reign. He is the prince mentioned in *Daniel* (xi, 6), as the king of the north, who, on being defeated by the king of the south, Ptolemy, was compelled to marry Ptolemy's daughter, Berenicé. On the death of Ptolemy, Antiochus recalled his former wife, Laodicé, who, remembering her insult, put him to death along with Berenicé and her son.

RISE OF THE PARTHIAN EMPIRE (B. C. 250).—It was during the reign of Antiochus Theos, that the Parthians, led by Arsaces, a man of obscure birth, but of great valor and ability, began to shake off the Syrian yoke, and laid the foundation of that empire which afterwards became so formidable, and for nearly three centuries (B. C. 34-A. D. 225) divided with Rome the sovereignty of the known earth. The example of insurrection set by the Parthians, was followed by other nations in their neighborhood, and the proud monarch of Syria lost all his provinces beyond the Tigris.

SELEUCUS CALLINICUS (B. C. 245-226), AND SELEUCUS CERAUNUS (B. C. 226-223).—Seleucus Callinicus, the son

of Antiochus Theos and Laodicé, met with sad reverses at the hands not only of Ptolemy Evergêtes, but also of the Parthians. He died a prisoner among the latter. The reign of his eldest son and successor, Seleucus Ceraunus, was undistinguished. But, under Antiochus III the Great, Syria partly regained its former power and prosperity.

ANTIOCHUS III (B. C. 223-189), surnamed the Great, was but fifteen years of age, when he succeeded his brother Ceraunus. His first war was against the Egyptian king Ptolemy IV *Philopător*, by whom he was entirely defeated (B. C. 217) at the great battle of Raphia. His losses on this occasion, however, were soon compensated by conquests in another direction. He stripped Arsaces of his late acquisitions, and forced him to be contented with the provinces of Parthia and Hyrcania. He also reestablished his authority in Bactria, and in various other countries east of the Tigris, which had some time before shaken off the Syrian yoke. During this expedition, which lasted seven years, he displayed considerable vigor and activity. He returned to his capital covered with glory.

About this time Ptolemy Philopător died, leaving for his successor a child only five years old, Ptolemy V Epiphanes. This gave Antiochus the opportunity of recovering Cœlosyria and Palestine. But his endeavor to reconquer the cities of Asia Minor which once belonged to the Syrian monarchy, was defeated by Roman intervention. He perished in an inglorious attempt to plunder the rich temple of Elymais, in Persia.

ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES (B. C. 175-164).—As the Romans had protected Asia Minor against the enterprises of Antiochus the Great, so they interposed against his second successor, Antiochus IV-Epiphanes, in favor of Egypt. Epiphanes had already made three successful campaigns against Philopator, and was about to complete the reduction of Egypt, when he was met, near Alexandria, by a Roman embassy bringing orders that he should desist from further hostilities. To these summons, the king gave an evasive answer. Whereupon Popilius Lœnas, one of the ambassadors, drew a circle around the prince, on the sand, and commanded him to give his answer before crossing the line. The terrified monarch promised compliance, and withdrew into his dominions (B. C. 169).

CHAPTER XXVII.

JEWISH INDEPENDENCE.—B. C. 168–106.

PERSECUTION OF THE JEWS (B. C. 168).—Enraged at seeing his prey snatched from his grasp, Antiochus discharged his anger on the Jews. Whilst on his return journey from Egypt to Syria, he detached 22,000 men under Apollonius, whom he commanded to enter Jerusalem and give up the city to fire and sword. Apollonius took advantage of the Sabbath, during which the inhabitants were engaged in religious worship, to let loose his soldiers upon them. Multitudes were slaughtered. The temple and sanctuary were profaned, and a gentile garrison was stationed in the holy city. Then followed one of the severest persecutions recorded in history. An edict was published, enjoining uniformity of worship throughout the king's dominion, and requiring the Jews to adore the false deities of the Greeks. The favorite test of uniformity was the eating of swine's flesh. The heroic endurance of the venerable Eleazar, and of the widow and her seven sons,* makes this one of the brightest pages in the annals of Jewish or Christian martyrology.

REVOLT OF MATHATHIAS (B. C. 168).—Excepting a few striking cases of apostasy, the priests were steadfast; and the house of Levi not only quelled idolatry, but established the independence of Judea under the *Maccabean*, or *Asmonean*, princes.† At the beginning of the persecution, an aged priest named Mathathias withdrew from Jerusalem to his own city of Modin, with his five sons and other kindred. When the king's officers came to Modin to enforce the edict, Mathathias slew both the first man that approached the heathen altar and the royal commissioner; and, inviting all who were for the covenant to follow him, he fled with his sons to the mountains. Thence they issued forth, breaking down the heathen altars, and killing idol-worshippers. But

* Commonly called the Maccabees.

† *Maccabee*, a hammer, was originally the surname of Judas, the third son of Mathathias. *Asmonean*, or rather Chasmonian, is the proper name of the family, from Chasmon, the great-grandfather of Mathathias.

Mathathias died soon, and with his last breath bequeathed the command to his third son, Judas.

EXPLOITS OF JUDAS MACCABEUS (B. C. 167-161).—Of the achievements of this great martyr and patriot, our account must be brief. Five victories signalized the first year of his command, in which, defeating in turn the royal lieutenants—Lysias, Timotheus, and Bacchides—he destroyed their armies, acquired their treasures, and recovered many strongholds. The next year witnessed the delivery of Jerusalem; and the retreat of the enemy from Palestine, gave an interval of rest for purifying the temple. The memory of this new consecration was perpetuated by the feast of Dedication, which St. John (x) speaks of as kept in the winter.

DEATH OF ANTIOCHUS IV EPIPHANES (B. C. 164).—Meanwhile Antiochus went through the upper provinces of his kingdom, to levy large tributes. Imitating his father, he attempted to rifle the rich temple of Elymais; but, like him, he met with a shameful repulse. His mortification was here increased by the news of the defeat of his armies in Judea; and he therefore began to retrace his steps with all possible speed, that he might the sooner make Jerusalem the sepulchre of its inhabitants. But he was himself about to become the victim of a more powerful avenger. Whilst venting his blasphemous rage, he was seized with excruciating pains. His flesh fell from his bones, or was eaten by worms; and he died a prey to agonizing tortures.

FRESH VICTORIES OF JUDAS MACCABEUS (B. C. 164-161).—The death of Antiochus Epiphanes delivered the Jews from a cruel foe, but not from all their enemies. Lysias again invaded Judea, but met with such determined resistance as compelled him to withdraw. He soon, however, reappeared, accompanied by the young king Antiochus Eupator, son of Epiphanes. Jerusalem was closely besieged, and was in great danger of being taken, when afflicting news recalled the king and his lieutenant into Syria.

Judas used this second interval of rest to chastise the Ammonites, the Idumeans, and other neighboring tribes, that were continually harassing the people of God. One of his most astonishing campaigns was that against a general called Timotheus, who had gathered an army of more than 120,000. Judas with only 6,000 attacked him, put 30,000 of his troops to the sword, scattered the rest, and, returning without loss of time, stormed the two strong cities of Car-

nion and Ephron, where an additional force of 50,000 enemies was destroyed.

DEATH OF JUDAS MACCABEUS (B. C. 161).—Meanwhile a revolution had deprived Eupātor of his crown and life, and placed on the throne his cousin Demetrius I Soter. This prince followed the subtler policy of attacking the Jews through their own divisions. Hellenism once more lifted its head under a usurping high-priest. Jealousies sprang up among the Assidæans (zealots) against the Maccabees. Judas, however, was still able both to arrest the progress of Bacchides, governor of Mesopotamia, and utterly to defeat a very large force which Nicanor brought to the assistance of the apostate high-priest, Joachim, or Alcimus. But, when Bacchides returned with a fresh Syrian army of 22,000 foot and 2,000 horse, the Jewish hero could rally around him only 800 men. "If our time be come, let us die manfully with our brethren, and let us not stain our honor," said Judas before his last fight. Victorious over the wing opposed to him, he was overwhelmed by the numbers that assailed his rear, and his death dispersed his followers. He was buried at Modin, amidst the lamentations of the people, crying, "How is the valiant man fallen, who delivered Israel!"

JONATHAN (B. C. 153-143).—While the Syrian general Bacchides and the intruder Alcimus were hunting down the patriots; Jonathan, the youngest of the Maccabean brethren, held out in the wilderness, until he grew strong enough to assume the offensive. In B. C. 153, he was installed in the high-priesthood, at the feast of the Tabernacles, thus beginning the line of Asmonean priest-princes. Ten years later, he was treacherously put to death by Tryphon, a usurper of the Syrian crown.

SIMON (B. C. 143-135).—At last, the internal disorders of Syria enabled Simon, the second, and the last survivor, of the sons of Mathathias, to secure the recognition of Jewish independence by king Demetrius Nicator, B. C. 142. Simon was made hereditary high-priest. Under him, Judea enjoyed all the blessings of profound peace, "and the earth yielded her increase, and the trees of the field their fruit. The ancient men sat in the streets, communing together of good things; and the young men put on glorious and warlike apparel. And every man sat under his vine, and under his fig-tree; and there was none to make him afraid." Simon's internal government was just and firm; abroad, he opened

up a commerce with Europe through the port of Joppé, and renewed the treaties which Judas and Jonathan had made with Rome and Lacedæmon. The letters in favor of the Jews addressed by the Roman senate to the states and islands of Greece and Asia Minor, and to the great potentates of Asia, including even the Parthian Arsaces, are a striking evidence of the diffusion of the Jewish race.

JOHN HYRCANUS (B. C. 135-106).—Simon was treacherously murdered with his eldest and third sons by his own son-in-law Ptolemy, a creature of the Syrians. This man called in the enemies of his country. Jerusalem was forced to capitulate, and Judea became once more tributary (B. C. 133). But the death of Antiochus VII Sidetes, in Parthia, enabled John, the second son and successor of Simon, to cast off the yoke; and the restored king, Demetrius Nicator, finally confirmed his former grant of Jewish independence (B. C. 123). The state acquired its full extent by the conquest of the land beyond the Jordan, and of the old foes in Idumea and Samaria. From this time, the kingdom of Judea comprised *Judea* proper in the south, *Samaria* in the centre, *Galilee* in the north, and *Peræa* beyond the Jordan.

John built at Jerusalem the tower of Baris, which afterwards became famous under the name of *Antonia*. But the close of his government saw the rupture of the religious unity of the nation, by the rise of the opposing sects of the Pharisees and Sadducees. A personal quarrel with the former led John to join the latter sect. His death marks the transition from the theocratic commonwealth, under the Maccabean leaders, to the Asmonean kingdom of his successors. John had called himself *Prince of Israel*. His son Judas exchanged his Jewish for the Greek name Aristobulus; and, under him, the state began to be called by the Grecian and Roman appellation of Judea.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

MACEDONIA AND GREECE.—B. C. 301-183.

REVOLUTIONS IN MACEDONIA (B. C. 301-280).—The battle of Ipsus had secured to Cassander the peaceful possession of his kingdom of Macedon. He was succeeded on the throne

(B. C. 296) by his eldest son Philip IV.* But that young prince died in 295, when his two brothers began an unnatural struggle about the succession. Then Demetrius Poliorcetes, turning their dissensions to his own advantage, made himself master of Macedonia and the greater part of Greece (B. C. 294). Not content with this return of good fortune, Poliorcetes aimed at recovering the whole of his father's dominions in Asia. But, before he was ready to take the field, his adversaries were upon him. In the spring of B. C. 287, Ptolemy sent a powerful fleet against Greece, while the famous Pyrrhus, king of Epirus, on the one side, and Lysimachus, on the other, simultaneously invaded Macedonia. Demetrius was compelled to flee. Pyrrhus now ascended the throne, but his reign in Macedonia was of brief duration. At the end of seven months, he was in turn driven out by Lysimachus, who retained possession of the country until his fall and death, at the battle of Corupedion.

INVASION OF THE CELTS (B. C. 280-279.—Ptolemy Ceraunus was the next occupant of the Macedonian throne, which he purchased by his treacherous assassination of Seleucus, in B. C. 280. This base and cowardly act met with speedy retribution. In the very same year, the kingdom of Macedonia and Thrace was invaded by an immense host of Celts, and Ptolemy fell at the head of the forces which he led against them. From Macedonia, numerous bands of the Celtic invaders, under Brennus, burst upon Thessaly and Greece. The idea of the chieftain was to strike a blow which would both enrich his followers and stun the Greeks. He meant to plunder the temple at Delphi, the most venerated place in all Greece, where he supposed an enormous treasure was deposited. At the approach of the invaders, Greece was terror-struck. The nations of Peloponnesus closed the isthmus of Corinth by a wall. North of the isthmus, the Boeotians, Phocidians, Locrians, Megarians, and Ætolians, formed a coalition under the leadership of Athens, and an army was stationed at Thermopylæ to stop the barbarians. But, just as in the case of the Persians, traitors guided Brennus across the mountain paths. The Greeks, seeing their position turned, withdrew on board Athenian galleys; and, by evening of the same day, the invaders appeared in sight of Delphi. Instead of rushing at once to the assault,

*Philip Arrhidæus is called Philip III.

the Gauls fell out to plunder. The night was spent in tumultuous merriment and orgies. Meanwhile, there assembled within Delphi 1000 Greek warriors, who, on the next day, gave a warm reception to the besiegers. Repulsed with great loss, the Gauls returned, flying and fighting, to the place where they had left their comrades, on the frontiers of Macedonia. Some established themselves near the Danube; others settled on the sea-coast of Thrace; whilst the rest passing over into Asia, gave their name to the country called Galatia.

ANTIGONUS-GONATAS (B. C. 277-239).—After the death of Ptolemy Ceraunus, the Macedonian crown was disputed by several potentates. At length, Antigonus Gonatas, son of Demetrius Poliorcetes, succeeded in establishing himself on the throne; and, with the exception of two or three years (B. C. 276-272), during which he was temporarily expelled by Pyrrhus, he continued in possession of it till his death (B. C. 239). He also made himself master of the greater part of Greece. He transmitted the crown to his son Demetrius II, and his posterity retained it whilst Macedonia continued an independent kingdom.

THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.—Achaia is a narrow strip of country upon the shores of the Corinthian gulf in Peloponnesus. From a very early period, there had existed a league, chiefly for religious purposes among the twelve principal towns of the province. This league, however, had never possessed much political importance; and, of late, it had even been suppressed by the Macedonians, who controlled all its cities, either by their own garrisons or by tyrants subservient to their interests. But it was this very oppression that led to the revival of the league. The Achæan towns began gradually to coalesce again. Finally, in the year 251 B. C., Aratus, of Sicyon, one of the most remarkable characters of this period, brought it into active political prominence.

ARATUS.—Aratus, having freed his native city, which had long groaned under the dominion of tyrants, induced his countrymen to join the Achæan league. The importance of this accession, and the influence of so able a man as Aratus, were soon felt. In B. C. 243, when *stratēgus* of the league for the second time, Aratus wrested Corinth from the Macedonians, and united it to the confederation. From that moment, the league spread with wonderful rapidity. It was soon joined by Træzen, Epidaurus, Hermioné, and other

cities; and it ultimately embraced Athens, Megāra, Salamis, and the whole of Peloponnesus, with the exception of Sparta, Elis, and some of the Arcadian towns.

CONSTITUTION OF THE LEAGUE.—The league was governed by a *stratēgus*, or general, whose functions were both military and civil; a *grammateus* or secretary; and a council of ten *demiurgi*. The sovereignty, however, resided in the general assembly, which met twice a year in a sacred grove, near Ægium, and was composed of all the citizens who had attained the age of thirty. In this assembly, the officers of the league were elected, and all general questions of war, peace, foreign alliances, and the like, were decided.

AGIS IV (B. C. 244–240), king of Sparta, during his short reign attempted to revive the ancient glory of his country, by restoring the institutions of Lycurgus. A preparatory step needed to attain this object, was to cancel all debts, and to make a new distribution of lands. Agis was the first to relinquish his property and that of his family; but, failing to induce the mass of the wealthy to follow his example, he was put to death as a traitor to his order.

CLEOMENES ATTACKS THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE (B. C. 225–221).—Cleomenes, however, a few years later, effected this reform. The result of his measures was soon visible. With the return of Spartan courage, there sprung up a corresponding revival of ambition and desire of preeminence. Cleomenes offered to join Sparta to the Achæan league, but on condition of being made its *stratēgus*. The proposal being rejected, a war ensued, which proved equally fatal to both parties.

BATTLE OF SELLASIA (B. C. 221).—Hard pressed by Cleomenes, the Achæans found themselves compelled to appeal for aid to Macedonia. King Antigonus Doson readily espoused their cause. In the battle of Sellasia (B. C. 221), the army of Cleomenes was almost totally annihilated. He himself was obliged to flee to Egypt, and Sparta was taken. But the Achæans paid dearly for the aid thus obtained: they fell anew into a sort of subjection to Macedonia.

THE ÆTOLIANS, a species of freebooters, had long been united in a confederation, not of cities, but of tribes. The council of the league, called the *panætolicum*, assembled every autumn to elect the *stratēgus* and other officers. But the details of government were entrusted to a permanent

committee, whose members were called *apocleti*. Availing themselves of the disorganized state of Greece consequent upon Alexander's death, the Ætolians had gradually made themselves masters of Locris, Phocis, Bœotia, together with portions of Acarnania, Thessaly, and Epirus. Thus both the Amphictyonic Council and the oracle of Delphi, were in their power. It was not long before they came into collision with the Achæan league.

WAR BETWEEN THE ÆTOLIAN AND THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE.—The superior power of the Ætolians, and their frequent incursions into the territory of the Achæan league, forced the latter to implore the assistance of the young king of Macedonia, Philip v. This monarch, equally ambitious and enterprising, was possessed of considerable military ability and much political sagacity. He afforded some assistance to the Achæans in the years 220-217. But his chief attention was directed to the great struggle now going on in the west, between Rome and Carthage; and the southern league, thus thrown almost entirely upon its own resources, continued to be hard pressed by the stronger confederacy of the north, until the appointment of the last of the Greeks, Philopœmen, as stratêgus (B. C. 208).

PHILOPÆMEN (B. C. 253-183) was a native of Megalopolis, in Arcadia. From his youth, he inured himself to a hard and active life, chiefly applying to such exercises as might render him an excellent warrior. Being equally well qualified to fight and to command, he yielded to no soldier in vigor and courage, nor to any officer in prudence and ability. At the age of thirty, he signalized himself in the battle of Sellasia; and to him, more than to any other, was Antigonus indebted for his victory. The king acknowledged this after the battle, in a manner very flattering to Philopœmen. Feigning to be angry, because the cavalry had charged before the signal was given, and being answered by the commander of that body that the fault was to be laid entirely to the account of a young Megalopolitan officer, the king replied: "This young man, by seizing the proper moment for action, has performed the part of the general; and you, the general, have acted the part of a young man."

BATTLE OF MANTINEA (B. C. 207).—Philopœmen introduced considerable improvements in the arms, discipline, and tactics of the Achæans. His reforms, combined with the public spirit which he fostered among the confederates,

were attended with the most beneficial results. When Machanidas, the tyrant of Sparta, who aspired to extend his sovereignty over the whole of Peloponnesus, advanced to Mantinea, in B. C. 207, Philopœmen met him at the head of the Achæan forces. A decisive battle ensued, the success of which was chiefly due to the superior talents of the confederate general. Nor were the Achæans ungrateful towards him who had saved them from the yoke of the Spartan despots. The same honor that was paid to Themistocles after the battle of Salamis, was also paid to Philopœmen. In the next Nemean festival, when the musician sung this verse of an ancient poet :

“ The palm of liberty for Greece I won,”

the spectators, struck at the coincidence, rose, and, turning to their favorite stratêgus, hailed him with loudest plaudits. They recollected the ancient dignity of Greece ; and, in their present joy, were filled with the noble spirit of former times.

SPARTA JOINS THE ACHÆAN LEAGUE (B. C. 191).—Philopœmen found other opportunities of distinguishing himself. At Sparta, Nabis had succeeded Machanidas, whom he resembled both in his cruelty towards the Lacedæmonians and in his enmity towards the Achæans. His operations against the latter were at first successful. But, subsequently, he was signally defeated by Philopœmen ; and, destitute of troops and resources, returned to Sparta, where he was murdered. Thereupon, Philopœmen marched with his victorious army to Lacedæmon. He found everything there in confusion. But, assembling the citizens, he so dexterously influenced them by motives of fear and interest, that he persuaded them to join the Achæan league.

DISINTERESTEDNESS OF PHILOPÆMEN.—The Lacedæmonians, out of gratitude, resolved to make him a donation of the whole sum accruing from the sale of Nabis's property. But so well known was the integrity of the patriot, that no Spartan could be induced to be the bearer of the present. It became necessary to intrust it to one Timolâus, a stranger, to whom Philopœmen was bound by the rights of hospitality. He, therefore, went to Megalopolis, where he lodged at Philopœmen's. But, observing this great man's simplicity of manners, gravity of discourse, and nobleness of sentiments, he durst not even allude to the object of his journey, and re-

turned to Lacedæmon. Nor was he more successful in a second visit. Being sent a third time, he ventured to deliver his commission. Philopœmen listened with attention; then immediately set out for Sparta, where he exhorted the people not to bribe the virtuous, who were already their friends, but rather to employ their gold in winning over and silencing those who divided the city by seditious discourses.

The subsequent history of the Achæan and Ætolian Leagues, as also of the Macedonians, is interwoven with that of Rome.

CHAPTER XXIX.

LAST PERIOD OF GRECIAN ART.

SCULPTURE.—After the close of the Peloponnesian war, sculpture continued to flourish. But, instead of Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva—the favorite gods of the earlier artists, the sculptors of this period chose in preference subjects affording room for the exhibition of more violent feelings, such as Bacchus, Venus, and Cupid. The magnificent gold-and-ivory statues almost wholly disappeared, marble or bronze being used instead; and the serene majesty of the older works gave place to a softer and more flowing execution.

Scopas, Praxiteles, and Lysippus, were the most celebrated masters of this period. The chief works of Scopas were a group representing Achilles conducted by the marine deities to the island of Leucé; the group of Niobé and her children, a copy of which is preserved in the museum at Florence; and the statue of the Pythian Apollo playing on the lyre.

The most famous work of Praxiteles was the Venus which he made for the Cnidians. Though it expressed only sensual charms, and was avowedly modeled from the courtesan Phryné, yet such was its excellence, that many travelled to Cnidus on purpose to behold it; and so highly did the Cnidians prize it, that no offer could ever induce them to sell it. Here, for the first time, was the goddess Venus represented as nude.

Lysippus of Sicyon, who flourished during the reign of Alexander the Great, worked principally in bronze. Hercules was a favorite subject with him; and the celebrated Farnésé Hercules, in the museum at Naples, is probably a copy of one of his works. His most renowned statue of Alexander, who forbade anybody but Lysippus and Apelles to represent him, was that which exhibited the hero brandishing a lance. It was regarded as a companion to the picture of Apelles, in which Alexander wielded a thunderbolt.

PAINTING.—The most famous painter of this period, nay, of all antiquity, was Apelles. The great part of his life seems to have been spent at the Macedonian court. He was warmly patronized by Alexander, who granted him the exclusive privilege of painting his portraits. After the death of that monarch, whom he had accompanied on his eastern expedition, Apelles withdrew to the courts of king Ptolemy. Of his modesty many pleasant anecdotes are related. He was not ashamed to learn from the humblest critics. With this view he was accustomed to exhibit his unfinished pictures before his house, and to conceal himself behind them, in order to hear the criticisms of the passers-by. Once a cobbler detected a fault in the shoes of one of his figures, which Apelles corrected. The next day he passed, the cobbler, encouraged by the success of his first criticism, began to remark upon the leg. This, however, Apelles could not endure; and, coming forward, he bade the cobbler to keep to his shoes—whence came the proverb: "*Ne sutor ultra crepidam*—Let the cobbler stick to his last." The most admired of all his paintings was a Venus rising from the sea, and represented as wringing her hair, whilst the falling drops formed a veil around her. Augustus placed it in the temple which he dedicated to Julius Cæsar, at Rome.

LATER SCHOOLS OF ART.—After the age of Alexander, Greek art began visibly to decline. Many works of great excellence, however, still continued to be produced. Rhodes especially remained an eminent school of art, almost down to the Christian era. Pergamus also and Ephesus possessed, at this time, artists of merit. To this period belong the dying gladiators of the Louvre, and of the Capitoline museum, the 'Venus de Medici' at Florence, the famous group of the Laocoon in the Vatican, and that called the Farnesian bull, in the museum at Naples, which represents

Zethus and Amphion binding Dircé to a wild bull, in order to avenge their mother.

ARCHITECTURE.—The architecture of this period was marked rather by the laying out of cities in a nobler and more convenient fashion, and by the increase of splendor in private residences, than by any improvement in the style of public buildings and temples. Of the many cities to which the conquests of Alexander gave rise, the chief were Alexandria and Antioch. The regularity of its plan, the colossal size of its public edifices, and the beauty and solidity of its private houses, rendered Alexandria a sort of model city; yet it was surpassed by Antioch, which rose a few years later.

PLUNDER OF GREEK WORKS OF ART BY THE ROMANS.—When Greece began to fall into the hands of the Romans, the treasures of Greek art were conveyed by degrees to Rome, where ultimately a new school arose. Nero is said to have carried off 500 statues from Delphi alone, merely to adorn his 'golden house.' But so prodigious was the number of works of art in Greece, that, even in the second century of the Christian era, when Pausanias visited it, its temples and other public buildings were still crowded with statues and paintings.

CHAPTER XXX.

THE NEW COMEDY—ATHENIAN ORATORY AND PHILOSOPHY.

THE NEW COMEDY: MENANDER (342-290).—Æschylus, Sophocles, and Euripides, were followed by no tragic writer of equal merit. With regard to comedy the case was different. Aristophanes had a successor—Menander, whose genius gave to that species of composition the very form it has ever since retained, and which the Athenians called the *new* comedy. It sprung up among them after they became subject to the Macedonians. Politics were excluded from it, and its materials were drawn exclusively from the fictitious adventures of persons in private life. Philémon, who was distinguished for broad humor, and was very popular among the Athenian public, is regarded as the founder of the new

comedy. But its glory was Menander, whom ancient critics unanimously considered one of the most elegant writers of antiquity. The number of his fragments, collected from the writings of various authors, show how extensively he was read. But, unfortunately, none are of sufficient length to convey to us an adequate idea of his style and genius.

ATHENIAN ORATORY.—The latter days of literary Athens, were chiefly distinguished by the genius of her orators and philosophers. The democratical nature of her institutions, made the possession of oratorical skill eminently valuable. By prerogative of birth, the Athenian citizen was both a statesman and a judge; he was daily called upon either to pronounce on questions of domestic and foreign policy, or to give his decision in courts of justice, which, in number, hardly differed from public assemblies. Judicial orators, too, usually drew their topics less from the law, or the case under consideration, than from extraneous circumstances, and were thus enabled to marshal, in favor of a client or against an adversary, all the combined resources of judicial, deliberative, and demonstrative oratory. Add to this the natural temperament of the Athenians, which rendered them highly susceptible of the charms of eloquence. From all these causes much attention came to be given to oratory, at Athens. When Gorgias appeared there as ambassador from Leontini in B. C. 427, the Athenians retained him in their city for the purpose of profiting by his instruction, and he was honored with a golden statue at Delphi.

ATTIC ORATORS.—Between 490 and 310 B. C. flourished at Athens those speakers, who have been called by way of eminence the Attic orators. The earliest of them was Antiphon (B. C. 480–411). Thucydides was one of his pupils, and owed much to his lessons. The best known among the other Attic orators, were Lysias, Isocrates, Isæus, Æschines, and Demosthenes. The style of Lysias is regarded as a model of the Attic idiom, and his orations are characterized by gracefulness, combined with energy and power. They were written for others to deliver, because, being a resident alien, he could himself take no part in the assemblies nor speak in the courts of justice. Isocrates took great pains with his compositions, and is reported to have spent ten, or perhaps fifteen years, over his panegyric oration. His style is pure and elegant, but wanting in simplicity and vigor. Prevented by his weakly constitution and natural timidity

from taking a part in public affairs, he remained all his life a speech writer and professor of rhetoric. Isæus, who also opened a school of rhetoric at Athens, numbered Demosthenes among his pupils. His orations were exclusively judicial.

Æschines (B. C. 389-324) was successively a gymnastic teacher, a scribe, an actor, and a public speaker. As a politician, he was first an opponent of Philip. But bribes judiciously administered by this prince, made him espouse the cause of Macedonia. Henceforth, he was the constant advocate of peace. He and Demosthenes were the leading speakers of the opposing parties, and the heat of political animosity soon degenerated into personal hatred. In B. C. 330, Æschines tried to ruin his rival by a charge nominally directed against Ctesiphon, but in reality aimed at Demosthenes. The latter triumphantly replied in his speech *On the Crown*. Æschines, not having obtained a fifth part of the votes, became himself liable to a penalty. Chagrined at his defeat, he withdrew to Ionia and Caria, where he spent several years in teaching rhetoric. After the death of Alexander, returning to Rhodes, he established there a school of eloquence, which afterwards became very celebrated. As an orator, he was second only to Demosthenes, of whom an account has been previously given.

THE ACADEMICIANS: PLATO (B. C. 429-347).—Of all the disciples of Socrates, Plato was by far the most distinguished. Descended of a noble family, he was instructed in music, grammar, and gymnastics, by the most celebrated masters of the time. At twenty, his attention was turned to philosophy by the teaching of Socrates; and, till the death of the latter, he lived in the closest intimacy with him. For some twelve years after this event, he absented himself from Athens, visiting Cyrène, Egypt, Sicily, and Magna Græcia. On his return, he began to teach in the gymnasium of the Academy, and also in his garden at Colōnus. His instructions were gratuitous; and his method, like that of Socrates, seems to have been by interrogation and dialogue. His doctrines, however, were too recondite for the popular ear, and his lectures were not numerously attended. But he had a narrow circle of devoted admirers and disciples, who met in his house, over the vestibule of which was inscribed, "Let no one enter, who is ignorant of geometry." The fundamental principle of his philosophy is the belief in an eternal and

self-existent cause, the origin of all things. This, and his next great tenet, the belief in the immortality of the soul, naturally led him to establish a lofty standard of moral excellence. Like Socrates, he constantly inculcated temperance, justice, and purity of life. In politics, his views were much less satisfactory.—As Plato delivered his lectures in the Academy, his disciples received the name of Academicians.

THE PERIPATETICS: ARISTOTLE (B. C. 384-322).—Among the select pupils of Plato, was a native of Stagirus, Aristotle, who, from the place of his birth, is also known as *the Stagirite*. Plato considered him his best scholar, and called him the intellect of his school. Becoming a teacher in turn, Aristotle accepted Philip's invitation to undertake the education of the youthful Alexander. At the request of the philosopher, Philip rebuilt the city of Stagirus, which had been destroyed during the Olynthian war; and it was here that Aristotle imparted his instruction to Alexander, as well as to several other noble youths (B. C. 342-338). In B. C. 335, Aristotle again took up his abode at Athens, and taught in the gymnasium called the Lycæum. From his habit of delivering his lectures, whilst walking up and down in the shady walks or porticoes of this place, his school acquired the name of the *peripatetic*. For thirteen years he continued to preside over the Lycæum; and, during that period, composed the greater portion of those voluminous works which stamp him as one of the very first princes of the human intellect. His philosophy was founded on a close observation of human nature; and he may be regarded as the founder and perfecter of logic as an art. In person, Aristotle was short and slender, with small eyes, and something of a lisp. His manners were characterized by briskness and vivacity, and he paid considerable attention to his dress and outward demeanor.

THE STOICS*: ZENO, the founder of the school of the Stoics, flourished in the early part of the third century B. C. A native of Citium, in Cyprus, he settled at Athens about B. C. 299; and, after a long course of study, opened a school of his own in the *Pæcile Stoa*, whence came the name of his sect. His tenets were chiefly practical. He inculcated temperance and self-denial, maintaining that men should give

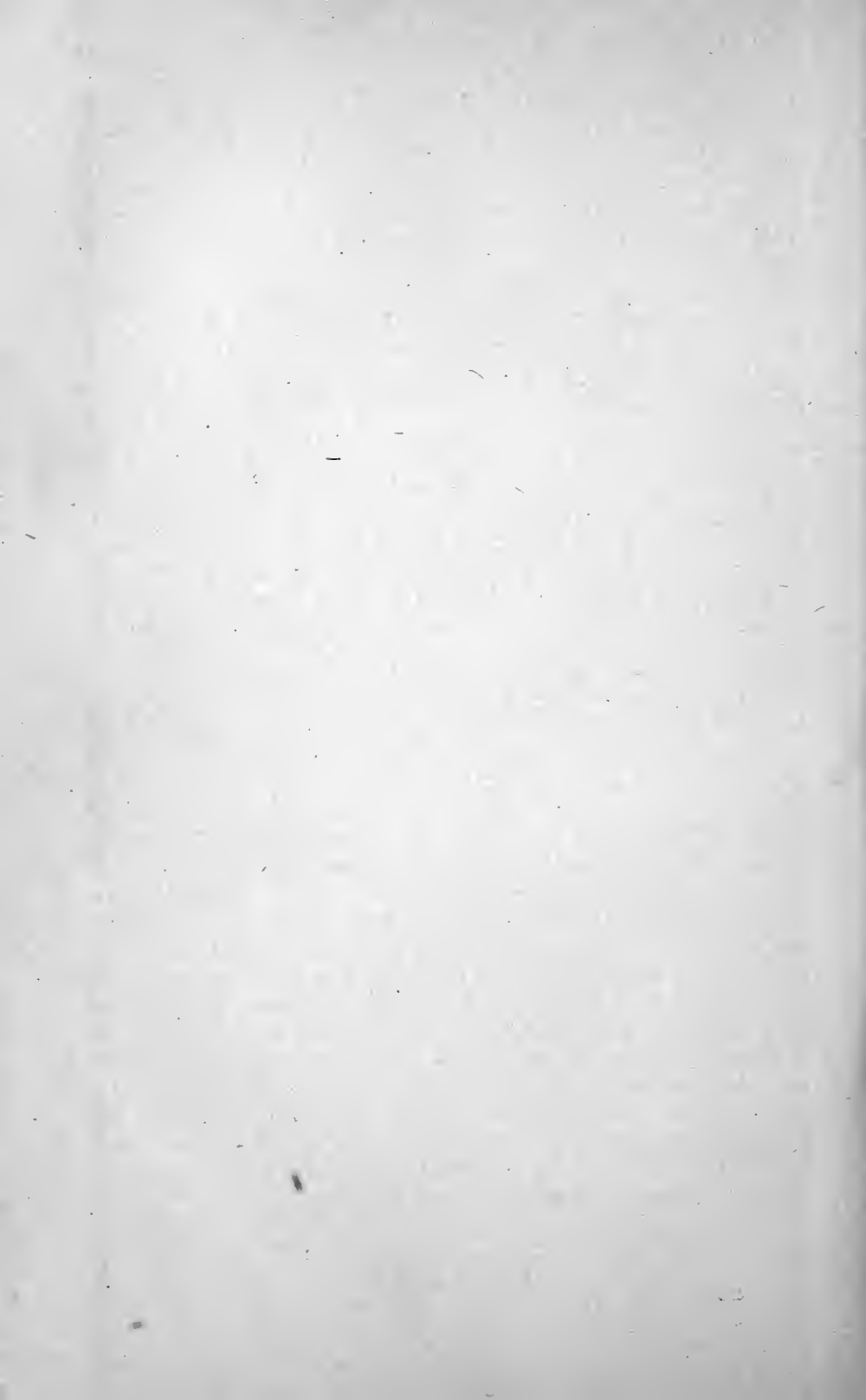
* So called from the *Stoa*, or porch, where the founder of the sect was accustomed to teach.

their undivided esteem to virtue. The school, notwithstanding its errors, produced great characters, such as Panætius, Cato Uticensis, Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and others. Zeno himself was held in such esteem at Athens, that the people honored him with a gold crown and a public burial. His own countrymen erected a monumental pillar to his honor.

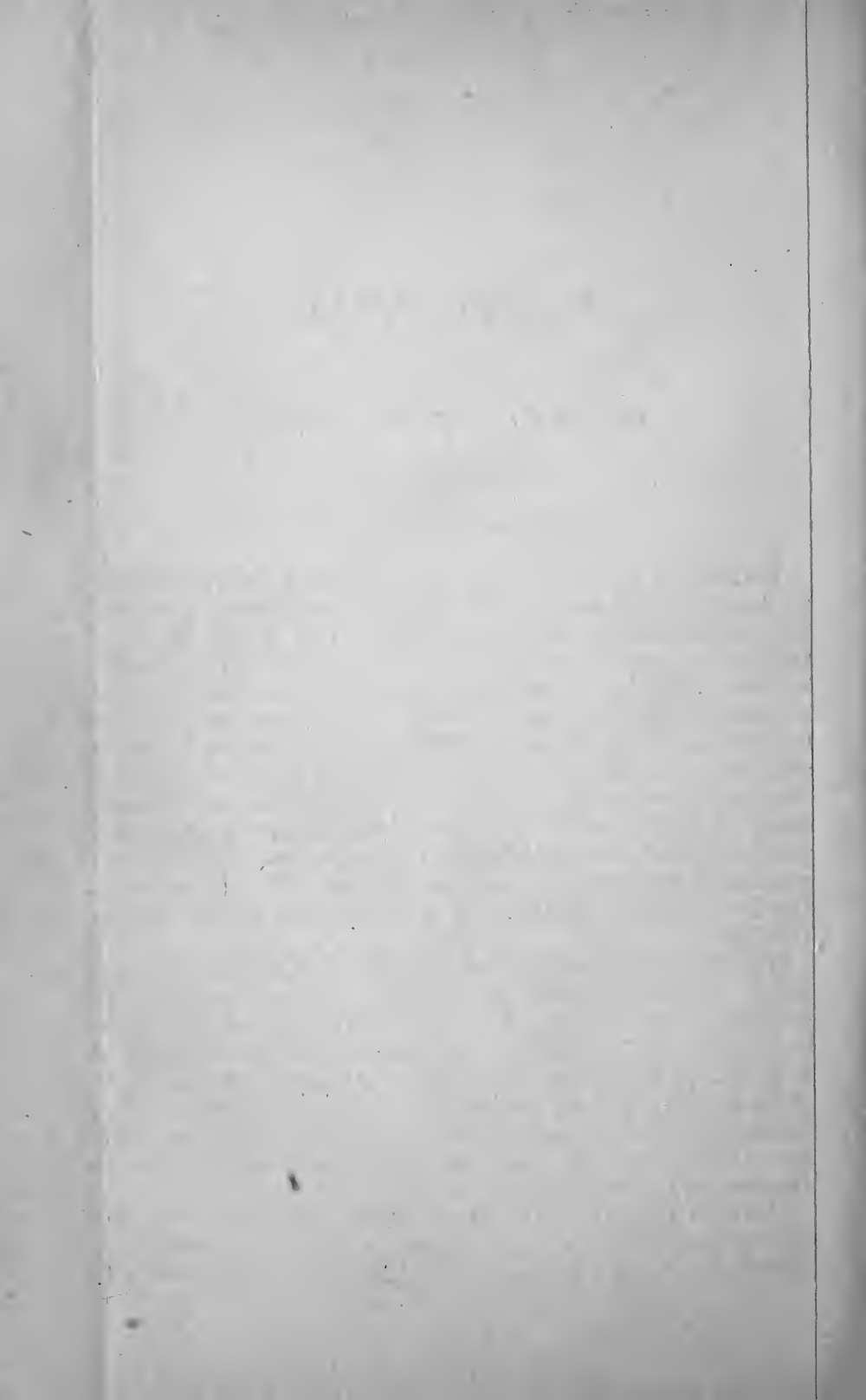
THE EPICUREANS, so named from their master Epicurus (B. C. 342-270), formed a less reputable school than the Stoic. Epicurus was a native of Samos. He settled at Athens, when about 35 years of age; and, without having previously gone through a regular course of study, set himself up as a teacher of philosophy. His great principle was, that pleasure is the highest good. This tenet, however, he explained by pointing to mental pleasure as the highest. But, as he denied the immortality of the soul, and the interference of the gods in human affairs, his doctrines were soon made a pretext for sensual gratification by those who had not sufficient elevation of mind to love virtue for its own sake. Hence the ill fame which has attached to his school

‘Epicuri de grege porcus.’

THE ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL.—After the downfall of Athens, Alexandria became, under the fostering care of the Ptolemies, the chief seat of Grecian literature and learning. Theocritus, the inventor of pastoral poetry, lived there some time. There also flourished Callimachus, the author of hymns and elegies, the epic poet Apollonius Rhodius, and Aratus. But it was chiefly for its school of grammar and criticism, as also of pure science and medicine, that Alexandria became famous. Chief among the great names of the Alexandrian school, are those of the critic Aristarchus, the physician Galen, and the mathematicians Archimedes and Euclid. The reputation of Alexandria, as a seat of learning, continued far down into Christian times. Six hundred years after its foundation by the first Ptolemy, the Musæum, or Alexandrian College, was still described by Ammianus as ‘the last abode of distinguished men.’ From this school proceeded the great Christian writers and doctors, Clement, Origen, Anatolius, and Athanasius.



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PART VIII.

HISTORY OF ANCIENT ROME.

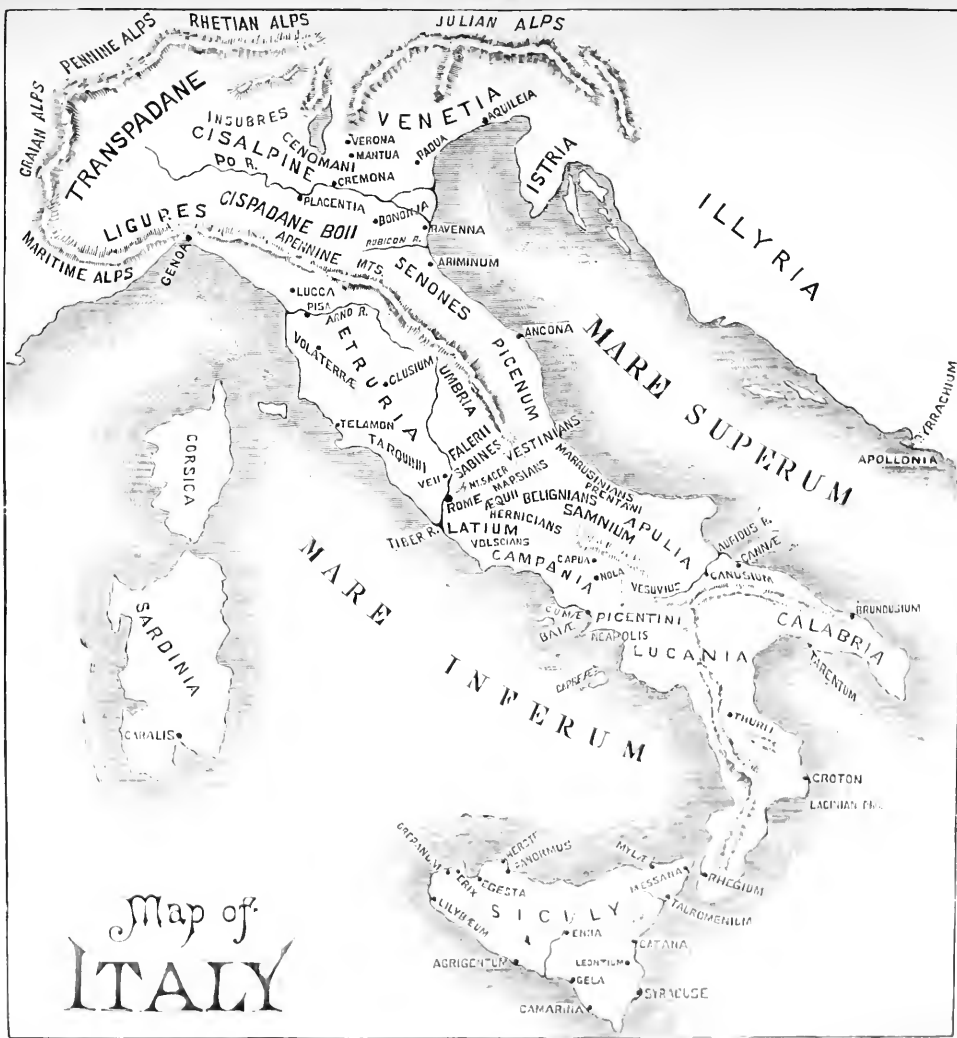
CHAPTER I.

THE MONARCHY—B. C. 753-509.

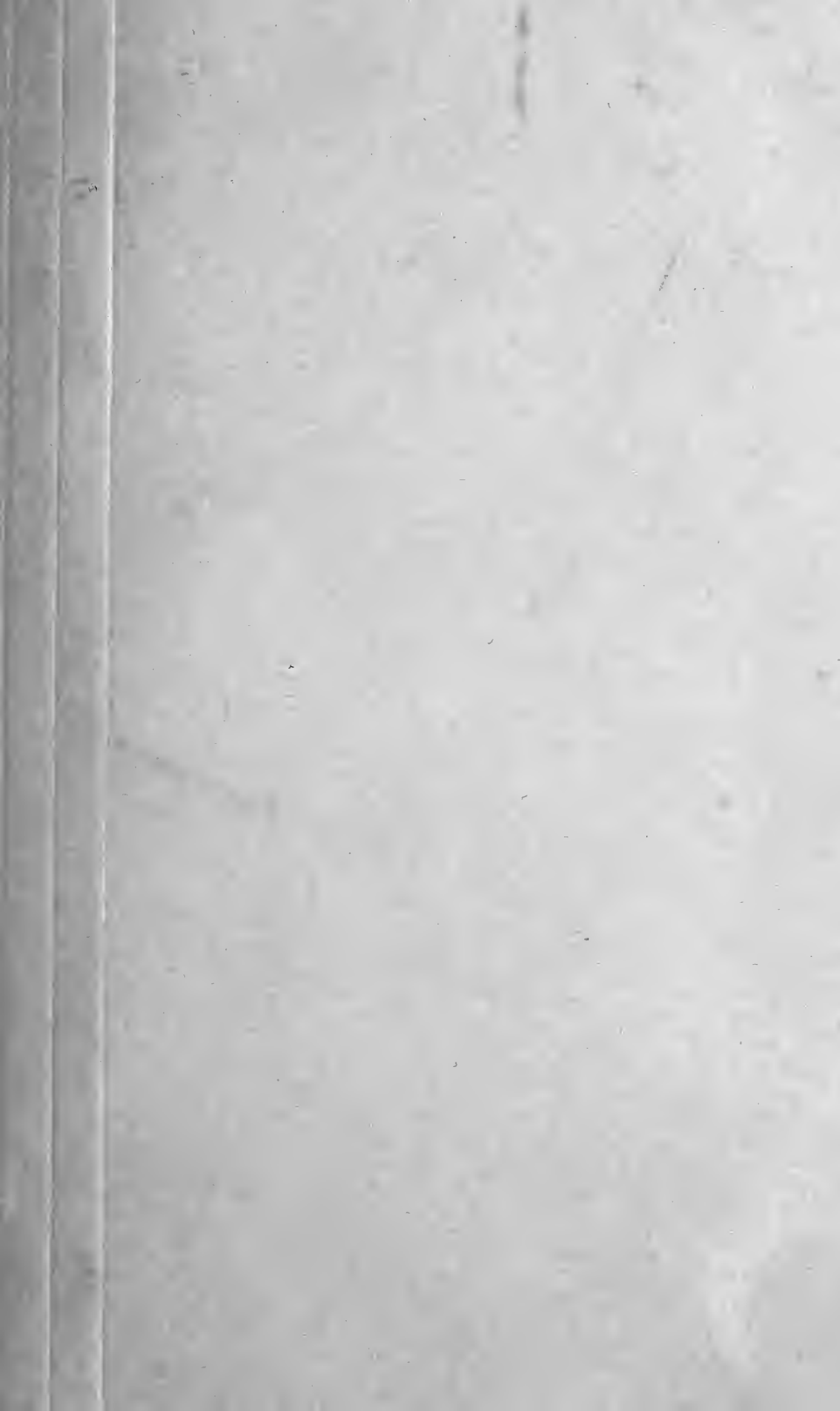
INHABITANTS OF ITALY.—The two principal races found in Italy, at the time of the building of Rome, were the Etruscans and the Italians proper. The Etruscans were the most powerful nation of the north, and completely differed both in language and in manners from all the other inhabitants of the peninsula. They are believed to have descended into Italy from the Rhætian Alps, and were probably remnants of the primitive Turanian population, which overspread the whole of Europe previous to the great Aryan wave of migration. They were the best architects in the peninsula, and the only people of Italy that showed a marked inclination to maritime pursuits. In the 8th century B. C., the Etruscan race was spread from the foot of the Alps to the Tiber.

The Italians proper occupied nearly the whole of Central Italy. They comprised two branch stocks—the Latins and the Umbro-Sabellians. The Latins dwelt south of the Tiber and north of Campania. At the time of the building of Rome, they formed a confederation of thirty towns, of which Alba Longa (the long white city) was the metropolis. The Umbro-Sabellians included the Umbrians, Sabines, Samnites, and their numerous colonies. Their territory lay to the east of Etruria and Latium.

THE POPULATION OF ROME.—Rome, situated on the left, or south bank of the Tiber, and about 15 miles from its mouth, lay upon the borders of three of the most powerful



Map of
ITALY



rac^{es} in Italy, the Latins, Sabines, and Etruscans. Though originally a Latin town, it received at an early period a considerable Sabine, and also an Etruscan population. Three distinct elements, therefore, united to form the nucleus of the Roman people. Of these, the Etruscan was the smallest, and the Latin the largest.



THE EARLY ROMAN HISTORY UNRELIABLE.—The history, as given by Roman writers, not only of the seven kings, but of the earlier republican period, is destitute of an authentic basis;* and, though it has preserved many facts which did actually occur, is unquestionably legendary, both in its main features and in its details. Yet, since those early traditions, with their marvellous tales† and poetical embellishments, were accepted by the Romans as facts, and being thus received, shaped their thought and became woven into

*Until the war with Pyrrhus, where we have, in Polybius, a trustworthy narrative. Hence the history of the first four centuries of Rome, must not be received as a statement of undoubted facts.

†The many supernatural incidents scattered through the early history of Pagan Rome, are of course unhistorical.

their whole literature, they must find their place in the history of Rome.

ÆNEAS AND ASCANIUS.—When, after the fall of Troy, Æneas went in search of a new home, carrying with him his son Ascanius, his gods, and the Palladium,* he at last found a refuge on the coast of Latium. Here he was kindly received by king Latinus, married this prince's daughter, Lavinia, and in her honor called the town where he settled with his followers, Lavinium. Thirty years later, his son Ascanius founded a second city, Alba Longa, on a ridge beneath the Alban Mount, about 15 miles from the spot where Rome subsequently arose. Alba soon became the most powerful town of Latium, and the head of a confederacy of Latin cities.

BIRTH OF ROMULUS AND REMUS.—Twelve kings of the family of Æneas succeeded Ascanius at Alba. The last of these, Procas, left two sons, Numitor and Amulius. Amulius, the younger, seized the throne, and reduced his brother to the condition of a private citizen. He even put to death the only son of Numitor, and made his daughter Rhea Silvia one of the Vestal virgins, who were compelled to live and die unmarried. But the maiden yielded to Mars, and brought forth twins—Romulus and Remus. These their cruel uncle ordered to be drowned in the Tiber. But the helpless babes were wafted by the overflowing water to the foot of the Palatine, where a she-wolf gave them suck till they were rescued by Faustulus, the keeper of the royal sheepfold. This man acquainted them, when they grew up, with the secret of their birth. Thereupon they assembled a band of valiant shepherds, and, adding to these a body of their grandfather's adherents, slew the usurper, and replaced Numitor on the Alban throne.

FOUNDATION OF ROME (B. C. 753).—Romulus and Remus, wishing to found a city on the spot where they had been rescued from death, Numitor granted them the whole tract from the Tiber to the sixth milestone on the road to Alba. But a dispute arose between the brothers, as to the exact location and name of the new city. Romulus preferred the Palatine, Remus the Aventine. Appeal was made to the decision of augury. Remus saw six vultures, Romulus

*A statue of Pallas, or Minerva, said to have fallen from heaven, and with the preservation of which the safety of Rome was subsequently thought to be connected.

twelve. The shepherds, therefore, decided for the latter, who commenced the building of a wall. Ere it had reached a man's height, Remus leaped in derision over it, whereupon Romulus slew him, exclaiming: "So perish all who dare to climb these ramparts!"

ROME AN ASYLUM.—To supply the city with inhabitants, Romulus made it an asylum for every one whom guilt or misfortune might compel to flee from his native country. In this manner, there were soon assembled around him insolvent debtors, fugitive slaves, and friends of novelty. Such were the first inhabitants of Rome; such, the beginnings of an empire which was to conquer the world, and produce a countless number of profound politicians, able generals, accomplished orators and scholars, and great men of every description!

RAPE OF THE SABINES.—As soon as Romulus deemed himself strong enough, he demanded wives from his neighbors for the men whom he had collected around him; but such intermarriage was scornfully refused. Romulus then had recourse to stratagem. He proclaimed that games were to be celebrated in honor of the god *Census*, and invited the Latins and Sabines to the festival. They came in numbers with their wives and children. But, whilst their attention was riveted upon the spectacle, the Romans seized and carried off the maidens to their stronghold. The disconsolate parents returned home, and prepared for vengeance.

VICTORIES OF ROMULUS.—The Latin inhabitants of Cæcina were the first to take the field. Romulus marched out against them, and, slaying Acron their leader with his own hand, put them to flight, and took their city at the first onset. Equally capable of performing great exploits and enhancing their value, he retraced his steps towards Rome, wearing a crown of laurel, and holding in his hand the arms of Acron as a trophy, while his men chanted hymns in honor of the gods. In this order they reentered Rome; and, having built a temple to Jupiter on the Capitoline hill, dedicated to the god the arms and armor of Acron, as *spolia opima*.* Two other Latin towns, Antemnæ and Crustumium, next took up arms to avenge the rape of their maidens, but with the same ill success as the Cæcinians.

*These were offered, when, with his own hand, the commander of an army slew the hostile leader. They were gained but twice afterwards.

TARPEIA.—The Romans found much greater difficulty in warding off the vengeance of the Sabines of Curès. Under their king Titus Tatius, they came against Rome in such overwhelming numbers, that Romulus, unable to withstand them in the field, was forced to retire into the city. As an outpost, he had fortified the top of the Capitoline hill, which he intrusted to the care of Tarpeius. But this man's daughter, Tarpeia, dazzled by the golden bracelets of the Sabines, promised to betray the hill to them, 'if they would give her what they wore on their left arms.' Her offer was accepted. In the night-time she opened a gate, and let in the enemy. But, when she claimed her reward, they crushed her to death by throwing upon her their shields, which they wore on their left arms. One of the heights of the Capitoline has preserved her name. It was from the Tarpeian rock that traitors were afterwards hurled down.

THE CURES SETTLE ON THE QUIRINAL.—On the next day, the Romans endeavored to recover the hill. A battle was fought in the valley between the Palatine and the Capitoline. The Sabines prevailed, and were pursuing the Romans up the ascent of their own hill, when Romulus vowed a temple to Jupiter *Stator** (the stayer of flight), and his men, taking courage, in their turn began to press hard on the Sabines. Then it was that the women, who were the cause of the war, rushing between the combatants, entreated them to desist from an unnatural conflict, or else turn against them their weapons, since they preferred to perish, rather than become widows by the death of their husbands or orphans by the fall of their fathers. Their voices prevailed. A reconciliation took place, and the two parties agreed to live together as one people. The Romans continued to dwell on the Palatine, and the Sabines took up their abode on the Quirinal.† To transact business, the two communities assembled in the valley between their respective hills, which was hence called *comitium*, or the place of meeting, and which afterwards became the Roman forum.

DEATH OF ROMULUS.—At the end of five years, Titus

* The temple was duly erected and dedicated. From age to age, it was renewed and restored.

† So called probably from *quiris*, the Sabine word for spear, or from *Quirites*, an appellation of the Sabines, which was afterward applied to the Roman people in their civil capacity. Some writers assign the Capitoline as the dwelling-place of the Sabines.

Tatius was slain in battle. Henceforth, Romulus ruled alone over the combined nations. He carried on fresh wars, in which he is said to have been uniformly successful. At last, after a prosperous reign of 27 years, the founder of the Roman state was removed suddenly from the world. During a review in the *Campus Martius*,* an eclipse of the sun took place, accompanied by an awful tempest which dispersed the people. When they reassembled, the king had disappeared. They were made to believe, that his father Mars had carried him to heaven in a fiery chariot, and they worshipped him as the god Quirinus. To him the Romans, in subsequent ages, fondly ascribed their civil, political, and military organization—the chief features of which shall here be explained.

PATRICIANS AND CLIENTS.—Under Romulus the population of Rome, we are told, consisted only of patricians and their clients. The former alone had political rights. Each of them acted as patron to a number of clients attached to him personally, and whose interest it was his duty to protect, while the client had to render him certain fixed services. On what principle Romulus divided his followers into patricians and clients, has never been ascertained. When, later, a fresh element was incorporated with the original population, the new-comers† constituted a third class, that known as the *plebs*, or common people, inferior not only to the patricians but even to the clients.

THE COMITIA CURIATA.—Another institution ascribed to Romulus, was that of the *comitia curiata*, with the implied organization of the patricians into *tribes* and *curies*. Besides the Sabines from Curés, Etruscans from Cælés who assisted Romulus in his wars, were also settled by him in Rome. Hence three classes, or *tribes*, of patricians; the Ramnés drawn from the original followers of Romulus, the Tities drawn from the Sabines of Titus Tatius, and the Lucérés‡ drawn from the Etruscans of Cælés. Each tribe comprised ten curies; and each curie, ten families (*gentes*). The 30 curiæ formed the *comitia curiata*, or sovereign assembly of

* The Field of Mars, on the banks of the Tiber, outside the city.

† Except such as might be raised to the clientship by being admitted to some of the privileges of a patrician house, one of which was the right of bearing the *gentile*, or family, name of the patron.

‡ This tribe was for a long time regarded as of inferior dignity, and its chiefs were distinguished as *patres minorum gentium*. The Ramnes took precedence of both the other tribes.

the curies. To it belonged the right to elect the* king, make laws, declare war or peace, choose the magistrates and the pontiffs, and decide in all cases affecting the life of a citizen. The ordinary business of government, however, was entrusted to a less numerous body, the senate.

THE SENATE.—To assist him in the government, Romulus selected a number of aged men, forming a *senate*, or council of elders, who were called *patres*, or senators.† It comprised at first only 100 members. To these an additional hundred was afterwards added, chosen from among the Sabines of Curès. The Luceres were not represented in the senate, till the time of the elder Tarquin. The senate controlled the finances, imposed taxes, and voted the money required for public expenses. It managed the foreign affairs of the state; and discussed all changes in the law, before these were submitted to the votes of the curies.

THE ARMY.—Each of the three tribes was bound to furnish 1000 men for the infantry and 100 for the cavalry. Thus 3000 foot-soldiers and 300 horsemen formed, we are told, the original army of the Romans.

NUMA POMPILIUS (B. C. 716-673).—After an interregnum, during which the senators exercised the regal functions in turn, as *interreges* (between-kings), a successor was given to Romulus, in the person of Numa Pompilius, one of the Sabine inhabitants of the city. Differing in blood from his predecessor, Numa was unlike him also in disposition. A disciple of Pythagoras and a philosopher, he made it his aim to imbue the Romans with a relish for the arts of peace, with respect for the laws, and, above all, with sentiments of religion.

As the constitution of Rome was ascribed to her first king, so were her religious observances to the second. Instructed by the nymph Egeria, whom he met in the sacred grove of

*The votes were given by curies, but the vote of each curie was determined by the independent suffrages of the patricians who composed it.

†Senate and senator come from *senex*, which means advanced in age. Those who composed the senate were also called *patres*, either by reason of their age and because they were heads of families, or perhaps also because they were expected to watch with paternal care over the commonwealth. The epithet *conscripti* (*conscript* or *enrolled*) was first applied to new senators chosen to fill vacancies; but, after being thus peculiar to members recently elected, it became finally common to all.

Arícia, Numa instituted 4 pontiffs,* who had the general superintendence of religion; 4 augurs, to consult the gods on public and private occasions; 3 *flamens*, or priests, of Jupiter,† Mars, and Quirinus; 4 Vestal virgins, to keep alive the sacred fire brought from Alba Longa; in fine, 12 *salii*, or priests of Mars, to watch over the *ancilia*,‡ or sacred shields. Numa reformed the calendar, encouraged agriculture, divided among the poor citizens lands conquered by Romulus, and marked out the boundaries of property, which he placed under the care of the god *Terminus*. He also built the temple of Janus, a god represented with two heads looking different ways. The gates of this temple were to be open during war, and closed in time of peace. During the 43 years of Numa's reign, they were kept constantly shut.

By some, Romulus and Numa are thought to be fictitious names, and these monarchs themselves personifications rather than real personages. The case is different with respect to the next king. Tullus Hostilius is by all regarded as a real name. With his reign we touch on personal history in Roman records.

TULLUS HOSTILIUS (B. C. 671-641).—On the death of Numa, the throne remained vacant for two years. Then Tullus Hostilius, a Roman, was appointed king, whose whole reign was spent in warlike enterprises. Of these the most memorable was his contest with Alba Longa, rendered famous by the battle of the Horatii and Curiatii.

THE HORATII AND CURIATII.—When the two armies of Rome and Alba stood facing each other, the leaders, not to weaken their forces by mutual slaughter, resolved to decide the quarrel by a combat of three champions on each side. The Horatii, three brothers, fought for Rome; the Curiatii, also three brothers, fought for Alba. It was agreed that the people whose champions should be victorious, should rule the other.

The brothers, 'carrying within themselves the courage of two great armies,' advanced from their respective camps with equal resolution, the beholders awaiting the result with breathless anxiety. In a few moments, two of the Horatii fell dead. The Albans at this spectacle shouted for joy,

*The first in dignity was the *pontifex maximus*, high-priest.

†The flamen of Jupiter was called flamen Dialis.

‡One of them was said to have fallen from heaven; Numa ordered 11 others to be made exactly like this miraculous one.

whilst the Romans were dismayed, and trembled for their champion. Fortunately for them, he had received no wound; and, although unequal to the task of fighting the three Albans together, was more than a match for them singly, as they had all been wounded. To separate them, he retreated; and, as the Curiatii, unable to keep up with him, were soon at some distance from one another, he rushed upon the nearest, whom he slew on the spot, and successively dispatched the other two. Thus, almost the same moment that had witnessed the despair of the Romans, saw them in the enjoyment of a complete victory.

TRIAL OF HORATIUS.—As Horatius was entering Rome, bearing his threefold spoils, his sister beheld on his shoulders a cloak which she recognized as that of her lover, one of the Curiatii. Bursting into passionate grief at the sight, she thereby enkindled the wrath of her brother, who smote her, exclaiming, "So perish every Roman woman who bewails a foe!" Despite the atrociousness of the deed, king Tullus shrank from judging the man whose prowess had just gained a victory for Rome. But the *duumvirs*, the two judges of blood, condemned him to be hanged on the fatal tree. The young man thereupon appealed to the people; and they, moved by his own service to the state and by his father's tears, gave him his life.

DESTRUCTION OF ALBA LONGA—THE PLEBS.—The people of Alba were now subject to the authority of Rome; but their dictator,* Mettius Fuffetius, chafed at the subordinate position. The more easily to shake off the yoke, he persuaded the Etruscans of Fidenæ and Veii to declare war against Rome, promising to join them. Accordingly, as the battle raged, he gradually withdrew his forces from the field, thus leaving the Roman flank uncovered. Tullus, noticing this, shouted to his men, but with a voice loud enough to be heard by the enemy, that the movement of the Albans was made by his command, and for the purpose of attacking the Fidenates in the rear. The stratagem had its desired effect. The confederates were terrified, and the Romans obtained a complete victory. After the battle, Mettius, who had not dared to carry out his treasonable project, congratulated Hostilius. The king pretended to be

*Such was the name of the supreme magistrate among the Albans.

deceived. But, on the following day, he caused the unsuspecting Albans to be surrounded by his armed troops, and, arresting their general, had his body drawn by horses. He then razed the city of Alba, and transferred the inhabitants to Rome. They were compelled to settle on the Cœlian hill. Some of their nobles were admitted among the Roman patricians, but the bulk of them were excluded from the privileges of the ruling class. They were the origin of the Roman *plebs*. Tullus Hostilius is said to have carried on several other wars, in all of which he came off victorious. He was struck dead by lightning.

ANCUS MARCIUS (B. C. 640-616).—Ancus Marcius, a Sabine, was the successor of Tullus Hostilius. He was the son of Numa's daughter, and sought to tread in the footsteps of his grandfather, by reviving the religious ceremonies which had fallen into neglect. But a war with the Latins called him from the pursuit of peace. He used his victories for the aggrandizement of his capital, by transferring to Rome the populations of the conquered cities, whom he settled on Mount Aventine. Thus the number of the plebeians was greatly enlarged.

THE FETIALES; PONS SUBLICIUS; OSTIA.—Ancus instituted the *fetiales*, whose duty it was to demand satisfaction from a foreign state when any dispute arose, to determine the circumstances under which hostilities might be commenced, and to perform the proper religious rites on the declaration of war. As a protection against the Etruscans, he erected a fortress on the Janiculum, which he connected with the city by the *pons sublicius*, a bridge resting on wooden piles. To Ancus also is ascribed the Mamertine prison* under the Capitoline hill, as well as the colony and port of Ostia, at the mouth of the Tiber.

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS PRISCUS (B. C. 616-578).—The fifth king of Rome, Tarquinius Priscus, or the elder Tarquin, was an Etruscan by birth, but a Greek by descent. His father, Demaratus, was a wealthy citizen of Corinth, who settled in the Etruscan city of Tarquinii, where he married into a noble family. Lucius, the offspring of this marriage, early removed to Rome with his wife Tanaquil and a large train of followers. When he reached the Janiculum, an

*The *Tullianum*, or lower dungeon, was added to it by Servius Tullius.

eagle seized his cap, and, after carrying it away to a great height, placed it again upon his head. Tanaquil, who was skilled in the Etruscan science of augury, bade her husband hope for the highest honors. Her prediction was soon verified. Tarquin became a favorite with both people and king, and on the death of Ancus was raised to the vacant throne.

HIS VICTORIES, GREAT WORKS, AND INSTITUTIONS.—Not inferior to his predecessors in warlike exploits, the new king surpassed them in the number and character of his great works. He took from the Sabines the town of Colatonia, and brought many of the Latin towns under his rule. The captives taken in these wars, he is said to have employed on the public works which have immortalized his name. The great *cloacæ*, or sewers, by which he drained the lower parts of the city, still remain, after so many ages, with not a stone displaced. He laid out the *Circus Maximus*, and there gratified the people with shows and games, on a scale of magnificence hitherto unknown at Rome. He added to the senate 100 new members, taken from the *Lucerès*, the third tribe instituted by Romulus. These new senators were called *patres minorum gentium*, to distinguish them from the old, who were now termed *patres majorum gentium*. With each of the three centuries of *equites* he associated another under the same name, so that henceforth there were the first and the second—*Ramnès*, *Tities*, and *Lucerès*. Finally, he increased to six the number of Vestal virgins.

After a long and brilliant reign, Tarquinius Priscus was assassinated by the sons of Ancus. The crime proved of no avail to its authors, and the throne was occupied by Tarquin's son-in-law, Servius Tullius.

SERVIUS TULLIUS (B. C. 578-534).—Roman traditions represent Servius Tullius as the son of a female slave. His infancy was said to have been marked by prodigies, which foreshadowed his future greatness. On one occasion, as he was asleep, a flame was seen playing around his head. Thereupon, Tanaquil, foreseeing the greatness of the boy, had him brought up as the king's child. Tarquin afterward gave him his daughter in marriage, and shared with him the cares of government. When the rumor of Tarquin's assassination spread through the city, crowds ran from all quarters to the royal residence. But Tanaquil, closing the gates, addressed the people from a window, giving out that the king's wound was not mortal, and that, pending his recovery,

he had appointed Servius to govern in his name. Servius forthwith began to discharge the duties of king, greatly to the satisfaction of the people; and, when the death of Tarquin could no longer be concealed, he was already in possession of the regal power. His reign is almost as barren of warlike achievements as that of Numa. His great deeds were those of peace. To him is attributed the organization in one great league of all the towns of Latium, with Rome at the head.

WALL OF SERVIUS.—Servius surrounded with a stone wall the seven hills* over which the city had now spread; and, where the hills sloped gently to the plain, between the Collina and the Esquiline gate, he constructed a gigantic mound nearly one mile long, and fronted by a moat 100 feet in breadth and 30 in depth. Rome thus acquired a circumference of five miles. This continued to be the legal extent of the city, till the time of the emperors.

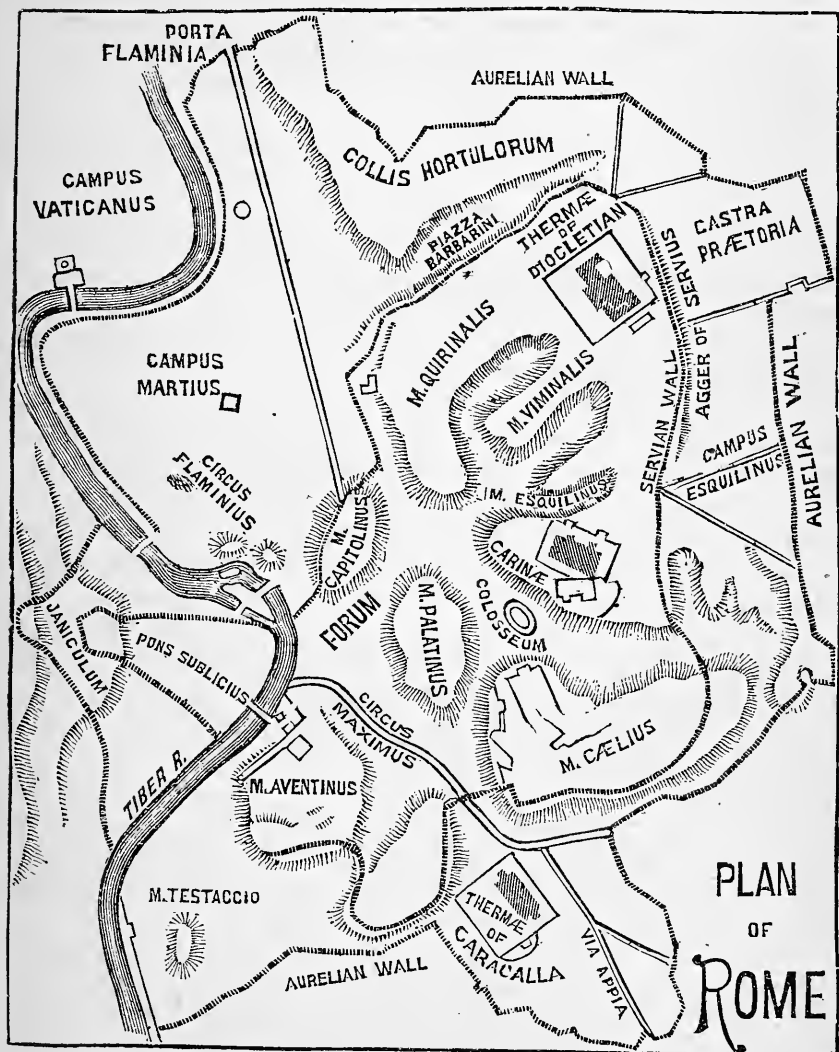
REFORMS OF SERVIUS.—The greatest work of Servius was his reform of the constitution, whereby he aimed at giving the plebeians some political rights, and transferring to wealth part of that influence which till now exclusively belonged to birth. This double object he sought to attain by means of two new divisions of the Roman people, based the one on the place of residence, the other on fortune.

Hitherto the only existing political organization was that of the patricians into 3 tribes, 30 curies, and 300 *gentes* (families)—an organization hereditary, exclusively patrician, and unconnected with localities. With this Servius did not interfere. The patrician families continued, as of old, to meet in their *comitia curiata*. But, by the side of this exclusively patrician assembly of the curies, two others were introduced, containing a plebeian element—the *comitia tributa* and the *comitia centuriata*, that is, the assembly of the tribes and the assembly of the centuries.

THE COMITIA TRIBUTA.—Instead of the 3 exclusively patrician tribes of Romulus, Servius organized 30, by dividing first the city itself into 4 quarters, each of which constituted one urban tribe; and then the whole Roman territory

* The celebrated 7 hills upon which Rome stood, are the Palatine, Aventine, Capitoline, Cœlian, Quirinal, Viminal, and Esquilian. The Mons Pincius (the Pincian) was not inclosed within the Servian wall. The Janiculum arose just opposite the city, on the northern side of the Tiber.

into 26 districts, which formed as many rural tribes. As this division was purely local, the new tribes contained plebeians as well as patricians. Each tribe had its chief officer—the *tribunus*, who kept the list of its families, and levied the



taxes. It also had its own judges and police, its own tribunals and temples. At stated times, the members of the separate tribes assembled for the purpose of choosing their own tribal officers, and regulating their local affairs, when all

freemen had the right of casting votes, which were counted by polls. Besides these particular tribal assemblies, all the tribes were afterwards allowed to meet in a body, which from its composition, was called *comitia tributa*. This assembly of the tribes, at first, dealt only with political affairs of minor importance. But, in course of time, as the plebeians rose in power, its jurisdiction was extended. In the end, what were called the inferior magistracies, that is, those below the consulship, pretorship, and edileship, were bestowed by the individual votes of the citizens in the general assembly of the tribes.

THE COMITIA CENTURIATA.—The other Servian division of the people, or that into *classes* and *centuries*, had wealth for its basis. It was a military organization, whereby the rich plebeians were raised almost to a political equality with the patricians. Having taken the *census** both of the people and their property, Servius organized the plebeians who possessed a fortune of 400,000 *asses*† (about \$6,000) into 12 equestrian centuries, which he added to the 6 patrician centuries of *equites* already in existence. The rest of the freemen who possessed property to the amount of at least 12,500 *asses*, he then organized into 5 classes according to wealth, the first class containing the richest citizens, the second class the next in point of fortune, and so on. Each of the 5 classes was divided into a certain number of *centuries*,‡ or com-

* The census was henceforth taken at the end of every five years, and the interval, which was called a *lustrum*, came to be used as a mode of reckoning the lapse of time. The taking of the census was accompanied by religious rites for the purification of the city.

† An as was equivalent to nearly 1½ cent.

PROPERTY.		CENTURIES.	
‡ EQUITES, or CAVALRY...400,000 asses at least...18			
INFANTRY.	I Class.....100,000	“ “	{ 40 of old men. 40 “ young men. 2 “ engineers.
	II Class..... 75,000	“ “	{ 10 “ old men. 10 “ young men.
	III Class..... 50,000	“ “	{ 10 “ old “ 10 “ young “
	IV Class..... 25,000	“ “	{ 10 “ old “ 10 “ young “
	V Class..... 12,500	“ “	{ 15 “ old “ 15 “ young “ 1 “ accensi, 2 “ cornicines,
	Proletarii.....		I
			104

panies, half of which consisted of *seniores* from the age of 46 to 60, and half of *juniores*, from the age of 17 to 45. All the classes had to provide their own arms and armor; but the expense of the equipment was in proportion to the wealth of each. The 5 classes formed the infantry. These persons whose property fell below 12,500 asses, the *proletarii* (*capite censi*), how large soever their number, were reckoned but 1 century. They were not allowed to serve as soldiers, being too poor to bear the expenses. The people, thus divided, mustered as an army in the *Campus Martius*,* outside the city, and formed what were called *comitia centuriata*. To this assembly of all centuries Servius transferred the business hitherto entrusted to the *comitia curiata*, viz., the right of electing kings and the higher magistrates, of enacting and repealing laws, and of deciding in cases of appeal from the sentence of a judge. In the *comitia centuriata* each century had but one vote, and the preponderance lay with age and wealth. For the centuries of the old men, though with fewer members, equalled in number those of the young; and the centuries of the *equites* and the first class alone outnumbered all the rest. These always voted first. Whenever they agreed, their vote was decisive; it was only when they differed, that the centuries of the lower classes were called upon to cast their suffrages. For a long time, no enactment of the *comitia centuriata*† was held valid, till ratified by the exclusively patrician assembly of the curies.

TRAGIC DEATH OF SERVIUS TULLIUS.—Servius gave his two daughters in marriage to Lucius and Aruns, the sons of Tarquinius Priscus. But the match was ill-sorted; for the ambitious and cruel Tullia was married to the gentle Aruns,

*The field of Mars was the usual place for drills, reviews, and all sorts of gymnastic and warlike exercises. It was included in the city walls by Aurelian.

†During the sitting of the *comitia centuriata*, a red flag was hoisted on the Janiculum, guarded by a picket of soldiers. Originally the striking of this military ensign denoted the approach of a hostile Etruscan force, and the *comitia* was instantly broken up to allow the citizen soldiers to rush to the defence of their ramparts. Subsequently, the signal might be given on the demand of any tribune who should declare the omens to be adverse, as at the sound of thunder, or even the falling of rain. In any case, on the appearance of the signal, the business of the assembly was at once suspended.

while the proud Lucius was the husband of her softer sister. Lucius and Tullia were drawn toward each other by the similarity of their characters, and before long they made away with the brother and sister who stood in their way, and became united in marriage stained by innocent blood. Lucius now formed a conspiracy with the patricians, who were enraged at the reforms of Servius, and he boldly usurped the kingly seat in the senate-house. Servius hastened thither; and, standing at the doorway, bade his son-in-law to come down from the throne. But Lucius sprang forward, seized the aged king, and flung him down the stone steps. Bruised and covered with blood, the old man was making his way home, when he was dispatched by the adherents of Tarquin. Meanwhile, the heartless Tullia drove to the senate-house, to greet her husband as king. Her charioteer pointed out the corpse of her father lying across the road. She commanded him to drive on; and her father's blood spirting over the way, gave to the street its name of *Vicus Sceleratus* (the wicked street).

LUCIUS TARQUINIUS SUPERBUS* (B. C. 534-509).—One of the first acts of Tarquin's reign was to abolish the privileges which had been conferred on the plebeians by Servius. A genuine tyrant, he compelled the poor to work at miserable wages upon his magnificent buildings. Nor had the patricians much cause to rejoice at having placed him on the throne. Tarquin surrounded himself with a body-guard, through whose means he was enabled to put to death, or drive into exile, all the senators and patricians that he mistrusted. But, although a cruel despot at home, partly by his alliances and partly by his conquests, he raised the state to great influence and power abroad. He made Rome the real mistress of the confederation of 47 Latin towns, which before had stood as allies on a footing of equality. At the solemn meeting of the Latins on the Alban Mount, it was his privilege, in the name of all, to sacrifice the bull, and distribute the flesh to the people of the league.

THE CAPITOL.—In a war against the Volscians, Tarquin captured the wealthy town of Suessa Pometia. With the spoils of this city, he commenced the erection of that magnificent temple which became afterwards, under the name of the *Capitol*, so famous and so sacred. It was dedicated to

* Superbus, the Proud.

the three gods of the Latin and Etruscan religions—Jupiter, Juno, and Minerva. A human head (*caput*), fresh bleeding and undecayed, is said to have been found by the workmen, as they were digging the foundation. This was construed into a sign that the place was destined to become the head of the world; and the hill and the temple were accordingly named *Capitolium*. In a stone vault beneath were deposited the Sibylline books, containing obscure and prophetic sayings.

THE SIBYLLINE BOOKS.—One day, a woman from Cumæ appeared before the king, and offered to sell him 9 books for 300 gold pieces. He refused. She departed; and, after burning three of the volumes, returned, and offered the remaining six at the same price. As the king merely answered with a laugh, she again burned three, and for the remaining demanded the same price. Wondering now at this strange conduct, Tarquin purchased the books. They were placed under the care of two patricians; and, being consulted at critical junctures, became, in the hands of priests and nobles, an important instrument of government.

CAPTURE OF GABII.—The Latin city of Gabii had refused to join the league. Tarquin undertook to reduce it by force, and for several years an irregular warfare was kept up between Rome and Gabii. At last, Sextus, a son of Tarquin, pretending to be ill treated by his father, fled to Gabii. The infatuated inhabitants intrusted him with the command of their troops. He then sent a messenger to his father, to inquire how he should act. Tarquin was walking in his garden, when the envoy reached him. He listened without saying a word, but kept striking off with his stick the heads of the tallest poppies. Sextus took the hint. He put to death or banished all the leading Gabians, and then had no difficulty in compelling the city to submit to his father.

BRUTUS AT DELPHI.—In the midst of his prosperity, the tyrant was troubled by a strange portent. One day, a serpent crawled out from beneath the altar in the royal palace, and seized on the entrails of the victim. The king, in fear, sent his sons Titus and Aruns, to consult the oracle at Delphi. They were accompanied by their cousin L. Junius Brutus, whose brother had been put to death by Tarquin, and who, to avoid the same fate, had assumed the character of a half-witted person. On arriving at Delphi, Brutus propitiated the goddess with the gift of a gold stick,

inclosed in a hollow staff. The princes, his cousins, after executing the king's commission, asked which of his three sons was to succeed to their father's power. "He," replied the priestess, "who shall first kiss his mother." Titus and Aruns then resolved to keep the answer secret from their brother Sextus who was at Rome, and to draw lots which of them, on their return, would first kiss the queen their mother. Brutus, who better understood the meaning of the oracle, fell, as if by chance, when they quitted the temple, and kissed the earth—our common mother.

END OF THE MONARCHY (B. C. 509).—During the siege of Ardea, Sextus Tarquinius, the king's son, offered violence to Lucretia, a noble matron, the wife of his cousin Tarquinius Collatinus. Thereupon the lady's husband and her father, with their friends Valerius and Brutus, swore to avenge the crime. Brutus, throwing off his assumed stupidity, summoned the people, and related the deed of shame. All classes were inflamed with indignation. A decree was passed, deposing the king, and banishing him and his family. The army at Ardea concurred in the same resolve; and Tarquin, abandoned by all, took refuge at Cæré, in Etruria. Thus ended monarchy at Rome.

UNCERTAINTY OF THE EARLY ROMAN CHRONOLOGY.—The dates hitherto given are gathered from the statements of various Latin writers, but cannot be regarded as of much historical value. More confidence may be placed in the dates which follow, because from the expulsion of the kings the Romans began to record the lapse of time by driving a nail every year into the door of the temple of Minerva, and carefully preserved a list of their successive consuls. There is still however, down to 275 B. C., much confusion in Roman chronology, nor is the period of legends and poetical embellishments yet at an end.

CHAPTER II.

TARQUIN'S EFFORTS TO REGAIN THE THRONE.—B. C. 509-496.

THE CONSULS.—Tarquin, the Proud, had made the name of king so hateful, that the Romans, discarding royalty,

established instead a supreme magistracy called the *consulship*. This office was intrusted to two men who were to hold it for only one year. They were elected by the *comitia curiata*, and vested with the chief executive authority. The duties and functions of the consuls* were the same as those previously annexed to royalty. To avoid a conflict of authority, the two consuls generally exercised supreme power month by month, in turn; and, in time of war, it was usual for one to command in the field, while the other ruled over the city. The consul was the general-in-chief of the army. He presided over the senate, law-courts, and public assemblies. He conducted negotiations with foreign states, had the administration of the public moneys, carried out the decisions of the public assemblies, was, in a word, the chief executive of the commonwealth.

Each consul was attended by 12 lictors, or guards. The lictors carried upon their shoulders *fascēs*, which were a bundle of rods bound together with an ax in the middle.

BRUTUS PUTS DOWN A CONSPIRACY (B. C. 509).—The first consuls were L. Brutus and Tarquinius Collatinus. They revived the constitution of Servius Tullius, and passed several other measures favorable to the plebeians. Before long, however, Collatinus was driven into exile on account of his relationship with Tarquin, and his place was filled by P. Valerius. Meanwhile ambassadors came to Rome from Tarquin, claiming back his private property. The request was granted; but, while the envoys were making preparations to take away the property, they formed a conspiracy with the young Roman nobles for the restoration of the royal family. Among those implicated in the plot, were the two sons of Brutus. That stern patriot, insensible to any other interest than that of the public weal, unflinchingly ordered the execution of his guilty children together with that of the other traitors.

DEATH OF BRUTUS.—Failing to recover the throne by secret intrigues, Tarquin procured the armed intervention of

* The word consul has, by some, been derived from *con* and *salio*, indicating that these two magistrates *marched together* with equal power and joint dignity. A derivation more commonly received draws the appellation from *consulere*, which would imply that the incumbents were not sovereigns, but the *counsellors* and guardians of the republic. It is said that, at their first institution, the new magistrates were named, not consuls, but pretors.

his Etruscan kinsmen, the people of Tarquinii and Veii. In the battle which ensued, Aruns spurred his horse against Brutus, who fought at the head of the Roman cavalry. The consul did not shrink from the encounter, and both fell from their horses mortally wounded. The fight between the two armies was kept up till nightfall, when they withdrew to their respective camp, each claiming the victory. But, in the dead of night, a voice was heard proclaiming that the Romans had conquered, as they had lost one man less than their opponents. Alarmed at this, the Etruscans fled; and Valerius, the surviving consul, returned to Rome, carrying the dead body of Brutus. The matrons, through gratitude for the avenger of chastity, mourned Brutus a whole year.

VALERIUS PUBLICOLA.—Valerius was now left without a colleague; and, as he began to build a house on an eminence which overlooked the forum, the Romans feared that he was aiming at kingly power. Thereupon Valerius not only pulled down the house, but, calling the people together, ordered the lictors to lower the fasces before them, as an acknowledgment that their power was superior to his. He then brought forward a law, enacting that every citizen who was condemned by a magistrate, should have a right of appeal to the people. For this and other gracious enactments, the grateful Romans surnamed him *Publicola* or *Poplicola* (the people's friend). When Valerius died, he was so poor that he left not wherewith to defray the cost of his funeral. He was buried at the public expense, and received the same honors that had been paid to the memory of Brutus.

HORATIUS COCLES.—Not discouraged by the failure of his former attempts to recover the crown, Tarquin now procured the aid of Lars Porsena, the powerful ruler of the Etruscan town of Clusium. This prince came against Rome at the head of a large force. In vain the Romans attempted to arrest his march. They were put to flight, and the victors would have entered the city by the Sublician bridge, together with the vanquished, had not Horatius Cocles with two other soldiers kept the whole Etruscan army at bay, while his comrades broke down the bridge. When the structure was giving away, he sent back his two companions, and withstood alone the attacks of the foe, till the cracks of the falling timber and the shouts of his countrymen told him the work was done. Then, praying "O Father Tiber, take me into thy charge and bear me up!" he leaped into the

stream, and swam across in safety. The state raised him a statue, and allowed him as much land as he could plow round in one day.

MUCIUS SCÆVOLA—CLÆLIA.—Porsena now proceeded to lay siege to the city. Owing to the large population which had crowded within its walls, Rome soon began to suffer from famine. Thereupon a young Roman, named C. Mucius, resolved to deliver his country by murdering the Etruscan king; but, mistaking the person of Porsena, he killed his secretary instead. Seized and threatened with torture, he thrust his right hand into the fire on the altar, and there let it burn,* to show how little he heeded pain. Astonished at his courage, Porsena bade him depart in peace, when Mucius revealed the fact that he was but the first of 300 Roman youths who had sworn to take the life of the monarch. Porsena was alarmed, and forthwith offered peace, on condition that the Romans would restore a certain territory to the Veientes. These terms were accepted, and the invader withdrew, leading away as hostages ten youths and ten maidens. Clœlia, one of the latter, escaping from the Etruscan camp, swam across the Tiber to Rome. Her countrymen sent her back. But Porsena, admiring her courage, set her free together with the other hostages.

There is reason to believe that these brilliant stories conceal one of the earliest and greatest disasters of Rome. Some maintain that the city was really conquered by Porsena. It is certain, that she lost all the territory which the kings had gained north of the Tiber. Hence, after this war, we find the 30 tribes of Servius reduced to 20; and, according to Pliny and others, Rome, at this time, was so completely under the control of the Etruscans, that the use of iron, except for agricultural purposes, was forbidden to its inhabitants. .

TARQUIN RAISES FRESH ENEMIES—Although abandoned by his powerful Etruscan protector, the aged Tarquin was not yet disposed to acquiesce in his downfall. After Porsena left him to his own resources, the discrowned tyrant took refuge with his son-in-law Mamilius at Tusculum, and succeeded in raising fresh enemies to the Romans. Such indeed were the difficulties in which the republic found

*Mucius was henceforward called Scævola (the left-handed), because his right hand had been burnt off.

itself involved, that, in the year B. C. 501, a dictator was for the first time created to strengthen the hand of government.

THE FIRST DICTATOR.—The *dictator** was an extraordinary magistrate appointed in seasons of great peril. He was nominated by one of the consuls, after the senate had authorized or recommended the step. The dictator could not hold the office longer than six months, and he usually laid it down much sooner. During his term, he possessed absolute power, and from his decision there was no appeal. He himself appointed a second in command with the title of *magister equitum*, or master of the horse. Spurius Lartius was the first dictator of Rome.

BATTLE OF THE LAKE REGILLUS (B. C. 496).—In B. C. 496, the efforts of Tarquin and of the 30 cities of Latium, which had espoused his cause, rendered necessary the appointment of a second dictator. The choice, this time, fell on Aulus Postumius, who took T. Æbutius as his master of the horse. These two commanders met the hostile array on the shores of the lake Regillus,† whence the decisive action which followed took its name. Never was a battle fought with greater animosity. Almost all the chiefs on either side fell or were grievously wounded. At a critical moment, Publicola, so the story runs, vowed a temple to Castor and Pollux. Presently two youths of eminent beauty and stature were seen charging at the head of the Roman cavalry, and turning the enemy to flight. While the victors were still engaged in the pursuit, the same heavenly warriors appeared in the forum,‡ washed their arms at the fountain of Juturna, and announcing the victory straightway vanished. Of the 47,000 Latins engaged, 7000 perished.

DEATH OF TARQUIN.—Among the slain were Titus the last surviving son, and Mamilius the son-in-law, of Tarquin. The aged monarch, though wounded, escaped with his life; but, despairing of obtaining further succor, he retired to Cumæ, and there died in a miserable old age.

*The title was taken from one in use among the Latins, to whom a corresponding office was familiar. To the person of the dictator the 24 consular lictors were attached.

†Near the site of Alba.

‡A temple was afterward built in the forum, on the spot where they appeared, and their festival was celebrated yearly.

CHAPTER III.

STRUGGLE BETWEEN PATRICIANS AND PLEBEIANS DOWN TO THE
DECENVIRATE IN 451 B. C.

CORIOLANUS.—THE FABII.—CINCINNATUS.

POVERTY OF THE PLEBEIANS.—In spite of the favor shown to the plebeians, first by Servius and then by Brutus and Valerius, the patricians retained exclusive possession of political power. For, as they owned nearly the whole wealth of the country, their influence in the *comitia centuriata* was overwhelming. But far more galling to the plebeians than the privation of political privilege, was the increasing pressure of personal misery. Many had lost their estates, when, in the struggle with Porsena, the territory north of the Tiber was restored to the Etruscans. Many more had been ruined in consequence of incessant military service. For the Romans, it must be remembered, served in the army without pay. Those, therefore, who cultivated their farms with their own hands, and could not engage laborers in their absence, found themselves, on their return home, without means of subsistence or of purchasing seed for the next crop; and borrowing was the only resource. The patricians were ready enough to lend money, but exacted for its use a high rate of interest. Nor did they hesitate to take advantage against the borrowers, of the existing law of debtor and creditor.

LAW OF DEBTOR AND CREDITOR.—By this law or custom, the debtor's estate might be seized to the last farthing, and himself imprisoned or forced to work as a slave. He might even, in certain cases, be sold with all his family; nay, if there were more creditors than one, they might cut his body to pieces and divide it among them. The law applied equally to all Romans. But, in practice, it bore chiefly on the plebeians. They groaned under the burden of debt and the harshness of their creditors; and but little was wanting to rouse them to fury against their oppressors.

SECESSION TO THE SACRED MOUNT (B. C. 494).—One day during the consulship of Appius Claudius and P. Servilius, B. C. 495, an old man clothed in rags rushed into

the forum, and appealed to the people for protection. He was recognized as one of the bravest centurions in the army. On his breast he bore the scars of honorable wounds received in battle. On his back were seen the marks of recent stripes. This incident so inflamed the spectators, that a tumult arose. At the same moment, it was announced that the Volscians were in arms. The consuls summoned the citizens to enlist. The *plebs* refused, and defied the law. The consuls promised that their wrongs should be redressed, and offered release from their debts to all who would serve. The ranks were soon filled, and the enemy defeated. But the senate, with Appius at their head, now refused to fulfill their bargain, and ordered the debtors back to their prisons. The plebeians, however, resisted this measure. In the following year, their discontent became so menacing, that the senate appointed Valerius Volesus dictator. He dealt mildly with the insurgents, and earned their good will; but his efforts at conciliation failed, and at length the plebeians seceded to a rising ground three miles from the city, which was afterward called the *Mons Sacer*, or Sacred Mount.

THE FABLE OF THE BELLY AND THE MEMBERS.—A civil war seemed imminent; but both parties shrunk from so suicidal a course. The patricians sent the first ten of the senate to treat with the seceders. One of the mediators, Menenius Agrippa, related to them the celebrated fable of the Belly and the Members. "Once upon a time," he said, "the members refused to work for the belly, because it led a lazy life, and grew fat upon their toils. Thereupon the belly declined its part; and the members, no longer receiving its aid, began to pine away, and found that it was to the belly they owed their life and strength."

INSTITUTION OF TWO PLEBEIAN TRIBUNES.—The fable was understood, and the plebeians agreed to treat with the patricians. It was decided that existing debts should be cancelled, and that all debtors in bondage should be restored to their liberty. Moreover, as a security for the future, the plebeians obtained that two of their own number should be elected annually, to whom they might appeal for assistance, and who should watch over their interests. These persons were declared sacred and inviolable. They were never to quit the city during their year of office; and, night and day, their houses were to remain open for the convenience of

all who might need them. The election of the new officers at first took place at the comitia of the centuries, but was afterward transferred to the assembly of the tribes. The power and attributions of the tribunes grew with time, and the right of intercession* was vested in them, whereby they could put a veto (*intercedo*) upon any public business.

EDILES.—At the Sacred Mount, the plebeians obtained also the privilege of having two ediles of their order appointed, to take charge of the markets, provisions, and public buildings. To these two plebeian ediles, two others—the *curule*†—were added in B. C. 365; and the four had, in common, the superintendence of the police, the care of the cleansing and draining of the city, and the regulation of the public festivals. Above all, the celebration of the *Ludi Magni* (great games) was their especial function. Originally, they received from the state the money to defray the expenses of the public games. But, about the time of the first Punic war, the grant was withdrawn, and henceforth the charges of these costly entertainments had to be met by the ediles out of their own private means. Instances are recorded of ediles thus incurring a prodigious expense, in order to gain the favor of the people, and secure their votes in future elections.

THE PUBLIC LAND.—The amount of land originally given by Romulus to each citizen as his private property, was two *jugera*, or about 1½ acre. This was called the *quiritary* land, and passed from father to son by inheritance. The remainder of the Roman territory was retained by the state as public land (*ager publicus*). The portion of it which was pasture, could be used by any one who chose to pay so much to the state for every head of cattle; but the arable land was retained by the patricians, who held it as state tenants, on condition of yielding to the treasury one-tenth of the corn and one-fifth of the wine and olives. As it was the practice of the Romans, on the subjugation of a people, to confiscate a certain portion of their territory, the state lands, during the kingly period, received constant increase. Out of the new

* From *intercedere*, to come between.

† They were so called, because they had the right of sitting upon the *sella curulis*, the curule chair, originally an emblem of kingly power, imported along with other insignia of royalty from Etruria. The other curule magistracies were, in order of dignity, the dictatorship, censorship, consulship, and pretorship.

acquisitions, portions were occasionally assigned to the plebeians. Servius, in particular, thus endowed many of the more recent inhabitants of Rome who as yet had received no share of land. On the expulsion of Tarquin, when the estates originally set apart for the support of the king reverted to the state, Brutus also pursued the same just policy. But, as the patricians wielded the whole political power, they usually managed to prevent such measures from being fully and fairly carried out, keeping to themselves nearly all the advantages accruing from the public land, paying only a nominal rent for such portions as they cultivated, reserving the common pastures for their own cattle, and leaving a large portion of the population unendowed. No wonder that the plebeians chafed at such injustice.

THE FIRST AGRARIAN LAW (B. C. 486).—The plebeians, at last found a champion of their rights in one of the consuls, Spurius Cassius. It had always been held, that the public lands occupied by citizens might be resumed by the state. Accordingly Sp. Cassius, in concert with the tribunes, proposed a bill for their resumption, and for a redistribution which would give the plebeians their due share. Henceforth, too, the occupiers of what would be kept as public land, should be required to pay the rent; and the proceeds of it were to be for a fund from which, in time of war, poorer citizens might be paid who could not afford without remuneration to abandon their farms. Such was the first Agrarian law. As it struck at the wealth and power of the patricians, they stubbornly opposed it, and, when it passed, managed to make it a dead letter.

FATE OF SPURIUS.—At the end of his year of office, Spurius was accused of treason before the *comitia curiata*. He was condemned, and suffered the penalty of public scourging and beheading at the hands of the consular lictors. During his consulship, this remarkable man had united the Romans in solemn league with the Latins and Hernicians. This league proved of immense advantage to Rome, in the wars which she had soon to sustain against the combined power of the Volscians and Æquians.

CORIOLANUS AND THE VOLSCIANS (B. C. 488*).—Caius Marcius, surnamed Coriolanus from his brilliant achievements

*Some maintain that the romantic story of Coriolanus, 'if it deserve our credence at all,' belongs more probably to an era twenty years later.

at the capture of Corioli, was a brave but haughty patrician. He was hated by the plebeians, who refused him the consulship. This aroused his anger; and, when the city was suffering from famine, and a present of corn came from Sicily, he advised the senate not to distribute it among the plebeians, unless they consented to the abolition of the tribuneship. This insolence enraged the plebeians, who, in their *comitia* of the tribes, condemned him to exile. Coriolanus then threw himself into the arms of the Volscians, and led them against his countrymen. Nothing could check his progress. Town after town fell before him, and he advanced within five miles of the city. The Romans, weakened by disunion, were filled with despair. They sent to him, hoping to move his compassion, the first ten men of the senate. He received them with the utmost sternness, and required an unconditional surrender. Next day, the pontiffs, augurs, flamens, and all the priests, came in their robes of office, and entreated him in the name of the gods of Rome. But he was deaf to their prayers. At last, there went forth from the city to his tent a procession of Roman matrons, headed by his aged mother, his wife, and his little children. Their lamentations turned him from his purpose. "Mother," he said, bursting into tears, "thou hast saved Rome, but lost thy son!" He then led the Volscians home. According to Plutarch, they put him to death for having betrayed them. Others relate that he lived to a great age, and was often heard to say that 'none but an old man can feel how wretched it is to live in a foreign land.'

THE FABII AND THE VEIENTINES (B. C. 477).—The Fabii, one of the most powerful of the patrician houses, had been among the leading opponents of the agrarian law; and Kæso Fabius, the most influential member of the family, had taken an active part in the condemnation of Sp. Cassius. But, in 482 B. C., Kæso being consul for the second time, the plebeians had their revenge. They refused to complete a victory over the Veientes, or to seize the booty, in order to deprive the consul of the honor of a triumph. Soon after this, a change occurred in the conduct of the great Fabian *gens* or family. They assumed the lead of the popular party; and, Kæso, in his third consulship, proposed that the agrarian law should be carried into effect. By this the Fabii only earned for themselves the hatred of their order. Finding they could no longer live in peace at Rome, they

determined to found a separate settlement, where they might still be useful to their native land. Accordingly, the Fabian house, consisting of 306 males of full age, accompanied by their wives and children, clients and dependents, marched out of Rome, and proceeded straight to the Cremera, a river which flows into the Tiber below Veii. Here they established a fortified camp, and, sallying thence, laid waste the Veientine territory. For two years they sustained the whole weight of the Veientine war; nor did the enemy dare meet them in the open field. At last, the Veientes had recourse to stratagem. They secretly stationed troops in hilly places, and they drove a large number of cattle into the plain below. When the Fabii, descending from their fortress, prepared to seize the valuable prey, they were set upon and surrounded. Nor did their lion-like courage avail aught against the overwhelming multitude of the assailants. They were overpowered and slain. The settlement was destroyed, and no one of the house survived, except a boy who had been left behind at Rome, and who continued the illustrious line of the Fabii.

FRESH CONCESSIONS TO THE PLEBEIANS.—The Fabii were sacrificed to the hatred of the patricians. At the time of the battle, T. Menenius lay with an army at a short distance, but did nothing to save them. For this neglect, he was impeached, found guilty, and condemned. On this occasion, the plebeians extorted from the senate the right to cite even the consuls before the *comitia tributa*—a right which became a powerful weapon in the hands of the popular party.*

THE PUBLILIAN AND THE ICILIAN LAW.—It was also at this time, that the famous Publilian† law was passed, which referred the election of the tribunes to the *comitia tributa* (B. C. 471). In the course of the debates to which this measure gave rise, the two tribunes Volerô and Lætorius established the people in arms on the summit of the Tarpeian hill. The senate had no choice but to yield a reluctant consent. They had hitherto used the influence of wealth in the comitia of the centuries, to favor the election of tribunes who would be subservient to the patrician order. In the

* Within 27 years, 7 consuls were thus accused, and condemned to exile or death.

† So called from the name of its promoter, the tribune Volero Publilius.

assembly of the tribes, wealth had no prerogative; and the votes were given man by man, so that the power of the numerous plebeians was overwhelming. By the same law, the number of the tribunes was increased from two to five. Before long, the plebeians gained a fresh victory. Their tribune Sp. Icilius obtained the enactment of a law which made it a capital offence to interrupt a tribune, when in the act of addressing the assembly.

IMPEACHMENT OF APPIUS CLAUDIUS.—But soon the patricians had their revenge. War being declared against the Æquians and Volscians, the plebeians had to serve under the haughty Appius Claudius. In the camp, the consul was master of the persons of his soldiers and even of their lives. Appius, availing himself of this power, treated the plebeians with the utmost rigor of discipline; and, when they refused to fight, he redoubled his severity, and freely used the rods and axes of the lictors. At the end of the campaign, however, after he returned to Rome, and laid down his military power, the tribunes lost no time in citing him to answer, before the tribes, for his late tyrannical conduct. He replied with his usual arrogance; but he knew his fate was inevitable, and went home from the meeting only to escape condemnation by suicide.

CINCINNATUS AND THE ÆQUIANS (B. C. 458).—The Æquians, in their frequent attacks upon the Roman territory, generally occupied Mount Algidus, one of the group of the Alban hills in Latium. It was accordingly upon this mount that the battles between the Romans and the Æquians generally took place. In the year 558 B. C., the consul Minucius was defeated upon the Algidus, and surrounded in his camp. Five of his horsemen, however, succeeded in escaping, and brought news that the Roman army was in imminent danger. The senate forthwith created L. Quinctius Cincinnatus* dictator. The deputies who went to announce his appointment, found him driving a plow, and clad only in his tunic. He hastily put on his toga, which his wife brought him; and, having heard the commands of the senate, returned to Rome with the messengers. Early the next morning, appearing in the forum, he ordered all the men of military age to meet him at sunset in the Field of Mars, each with 12 stout stakes and food for five days.

* So called for his curly locks.

With these he sallied forth, and by midnight reached Mount Algidus. Placing his soldiers around the Æquian camp, he told them to raise the war-cry, and at the same time to dig a trench, and raise a mound, on the top of which the stakes were to be placed. The Romans who were shut in, hearing the war-cry of their countrymen, burst from their camp, and fought with the Æquians all night. The dictator's troops thus worked without interruption; and, at dawn, the enemy found themselves hemmed in between the two Roman armies. They surrendered, and Cincinnatus made them all pass under the yoke—*jugum*, which was formed by two spears fixed upright with a third fastened across. That same day, the dictator reentered Rome in triumph. Within a fortnight, he had resigned his office, and was again at work on his farm.

CHAPTER IV.

THE DECENVIRATE, MILITARY TRIBUNATE, CENSORSHIP, AND
PLEBEIAN QUESTORSHIP.—B. C. 452-421.

THE TERENTILIAN LAW (B. C. 452).—Hitherto Rome had possessed no written laws. Differences among the citizens were adjusted by the consuls and other patrician magistrates, according to ancient customs and natural equity. Hence the rectitude of the decisions depended almost entirely on the integrity or knowledge of the judges; and sentences not seldom were or appeared arbitrary. The plebeians being the chief sufferers thereby, the tribune Terentilius Arsa proposed (B. C. 462) that a commission should be appointed to draw up a code of laws, by which a check might be put to the arbitrary power of the patrician magistrates. This motion, naturally enough, gave rise to violent debates. The tribes, in their comitia, voted the measure, but the senate and the curies rejected it. For ten years, angry disputes and bloody contentions occurred between the two orders. At last, the resistance of the patricians was overcome. Three commissioners were sent to study the system of law in force, at Athens and elsewhere, among the Greeks.

THE CITADEL OF THE PLEBEIANS.—During the struggle here referred to, the tribune Icilius carried (B. C. 454) a measure for surrendering to the poorer commons the whole of the Aventine hill, which was public domain, and which became from this time entirely occupied by the second order. The Aventine, the loftiest, and next to the Capitoline reputed the strongest eminence in Rome, now constituted the citadel of the plebeians, and henceforth greatly increased their political consideration.

THE DECENVIRS (B. C. 450–448).—On the return of the commissioners, the nation, assembled in its centuries, chose ten persons—the decenvirs—to form a provisional government for a year, and during that time prepare a new code. The decenvirs superseded all the other magistrates, exercising supreme authority day by day, in turn. They discharged the duties of their office with diligence, and dispensed justice with impartiality. In due time, they gave the result of their labor—*ten tables of laws*—chiefly embodying in a written form what had previously been matter of precedent and usage. These laws were laid before the comitia of the centuries and of the curies, and, being accepted by both, were engraved on bronze tables, and hung up in the *comitium*.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS THE DECENVIR.—The new administration had given such satisfaction, that, when their term of office expired, the decenvirate was adopted as the regular government of the city and sole executive, in lieu of the consulship and tribuneship; and it was decided that the members should be chosen from both orders of the state. Unfortunately, the new officers allowed themselves to be dominated by the strong will of one of their number, Appius Claudius, and assumed the character of irresponsible tyrants. Each decenvir was attended by 12 lictors, so that 120 were seen in the city at the same time. No assemblies were held; the senate was rarely convened; and two new *tables*, confirming the patricians in their most odious privileges, were added to the code. Nay more, at the end of the year, the decenvirs neither resigned nor held comitia for the election of successors.

SICINIUS DENTATUS.—The war with the Sabines and the Æquians being renewed, two armies were dispatched against them, commanded by some of the decenvirs. In that which fought against the Sabines, was a centurion, Sicinius Dentatus, who for his bravery has been called the Roman Achilles.

He had been present at 120 battles; had killed eight of the enemy in single combat; had received 45 wounds, all in front; had accompanied the triumphs of 6 generals; had won many war-crowns, and received innumerable other rewards.* He was the hero of the plebeians. Under his leadership, they had won the Terentilian law, and he was now suspected of plotting against the decemvirs. His death was accordingly resolved on, and he was sent with a company of soldiers, as if to reconnoitre the enemy's position. But, in a lonely spot, they fell upon him, and slew him, though not until he had destroyed most of the traitors. Nothing but the magnificence with which the decemvirs honored his burial, prevented an immediate outbreak. But the troops were ready to rise in open mutiny upon the first provocation.

VIRGINIA.—In the army sent against the Æquians, there was a well-known centurion, named Virginius. He had a beautiful daughter, Virginia, who went daily with her nurse to a school near the forum. Appius the decemvir, as he sat there to administer justice, noticed the maiden, and sought in her father's absence to get her into his power. He directed one Marcus Claudius, his client, to seize the girl in the street, and claim her as his slave. The cry of the nurse for help brought a crowd around them, and all went before the decemvir. In his presence, Marcus repeated the tale he had learned, asserting that Virginia was the child of one of his

* The chief military rewards bestowed among the Romans were the following:

Corona civica, given to any soldier who had saved the life of a Roman citizen in an engagement. This crown, though composed of oak leaves only, was considered the most honorable of all. *Corona obsidionalis*, bestowed on those who delivered the Romans or their allies from a siege. It was made of the grass which grew on the spot. *Corona muralis*, awarded to him who first scaled the walls of a city in a general assault. Its form resembled the figure of a wall. *Corona vallaris or castrensis*, the reward of him who had first forced the enemy's intrenchments. *Corona navalis*, set round with figures of the beaks of ships, and bestowed on such as had signalized their valor in a naval engagement. In fine, *Corona triumphalis*, made with wreaths of laurel, and awarded to the general who had gained a signal victory. To him also, was reserved the *triumph*, or solemn entry into Rome in a chariot magnificently ornamented, and at the head of his victorious army. Among other rewards for occasions different from those already mentioned, were the *torques*, a gold or silver collar, and the *armilla*, a bracelet, worn on the left arm.

female slaves, and had been imposed upon Virginius by his wife, who was childless. This he offered to prove to Virginius so soon as the latter returned to Rome, and he meanwhile demanded the custody of the maiden. The attitude of the people was so menacing, that Appius was forced to defer judgment till next morning; but he declared that then, whether Virginius appeared or not, he should know how to maintain the law. Straightway two friends of the family hurried to the camp, and informed Virginius of his daughter's situation. He at once obtained a leave of absence, and fortunately had already set out for Rome, when a messenger arrived from Appius requesting that he should be detained with the army. Early next morning, Virginius and his daughter came into the forum with their garments rent. Supported by his friends, he appealed to the law and to testimony. But, intent upon his purpose, Appius ordered Virginia to be given up to his accomplice, at the same time commanding his lictors and a large body of his adherents, whom he had summoned around him, to disperse the people. The unhappy father, seeing no means to deliver his daughter, snatched a knife from a butcher's stall close by, and stabbed her to the heart. Brandishing the reeking weapon, he rushed to the gate of the city, and then hurried to the camp.

THE VALERIAN AND HORATIAN LAWS (B. C. 448).—The comrades of Virginius espoused his cause. The other army did the same; and the soldiers, joined by the mass of the plebeians, withdrew to the Sacred Mount. As once before, this course produced its effect. The decemvirs speedily relinquished the power; and two of the number, Valerius and Horatius, opening negotiations with the plebeians, promised the restoration of the tribunate and the right of appeal. The comitia were held and tribunes* were elected for the plebeians, while Valerius and Horatius† were raised to the consulship. The new consuls procured a solemn confirmation‡ of the old law of Valerius Publicola, granting to every citizen the right of appeal against the sentence of the supreme

* Some maintain that *ten* were for the *first* time chosen on this occasion.

† It is said that they were the *first* Roman magistrates who actually bore the title of consuls, the chief officers of the state being previously called pretors.

‡ It received a third solemn confirmation in 300 B. C. The verdict of the people was final. Capital punishment could be inflicted only by the comitia of the centuries.

magistrate. On their proposal, it was also enacted that the *plebiscita*, or resolutions passed in the *comitia tributa*, should be binding alike on both orders of the state; and, finally, the persons of the ediles and other plebeian magistrates were declared equally sacred with those of the tribunes.

INTERMARRIAGE LAW (B. C. 445).—At an early period, a legal sanction had been given to marriages between patricians and plebeians; but with the proviso that the children should follow the fortunes of the inferior parent. By the eleventh *table* of the second decemvirs, such unions were wholly prohibited. But soon after the abolition of the decemvirate, the plebeians obtained by the Canuleian law (B. C. 445) not only the repeal of this oppressive enactment, but the full right of intermarriage.

THE CONSULAR TRIBUNES (B. C. 444–366).—An attempt made, at this time also, to throw open the consulship to the plebeians, was not equally successful. A compromise, however, was effected (B. C. 444),* whereby the annual consuls might be replaced by a board of consular or military tribunes, to be chosen from either order. But the functions of these tribunes, were to be confined to the command of armies in the field and the military administration at home, the other consular duties being entrusted to two new patrician magistrates, called censors. Though, by law, the new tribunes might be chosen equally from either order, yet such was the influence of the patricians in the *comitia* of the centuries, that, in forty years, only three plebeians were actually raised to that dignity; and, during this interval, the *comitia* not unfrequently, instead of military tribunes, chose two consuls as of old. Finally, towards 366 B. C., the ancient custom of electing annually two consuls became again the invariable rule.

THE CENSORS originally held office for a period of five years. Soon, their tenure was limited to 18 months, though they continued to be appointed only once in five years. Many and important were the duties of this new magistracy. The censors took the *census*, or register of the citizens and their property, and drew up accordingly the classes and the centuries. They made the lists of the knights, or *equites*, and filled up all vacancies in the senate.† They exercised

* Instead of B. C. 444, some say B. C. 420.

† From those who had held the questorship, or any higher magistracy.

a superintendence over the whole public and private life of the citizens, visiting with their censure not only offences against the laws, but everything opposed to the old Roman character and habit, such as living in celibacy, extravagance, and luxury. They might degrade citizens to a lower rank; expel senators from the senate, deprive the knights of their horses, and exclude individuals from all political rights. The censors, also, under the senate, controlled the finances;* and with the ediles, as their subordinates, they had the superintendence of the public buildings, roads, and aqueducts. Hence we find that many of the great roads, such as the Via Flaminia, were made by the censors.

SP. MÆLIUS.—In the year 440 B. C., there was a great famine at Rome. Sp. Mælius, one of the richest plebeian knights, expended his fortune in buying up corn, which he sold to the poor at a small price, or distributed among them gratuitously. This generous conduct gave him considerable popularity, and the patricians pretended to fear that he was aiming at kingly power. To ward off the supposed danger, they appointed the aged Cincinnatus dictator. He nominated Servilius Ahala his master of the horse. During the night, the Capitol and all the posts were garrisoned by the patricians; and, in the morning, the dictator, appearing in the forum with a numerous escort, summoned Mælius before his tribunal. But, seeing the fate which awaited him, Mælius refused to go, whereupon Ahala rushed into the crowd, and struck him dead upon the spot (B. C. 439). His property was confiscated, and his house was levelled to the ground. The deed of Ahala is lauded by Cicero, but was regarded by the plebeians, at the time, as an act of murder. Ahala was afterward brought to trial, and only escaped death by voluntary exile.

AULUS POSTUMIUS, DICTATOR.—In 431 B. C., a great effort was made by the Æquians and Volscians to conquer Rome. Aulus Postumius was named dictator; and, at Mount Algidus, gained a splendid victory over them. An incident of this campaign illustrates the severity of Roman discipline. During the manœuvres, the dictator's son left the post assigned to him, and engaged the enemy. He

* At a later period, they let out the taxes of the provinces to the highest bidders for the space of a *lustrum*, or five years. Those who thus farmed the public revenue—the richest citizens, i. e. the *equites*, were called *publicani*.

returned victorious ; but his inexorable father forthwith sent him to execution for acting contrary to orders.

PLEBEIAN QUESTORS (B. C. 421).—Slowly but surely, amidst internal dissensions and external wars, were the plebeians rising to an equality with the higher order. In 421 B. C., the questorship was thrown open to them, and thus they became eligible for the senate.

QUESTORSHIP.—The questors were the paymasters of the state. It was their duty to receive the revenues, and to make all the necessary payments for the military and civil services. They also registered the laws passed by the senate. It was their business to entertain envoys from foreign states, and they had the charge of all the public funerals. There were originally but two questors. About this time, the number was increased to four, two of whom—the urban questors—continued to remain at Rome, as secretaries of the treasury, whilst the other two, sometimes called military questors, followed the army in quality of adjutants or paymasters to the troops. The number of the military, or non-urban, questors was constantly increased with the conquests of the republic. Every consul or pretor who conducted a war or governed a province, was attended by one of these magistrates.

CHAPTER V.

CAPTURE OF VEII—GAULISH INROADS—THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS.

B. C. 406–365.

VEII.—Twelve miles north of the Tiber, on a steep mountain spur, stood the Etruscan city of Veii. Strongly fortified and surpassing Rome in the grandeur of its buildings, Veii, besides, was rich with the products of industry and art. With this powerful rival, Rome had often been engaged in hostilities. Now it was determined to carry on against it a war of extermination.

SIEGE AND CAPTURE OF VEII (B. C. 406–396).—In 406 B. C., a siege was begun comparable to that of Troy. Year after year, it continued with varying success. The position of

Veii made it impossible to blockade it completely, and to reduce it by famine. The Romans, however, clung tenaciously to their purpose, and maintained the siege at all seasons of the year. This was an entirely new feature in Roman warfare, and compelled them to adopt a most important change in their military system. Up to this time, the soldiers had fought without pay, and had even supplied themselves with food, always returning home for the harvest. Now, however, that they were required to remain under the standard for several years in succession, they could no longer maintain themselves. The government perceived the necessity, and yielded to it. Pay was granted to the troops from the public treasury.

While the siege was proceeding, some alarm was excited at Rome by an unaccountable rise of the Alban lake, which overflowed its banks. The portent was considered so grave, that an embassy was sent to inquire its meaning from the oracle of the Delphian Apollo. The reply was that, so long as the Alban lake continued to overflow, Veii could not be taken. The Romans therefore set to work, and cut a tunnel* through the mountain side, by which the superabundant water was drained off. They then confidently looked for the conquest of their stubborn enemy. The command of the legions was now intrusted to M. Furius Camillus, as dictator. He infused a new spirit into the siege; and, seeing no prospect of storming the strong defences of the city, he drove a mine beneath them, which was to have its outlet in the temple of Juno, the guardian deity of Veii. When the mine was finished, the attention of the inhabitants was diverted by feigned assaults against the walls. Camillus, meanwhile, with a chosen band led the way into the mine. As he stood beneath the temple of Juno, he heard the soothsayer declare to the king of the Veientes, that whoever should complete the sacrifice he was offering, would be the conqueror. Thereupon the Romans burst forth, and seized the flesh of the victim, which Camillus offered up. The soldiers who guarded the walls, were thus taken in the rear; the gates were thrown open, and the city was soon filled with Romans. The booty was immense; and the few citizens who escaped the sword, were sold as slaves. In a gilded

*The tunnel, which to this day continues to serve its original purpose, is about 6,000 feet long.

chariot drawn by four white horses, himself splendidly arrayed, Camillus passed up the Sacred Way (*Via Sacra*) to the Capitol. Rome had never yet seen so magnificent a triumph. The territory of Veii was divided among the plebeians, seven *jugera*, equal to five acres, of land being granted to all that desired it. A short time before, similar colonies of Roman plebeians had been planted at Ardea, Velitræ, and Labicum.

CAMILLUS CONQUERS FALERII (B. C. 394).—Falerii, one of the Etruscan cities which had assisted Veii, soon beheld itself besieged in turn. It is related, that, when Camillus lay before it, a Falerian schoolmaster treacherously conducted the sons of the noblest families into the Roman camp, but that Camillus, scorning the baseness of the man, ordered his arms to be tied behind him, and the boys to flog him back into the town; whereupon the besieged, moved by gratitude, opened their gates to the Romans.

EXILE OF CAMILLUS (B. C. 391).—Camillus, when engaged in the siege of Veii, had vowed to consecrate to the Pythian Apollo a tithe of the spoil. To fulfill this vow, he required every man to refund a tenth of the booty* taken at Veii, and thereby incurred the hatred of the plebeians. His haughty demeanor towards the lower order increasing their resentment, the tribunes impeached him as guilty of appropriating the great bronze gates of Veii. Seeing that his condemnation was certain, Camillus went into exile, praying, as he left Rome, that the republic might soon have cause to regret him—a wish but too soon and too completely fulfilled.

BATTLE OF THE ALLIA (B. C. 390).—Numerous Gallic hordes had, in the time of the Tarquins, crossed the Alps, and taken possession of the rich valley of the Po,† whence they dislodged the Etruscans. But now, under the leadership of Brennus, the Gauls passed the line of the Apennines,

* The various objects were exchanged for gold, which, in the form of a rich golden bowl, was duly sent to Delphi.

† Henceforth, they formed the main population of the whole basin of the Po, which, in consequence was called by the Romans *Gallia Cisalpina*, or Gaul on this (the Roman) side of the Alps. Till the time of the empire, the Romans never included the plain of the Po in Italy. The westernmost portion of this plain was peopled by Ligurian tribes, and was therefore called *Liguria*, while its eastern extremity was inhabited, as it still is, by the Venetians, and named as now Venetia.

spread desolation through Central Italy, and laid siege to Clusium, the powerful Etruscan city over which Lars Porse-na once reigned. The Clusians applied to Rome for aid. The senate dispatched three ambassadors, sons of the chief pontiff, Fabius Ambustus, to warn the barbarians not to touch an ally of Rome. Failing to produce any effect, the envoys most unwisely took part with the Etruscans in the defence of their city, and one of them slew a Gallic captain. Brennus, thereupon, sent to Rome to demand satisfaction. The Roman people not only refused to apologize, but elected the three Fabii as military tribunes for the following year. To avenge this insult, the Gauls, raising the siege of Clusium, at once hastened towards Rome. About eleven miles from the city, they met the Roman army 40,000 strong, drawn up upon the Allia, and ready to oppose their advance. Brennus fiercely attacked them, and threw them into confusion. A general panic seized the Romans; they turned and fled. Some escaped across the Tiber to Veii, and a few reached Rome, but the greater number were slain.

SACK OF ROME.—Panic-stricken, the inhabitants of Rome fled with such of their property as they could carry, some to Veii, others to the nearest cities of Latium. The flamen of Quirinus, and the Vestal virgins with the sacred fire, retired to Cæré. But a handful of resolute patricians and the younger senators, quickly collecting their chief treasures and a supply of provisions, withdrew to the Capitol, resolved to defend, to their last breath, the citadel of their nation and the shrines of their gods, while the aged senators, who had been consuls or censors and could no longer fight, devoting themselves as so many victims for their country, sat down in the forum on their curule thrones, awaiting death.

When the Gauls entered the city, they found it desolate and death-like. They marched on without seeing a human being, till they came to the forum. Here, beholding the aged forms of the senators, sitting immovable, they gazed in awe at the strange sight, until one of them ventured to go up to M. Papirius, and stroke his white beard. With his ivory sceptre, the old man struck the barbarian, whereupon the barbarian slew him, and in an instant the Gauls massacred the whole august assembly. Rome was now given up to pillage; and, with the exception of a few houses on the Palatine, which the chiefs reserved for themselves, the whole city was burnt to the ground.

SIEGE OF THE CAPITOL.—The Capitol was the next object of attack. Leading to this was but one steep way, and the assaults were therefore easily repelled. The siege in consequence became a blockade, and the Gauls for seven months remained encamped among the ruins of Rome. Meanwhile, the scattered Romans took courage. Collecting at Veii, they resolved to recall Camillus and appoint him dictator. Then Pontius Cominius, a daring youth, swam across the Tiber, scaled the Tarpeian rock, obtained the senate's approval to the appointment of Camillus, and returned safe to Veii. But, next day, some Gauls observed the traces of his steps, and in the dead of night climbed up the same way. The foremost had already reached the top, unnoticed by the sentinels and the dogs, when the cries of some geese* roused M. Manlius from sleep. He hurled down the Gaul who had clambered up, and gave the alarm. The Capitol was thus saved, and Manlius was honored with the proud title of Capitolinus.

WITHDRAWAL OF THE GAULS.—Still no help came; and the Gauls remaining, famine compelled the defenders to capitulate. The Romans agreed to pay the barbarians 1000 pounds of gold, on condition of their quitting the city and the territory. In computing the amount, Brennus used false weights; and, when the Romans complained, the Gallic chief cast his heavy sword into the scales, exclaiming, "Woe to the vanquished!"† As Livy tells the story, it was at this moment that Camillus with his troops appeared upon the scene; and, forcing the barbarians to restore all the gold, drove them defeated beyond the territory of Rome. Polybius and Justin, however, assure us that the Gauls, having exacted large sums, with the money in their possession returned safely to their homes.

REBUILDING OF THE CITY.—When the Romans returned to the heap of ruins which was once their city, their hearts sank within them. In their despair the people would fain have quitted the spot for ever, and removed to Veii. But Camillus and the patricians strongly urged them not to abandon the homes of their fathers, and they were at length persuaded to remain. The state granted bricks, and stones were fetched from the dismantled Veii. Within a year, the

*These geese were sacred to Juno, and had been spared notwithstanding the gnawings of hunger.

†Væ victis.

city rose from its ashes ; but, down to the great fire of Nero, it continued to show evident traces of the haste and irregularity with which it had been rebuilt.

DISTRESS AT ROME.—As in the case of the war with Porsena so now after the sack of Rome by the Gauls, distress and embarrassment fell upon the poorer classes. They had lost their all—houses, barns, implements of agriculture ; and, to make matters worse, the government imposed additional taxation, in order to replace the gold paid to Brennus. Debt and insolvency followed. The slave barracks were filled with captives, and the people once more cried out against the harshness of the usurers. Under these circumstances, Marcus Manlius Capitolinus came forward as the champion of the poor, and out of his personal means he paid the debts of 400 prisoners.

FATE OF MANLIUS (B. C. 384).—The patricians, alarmed at his growing popularity, renewed against Manlius the charge once preferred against Cassius—that he was aiming at royal power. They appointed Cossus dictator. Manlius was by his order brought to trial before the comitia of the centuries. In his defence, he proudly showed the spoils of 30 warriors whom he had slain, the 40 military distinctions which he had won in battle, and the innumerable scars upon his breast, after which, turning toward the Capitol, he prayed the immortal gods to remember the man who had saved their temple. Seeing that after such an appeal he could not be condemned, his enemies contrived to break up the assembly. Shortly afterward Manlius was arraigned on the same charges, before the comitia of the curies. Here he was at once condemned, and was hurled from the Tarpeian Rock.

THE LICINIAN ROGATIONS* (B. C. 377-367).—In 376 B. C. the tribunes of the people, C. Licinius Stolo and L. Sextius, proposed three laws—known as the Licinian rogations, which were intended to lessen the double grievance of poverty and political equality, under which the plebeians were still groaning. One of these bills procured immediate relief for debtors, by deducting from the principal the interest already paid on borrowed money. A second aimed at preventing the recurrence of extreme indigence, by multiplying the number of small freeholders, and assuring to the ple-

*A *rogatio* was a measure submitted to the assembly of the people, and only became a law—*lex* when enacted by them.

beians the right of occupying the public lands. For it allowed small lots of five acres to the poor citizens, and it forbade any one of the rich to occupy more than 320 acres of the public domain, or to feed on the public pastures more than 200 head of large and 500 of small cattle; moreover, the payment of the annual tithe or rent, for the use of the state lands, was to be rigidly enforced. The third *rogation* was, that in future two consuls should be annually elected, as of old, and that one of the two *must* be a plebeian.

These reforms, naturally enough, were violently opposed by the patricians. The two tribunes retaliated by interposing their veto, and prevented the comitia of the centuries from electing any magistrates for the next year. Hence no consuls, military tribunes, censors, or questors, could be appointed. The tribunes of the plebs and the ediles, who were elected by the comitia of the tribes, were the only magistrates in the city. This state of things lasted five years, Licinius and Sextius being reelected annually, and maintaining the same tactics in reference to the elections at the comitia of the centuries. In the fifth year, however, in consequence of a war with the Latins, they allowed the appointment of military tribunes. But so far were they from abating any of their demands, that to their former rogations they now added another: That the care of the Sibylline books, instead of being intrusted to two patricians only, should be given to ten citizens, half of whom should be plebeians.

L. SEXTIUS, FIRST PLEBEIAN CONSUL (B. C. 366).—Five years more did the struggle last; but the firmness of the tribunes at length prevailed. In 367 B. C., the Licinian rogations became law, and L. Sextius was elected the first plebeian consul. By the Roman constitution, the consuls, after being elected by the *comitia centuriata*, received the *imperium*, or sovereign military power, from the *comitia curiata*. The patricians thus were able to nullify the election, by refusing the *imperium*. This they denied to Sextius; and they made Camillus dictator to support them in this new struggle. The aged hero, however, persuaded the ruling class to accept what was inevitable. A compromise was effected. Sextius received the *imperium*; but the judicial duties were taken away from the consuls, and given to a new magistrate who was to be of patrician rank—the pretor. The erection of a temple to the goddess Concord, commemorated the close of a long era of civil discord.

THE PRETORSHIP (B. C. 366).—The pretor's chief duty was the administration of justice. His it was to declare the law and preside at the tribunal. In token of his dignity, he was attended by six lictors. When both the consuls were absent on military duties, he held supreme authority in the city.—In B. C. 246, two pretors began to be appointed. One of them, the pretor *urbanus*, administered the law between citizen and citizen; the pretor *peregrinus* settled all cases in which persons of foreign origin were concerned. When Sicily, Sardinia, and Spain, became territories of the state, four new pretors were created to govern those provinces. In Cicero's time the number of pretors was eight.

DEATH OF CAMILLUS (B. C. 365).—The year 365 B. C. witnessed the death of Camillus, the greatest of all the heroes of Roman story, till we come to Julius Cæsar. He fell victim to the pestilence, which, in that year, visited the city for the sixth time since the abolition of monarchy. On the occasion of this pestilence, stage plays were now first introduced into Rome from Etruria.

METTUS CURTIUS.—To this epoch also is referred the romantic story of Mettus Curtius. A deep chasm had opened in the middle of the forum, and such a portent inspired general fear of some impending calamity. What should be done to appease the wrath of the gods? It was announced that the chasm would never close, until it had received the most precious thing in Rome. Gold and jewels were in vain cast in. Then Mettus Curtius came forth, fully armed and mounted on his war-horse. "Rome," said he, "holds nothing of greater value than arms and valor." So saying, he spurred his horse, and devoting himself to his country and to the gods, plunged out of sight into the gulf. With this offering the gods were satisfied, and the chasm closed up.

CHAPTER VI.

WARS WITH THE GAULS, THE SAMNITES, AND THE LATINS.

—THE ROMAN DEMOCRACY.—B. C. 365–287.

GALLIC TUMULT.—The Gauls, after their first retreat from Rome, did not fail to return and renew their attacks upon

the republic. Furious as were their terrible assaults, the Romans seldom failed to resist them. On account of their size and strength, however, and their former sacking of the city, the Romans regarded them with peculiar dread; and the appearance of the Gauls in the neighborhood was the signal, not so much for a war as for a 'Gallic tumult,' when every citizen was called to arms, and the whole nation rushed in a mass to the rescue.

MANLIUS TORQUATUS (B. C. 361).—On one occasion, the Gauls were facing a Roman army on the Anio, when a gigantic barbarian advanced upon the bridge, and offered to fight any Roman champion. Manlius, by permission of his general, accepted the challenge, slew the giant, and took from the dead body the gold chain (*torquis*) which the Gaul wore around his neck. For this he received the surname of Torquatus, which he handed down to his descendants.

VALERIUS CORVUS (B. C. 349).—In B. C. 349, another distinguished Roman family won its surname from a single combat with a Gaul. Here again a Gallic warrior of gigantic size had insultingly challenged the Romans. This time, M. Valerius advanced to oppose him. He was aided in the struggle, we are told, by a huge crow, which struck out fiercely at the Gaul with beak and claws and wings. Thus the Roman was enabled to slay his antagonist, and in consequence was called Corvus (the raven).

THE LATIN LEAGUE.—For some time, the Gauls maintained themselves among the Alban hills. Their presence broke up the confederation of Latin towns which Rome had long held in alliance, and also encouraged the Hernici, the Aurunci, the Etruscans of Cæré and Tarquinii, and the Volscians of Privernum, all ancient foes of the republic, to renew their attacks. From these contests, however, Rome emerged triumphant, and the Latin League was renewed.

SAMNITES AT CAPUA.—The time had now arrived when the power of Rome was to assert itself beyond the bounds of Latium, and new enemies were to be encountered. The highlands of Central and Southern Italy were, at this time, occupied by the great Sabellian race, of which an offshoot, under the name of Sabines, had largely contributed to form the Roman people itself. Farther to the south, the same race were known by the kindred name of Samnites. A body of these mountaineers, descending from their fastnesses, had some time before, seized upon the fertile plains of Campania,

and established themselves, as a class of patrician rulers, in the luxurious city of Capua. They were soon estranged from their kinsmen, who still dwelt among the hills; and a quarrel breaking out between the Samnites and the Capuans, the latter appealed to Rome for aid.

FIRST SAMNITE WAR (B. C. 343-341).—The Romans had, only a few years before, concluded an alliance with the Samnites. But the bait of the richest city and the most fertile soil in Italy, was irresistible; and they resolved to comply with the request of the Capuans. Thus began the Samnite wars, which, with a few intervals of peace, lasted 53 years. Two consular armies were sent against the Samnites, who suffered defeat in three decisive encounters. But, at this juncture, difficulties arose for the Roman government, apparently from the prospect of valuable lands to be divided among the conquerors. During the winter, a mutiny broke out in their army at Capua, and the discontented soldiers marched in a body to Rome. Valerius Corvus, appointed dictator, led troops against them; but his levies, instead of fighting, fraternized with the mutineers.

CONCESSIONS TO THE PLEBEIANS (B. C. 341-339).—The government was forced to submit to the people in arms. In 341 B. C., on the motion of the tribune Genucius, a series of laws were passed for the relief of debtors, the redress of military grievances, and the regulation of consular elections; and it was enacted that both consuls might henceforth be plebeians. Two years later, under the dictatorship of Publius Philo, himself a plebeian, fresh ordinances abridged still further the privileges of the patricians. By the Publilian laws, it was decreed that the pretors might be plebeians; that one of the censors must be a plebeian; and that the *plebiscita*, or decisions agreed to at the comitia of the tribes, were binding on all the citizens, whether or not they were sanctioned by the senate.

THE PLEBISCITA—This last clause seems to have been little more than a reenactment of one of the Valerian and Horatian laws. It must not be supposed that the influence of the senate was destroyed by this measure. In practice, this particular law was rarely put in force. But, in case of dead-lock between the two assemblies, it became a constitutional principle that the senate must yield. That the patricians struggled hard to evade the new law, can hardly be a matter of doubt; and, in 286 B. C., it had to be enacted

again by the dictator Q. Hortensius, when the last secession of the plebeians took place. In Roman writers, the *Lex Hortensia* is always referred to, as that which gave to *plebiscita* the full power of laws binding upon the whole nation. By it the strife between patricians and plebeians was at length laid to rest.

DEMANDS OF THE LATINS.—The Latins, as allies of the Romans, had fought by their side throughout the Samnite war. But they felt that, with the increasing power of Rome, they were gradually descending from the position of allies to that of mere subjects. They, therefore, sent two pretors—their chief magistrates, to demand their incorporation into the Roman state, with an equal share in the offices of government. The senate met in the temple of Jupiter, on the Capitoline hill, to receive the Latin deputation. After their proposals were heard, the presiding consul, T. Manlius Torquatus, the same that had slain the Gaul, declared that, if the republic should cowardly yield to these demands, he would come into the senate-house, sword in hand, and cut down the first Latin he saw there. The tale goes on to state that, in the discussion which followed, when both parties were excited by anger, one of the Latin pretors defied the Roman Jupiter: that, thereupon, an awful peal of thunder shook the building; and that, as the impious man hurried down the steps from the temple, he fell from top to bottom, and lay there a corpse.

THE LATIN WAR (B. C. 340–338).—War was now declared, and the most vigorous efforts were put forth on both sides. The Latins secured the assistance of the Volscians of Antium and Privernum, as well as that of the Campanians themselves, who feared that the Romans would confiscate their territory. The latter made an alliance with the Samnites, whom they had just defeated; and, marching through their mountain country, met the Latin legions in Campania. The two consuls, T. Manlius Torquatus and P. Decius Mus, aware of the bravery of their opponents and deeming no precaution too great in the present emergency, forbade any Roman to fight in single combat with a Latin, on pain of death. But the son of Torquatus, provoked by the insult of a Tusculan officer, accepted his challenge, slew his antagonist, and carried the bloody spoils in triumph to his father. Instead of the praise he expected, the consul condemned him to death for breach of discipline, and the unhappy youth

was beheaded by the lictor in the presence of the whole army.

SELF-DEVOTION OF DECIUS.—The decisive battle of the campaign was fought at the foot of Mount Vesuvius. The night before the conflict, the Roman consuls had been warned in a dream, that, in the impending combat, the army was doomed to perish on one side, the general on the other. They agreed that the one whose wing first began to waver, should solemnly devote himself to death. It fell to the lot of Decius to fulfil this vow. He repeated, after the chief pontiff, the solemn form of devotion, and then, rushing into the serried ranks of the enemy, by his own death won the victory for his countrymen.

SUBJUGATION OF LATIUM (B. C. 338).—After their defeat near Mount Vesuvius, the Latins rallied once more, but were again defeated. They then betook themselves to their fenced cities, and the war henceforth consisted in a series of sieges, in which the Romans reduced the strong places of Latium one by one. At Antium, they captured the enemy's ships, which had long been accustomed to prey upon Roman commerce. The brazen beaks of these ships were cut off, and fixed to the orator's platform in the forum, which thence acquired the name of the *rostra*.

SETTLEMENT OF LATIUM.—This war gave to Rome the entire control of Latium. Of all the Latin cities, only Tibur and Præneste retained their own laws and magistrates with a nominal independence. Of the remainder, some, while keeping their lands and usages, were placed under a Roman prefect; others were occupied, as colonies, by discharged Roman soldiers of the plebeian order; others,* in fine, were incorporated to the republic. The inhabitants of these last received the Roman franchise; most of the rest were admitted only to a kind of inferior citizenship, with rights of commerce and intermarriage, but without the suffrage. This franchise came to be known as the *jus Latii*, and was subsequently extended to other conquered nations. The Latin war brought a large accession to the public domain† and

*As Tusculum and Lanuvium. Many distinguished Romans sprung from these Latin towns.

†Individual Romans quickly became owners of large estates throughout the newly acquired territory, and the frontier of the *ager Romanus* was pushed as far south as Capua and the river Volturnus.

to the state fresh revenues. For the Latins, henceforth, contributed their share to the public treasury. They might, also, at the will of the consuls, be enrolled in the Roman armies. To prevent the Latin towns from uniting again into a confederation, all general assemblies were prohibited; and the inhabitants of one city were not allowed to marry, or make a legal contract of bargain or sale,* with those of another.

ORIGIN OF THE SECOND SAMNITE WAR (B. C. 327).—The subjugation of Latium was followed by fresh successes for the Romans. One of their most important conquests, at this period, was that of the Volscian town of Privernum. This city fell into their power B. C. 329; and from this time the Volscians, so long the formidable enemies of Rome, disappear as an independent nation. Such increase of power could not but awake the jealousy of the Samnites. When, therefore, they saw the Romans interfere in the civil discords of the Greek cities of Palæopolis and Neapolis,† fearing lest the whole of Campania might soon be absorbed by Rome, they threw garrisons into those towns to aid the popular party against the common enemy. Such was the origin of the second Samnite war.

THE FIRST PROCONSUL.—In B. C. 327, the Romans sent the consul Q. Publilius Philo to reduce Palæopolis and Neapolis to subjection. This general encamped between the two cities; and, as he did not succeed in taking them before his consulship expired, he was continued in the command with the title of proconsul.‡ The precedent first set in this instance, was often followed, in after times, when the Roman armies were quartered in distant provinces, or engaged in conquests of many years' duration. At the beginning of B. C. 326, Palæopolis was taken; and Neapolis only escaped the same fate by concluding an alliance with the Romans. The latter had, meanwhile, gained to their side the Lucanians and Apulians, as well as the Marsians and Pelignians,

*According to the Roman expression, the *jus connubii* and the *jus commercii* were forbidden.

†Both were colonies of Cumæ, and were situated only 5 miles from each other. The modern Naples occupies the site of Neapolis (the new city); the position of Palæopolis (the old city) is uncertain.

‡A recent enactment forbade the reelection of a consul during the next ten years. As the services of Philo could not be dispensed with, the difficulty was overcome by the creation of the *proconsulship*.

thus completely isolating and surrounding their redoubtable foe, the brave mountaineers of Samnium.

PAPIRIUS AND FABIVS (B. C. 324).—The third year of the war was signalized by a now familiar story, which illustrates the severity of Roman discipline. Papirius Censor, the dictator, being recalled to Rome by some defects in the auspices, left the army in charge of his master of the horse, Fabius Rullianus, but with strict injunctions not to engage the enemy. Fabius, however, seizing a favorable opportunity, attacked the Samnites, and won a great victory. But his success was no extenuation of his offence in the eyes of Papirius, who feared that the victory of the lieutenant would prove less destructive to the Samnites than to military discipline and the majesty of the dictatorship, if this contempt of authority remained unpunished. With all possible speed, therefore, Papirius hastened back to the camp, and ordered his lictors to seize Fabius and put him to death. The soldiers, whom Fabius had led to victory, rose in his defence; and in the night he fled to Rome, to implore the protection of the senate and the people. But no power existed, not even that of the tribunes, which could bar the dictator's right to punish him; and, as Fabius was stating his case to the assembled fathers, Papirius, determined to execute him, entered the senate-house followed by his lictors, and demanded the offender. At last however, overcome by entreaties, he yielded, and granted Fabius his life.

THE CAUDINE FORKS (B. C. 321).—In B. C. 321, the Romans sustained one of their greatest reverses. The two consuls, who were marching into Samnium by the road from Capua to Beneventum, came to a place, near Caudium, where two narrow gorges, lying opposite, led into a plain shut in by two mountains. Thinking the Samnites to be far distant, the consuls advanced through the first defile into the plain beyond, but found the second gorge so blocked up as to be quite impassable. At once they retraced their steps to the point of entrance; but meanwhile the enemy had taken possession of this pass also. Thus hemmed in on all sides, the Romans, after making vain efforts to force their way through, were obliged to surrender at discretion. "Kill them," cried the aged Herennius to his son C. Pontius, the gallant leader of the Samnites; "or else set them at liberty without conditions, and by such an act of generosity bind the Romans to a lasting peace." Pontius would do

neither ; he granted the captives their lives, but required them to submit to an insult more odious than death. He set up two spears erect, with a third laid across ; and, under this simple yoke, as it was called, made the whole Roman army pass, stripped of their arms and a portion of their garments. 600 knights were retained as hostages for the peace to which the consuls agreed in the name of the city ; the rest of the army ignominiously returned to Rome, and, entering it late at night, hastened to conceal themselves in their houses.

SUBJUGATION OF SAMNIUM (B. C. 290).—The Romans refused to ratify the peace of Caudium ; and the consuls with all the officers who had sworn to it, were conducted back to Pontius by a *fetialis*. After this envoy had delivered them to the Samnite chief, one of the consuls, Postumius, exclaimed, “I am now no longer a Roman, but a Samnite ;” then, turning round, he struck the herald with his foot, and called upon the Romans to avenge the insult, which they might reckon as a pretext for a righteous war. Pontius, of course, refused to accept the persons thus offered ; and, excepting short intervals of truce, hostilities continued with redoubled animosity. In 311, the Etruscans and Gauls, alarmed at the success of the Romans, joined in the contest, and thus seemed likely to turn the tide of victory in favor of the Samnites. But this increase of foes served only to render the triumph of the Romans more brilliant. After a last crushing defeat in B. C. 290, the Samnites sued for peace.

CURIUS DENTATUS.—It was left to the consul Curius Dentatus, who had terminated the war, to settle the articles of the treaty. The deputies of the Samnites sought out his modest farm, and found him taking a frugal repast served upon a wooden dish. They offered him a large sum of money, to render him more favorable to their interests. “My poverty,” he said to them, “has probably inspired you with the hope of bribing me ; but know that I deem it more glorious to command those who have gold than to possess it myself.”

CONQUESTS IN ETRURIA AND CISALPINE GAUL.—Once more the Samnites tried to reassert their independence, but in vain. As to their old northern allies, the Etruscans and the Gauls, they too, after fresh efforts, had to sue for peace. Military colonies, consisting each of two or three thousand

veterans, were then planted by the Romans at Beneventum, in Samnium; at Venusia, in Apulia; at Placentia, Cremona, and elsewhere, in Cisalpine Gaul. Thus was Roman dominion securely established in Central Italy and in the north.

APPIUS CLAUDIUS CÆCUS, THE CENSOR (B. C. 312-311).—This remarkable man's censorship was marked by several important innovations. In revising the lists of the citizens, Appius admitted unusual numbers of alien residents, and of freedmen or the descendants of freedmen, to the privileges of full citizenship. In accordance with the same policy, when filling vacancies in the senate, he elevated many persons of low birth, and even sons of freedmen, to the rank of senators. In the department of public works, Appius manifested no less enterprise. He spent vast sums, and employed thousands of workmen, on the construction of an aqueduct, and of the great Appian road,* which led past Aricia to the Liris and Campania. On the expiration of his term, Appius, relying on the support of six of the tribunes, declined to resign his office,† that he might carry out the great works which he had begun. The patricians then sought to impeach him, but failed to obtain his condemnation. It was afterwards given out that Appius was, for this impious usurpation, struck with blindness and his whole *gens* exterminated.

FLAVIUS PUBLISHES THE FORMS OF LEGAL ACTIONS.—After the retirement of Appius from the censorship, his clerk, Cn. Flavius, who was a freedman's son, was elected edile. In his former post he had become familiar with the forms of Roman law, the knowledge of which had been always jealously guarded by the old patrician houses as their own special craft and mystery. These forms Flavius now published to the world, together with a legal calendar; and, in so doing, he struck one more blow at the fast-waning privileges of the old aristocracy. Henceforth it was no longer necessary for the plebeian to resort to his noble patron for direction as to the conduct of actions at law. By Flavius's bold step, the tribunals were thrown open to all, and hidden tradition gave way to free and recorded instruction.

* This was the first of the great lines of communication which, in later times, extended from Rome to the extremities of Europe.

† After his colleague had loyally resigned his post, Appius continued to exercise the censorship another year and alone.

THE OGULNIAN LAW (B. C. 300).—The patricians still retained the control of the national religion. For, till now, the sacred offices of pontiffs and augurs might be entrusted only to patrician candidates. But, in B. C. 300, this last prerogative was also wrested from them by the Ogulnian law, which made the pontifical and augural functions accessible to the plebeians. These concessions, however, as yet put no stop to the long conflict between the two orders; and, after the Samnite war, we hear once more of the lower class being oppressed by the burden of debt, of disputes about an agrarian law, and even a secession of the commons to the Janiculum. The quarrel, in this case, was composed by the dictator Hortensius; and, as usual, resulted in a complete victory for the commons.

THE HORTENSIAN LAW (B. C. 287) established the government of Rome on a thoroughly democratic footing. Nothing now remained to the comitia of the centuries, but the election of the consuls, pretors, and censors. All the other magistrates were elected by the comitia of the tribes, where birth and wealth had no privilege, and only heads were counted. The entire legislative power, and even the decision of such questions as peace or war, fell into the hands of the democratic assembly.

CHAPTER VII.

WAR WITH PYRRHUS AND SUBJUGATION OF SOUTHERN ITALY.—

B. C. 281–272.

ORIGIN OF THE WAR WITH TARENTUM (B. C. 281).—By an ancient treaty made between Rome and Tarentum, it was stipulated that no Roman ships of war should pass the Lacinian promontory. But circumstances were now changed, and the senate determined no longer to be bound by this restriction. Accordingly, L. Valerius with ten small vessels ventured one day to sail towards the harbor of Tarentum. The people at that moment happened to be assembled in their theatre, which overlooked the sea. Deeming this open violation of the treaty a premeditated insult, they rushed

down to the harbor, quickly manned some ships, and attacking the intruders gained an easy victory.

Soon after this occurrence, an embassy arrived from Rome, headed by L. Postumius, who, with his colleagues, was introduced into the theatre, to state to the assembled people the demands of the Roman senate. He began to address them in Greek; but his mistakes in the language were received with peals of laughter from the thoughtless multitude. Unable to obtain a hearing, Postumius was leaving the theatre, when a drunken buffoon sullied his toga in the most disgusting manner. Holding up the defiled garment before the mocking Tarentines, "This stain," said he, "shall be washed out in your blood."

PYRRHUS.—Having thus dared the hostility of Rome, the Tarentines sought protection against her resentment from the chivalrous king of Epirus, the famous Pyrrhus, a cousin of Alexander of Macedon. Proud of his relationship with the great conqueror of the east, and ambitious to reproduce in the west the feats of his illustrious kinsman, Pyrrhus readily acceded to the request of the Tarentines. He at once began extensive military preparations; and, in the following spring, B. C. 280, he passed over to Italy with an army of 20,000 foot and 3,000 horse, backed by the formidable array of 20 elephants. He had been made to believe that, upon his arrival, all the Italian Greeks, nay, all the nations of Southern Italy, would flock to his standard. Great, therefore, was his surprise at the sluggishness of those most interested in the approaching struggle. Before he had fairly aroused the Tarentines and their allies, the Roman consul M. Valerius Lævinus approached Tarentum, and in the neighborhood of Heraclea, challenged him to battle.

BATTLE OF HERACLEA (B. C. 280).—In order to afford the allies time to bring in their contingents, Pyrrhus attempted negotiation. He wrote to the consul, offering to arbitrate between Rome and the Italian states. But Lævinus made answer, that the Romans neither accepted him as an arbiter nor feared him as an enemy. The king of Epirus, though inferior in numbers to his opponent, was thus forced to fight. At the head of his cavalry, he distinguished himself, as usual, by the most daring acts of valor. But the Romans bravely sustained the attack. Seven times did both armies advance, retreat, and return to the charge. At last, however, when Pyrrhus brought forward his elephants,

these huge animals so terrified the Romans that they took to flight, leaving their camp to the conqueror. They had lost 15,000 men, and the victors 13,000—a disaster which the latter were less able to bear.

Before the engagement, Pyrrhus had noticed with admiration the fine order of the Roman array. "In war, at any rate," he remarked, "these barbarians are not barbarous." When, after the fight, he saw the Roman dead lying upon the field with all their wounds in front, "If these were my soldiers," he exclaimed, "or if I were their general, we would conquer the world." Though his loss was not so considerable as that of the enemy; yet, so many of his bravest Greeks had fallen, that, when congratulated upon his success, he sorrowfully replied: "Another such victory, and I must return to Epirus alone."

EMBASSY OF CINEAS.—Being now fully aware of the difficulty of his enterprise, Pyrrhus resolved to avail himself of his victory to conclude, if possible, an advantageous peace. He sent his minister Cineas to Rome, demanding security for his Italian allies, and promising in return both to release his prisoners and to withdraw to his own kingdom. Cineas, whose persuasive eloquence was fortified with rich presents for the senators and their wives, was amazed to find his gold invariably refused, and his proposals of peace proudly rejected. On his return, he told Pyrrhus that the city was like a temple of gods, and the senate an assembly of kings.

EMBASSY OF FABRICIUS.—During the winter, the Romans sent an embassy to Pyrrhus to negotiate the ransom or exchange of prisoners. At the head of this embassy was Fabricius, a fine specimen of the sturdy Roman character. He cultivated his farm with his own hands; and, like many other worthies of ancient Rome, was celebrated for his integrity. The gold and other presents which were pressed upon his acceptance by Pyrrhus, as pledge of friendship and hospitality, Fabricius steadily refused. Nor was his cool self-possession less remarkable. Pyrrhus, knowing that he had never seen an elephant, ordered the largest one in his possession to be hidden behind a curtain, in a place where they were to meet. Then, as they conversed together, the curtain was suddenly drawn, and the elephant, waving his trunk over the head of Fabricius, made a frightful noise. But Fabricius, calmly remarked: "Your gold did not tempt me yesterday, nor has your beast frightened me to-day."

The object of the embassy failed. But, though Pyrrhus refused to exchange the prisoners, he conceived such an idea of Roman honor, that he allowed his captives to visit Rome on parole, to celebrate the Saturnalia. Nor was his trust misplaced. All the prisoners without exception returned into captivity to Tarentum.

BATTLE OF ASCULUM.—With the reappearance of spring, warlike operations were resumed, and a battle was fought near Asculum. The Romans were again worsted; but, this time, they withdrew to their camp in good order, and lost not more than 6,000 men. Pyrrhus had to deplore the loss of half this number; but, as at Heraclea, the brunt of the action had fallen almost exclusively upon his faithful Epirots; and the state of Greece, which this year was overrun by the Gauls, made it hopeless for him to expect any reinforcements from his kingdom. Being therefore unwilling to imperil his remaining troops by another campaign with the Romans, he lent a ready ear to the invitations of the Greeks of Sicily, who begged his assistance against the Carthaginians.

TRUCE WITH ROME (B. C. 278).—An act of generosity on the part of the Roman commanders, hastened his departure from Italy. Fabricius was now consul. To him an unknown person brought a letter from the king's physician, who for a reward offered to remove Pyrrhus by poison. Fabricius, acting in concert with his colleague, at once apprized Pyrrhus of the treason. The grateful monarch, touched by this act, gave vent to his admiration, saying, "It were easier to turn the sun from its course, than Fabricius from the path of rectitude." That he might not be surpassed in generosity, Pyrrhus sent Cineas to Rome with all the Roman prisoners without ransom and without conditions; and the Romans, on their part, granted him a truce.

PYRRHUS IN SICILY (B. C. 278-276).—In Sicily, Pyrrhus first met with brilliant success, and stripped the Carthaginians of whatever they possessed there, except the strong city of Lilybæum. But, soon, the fickle Greeks began to form cabals and plots against him. This led to retaliation on his part, and he became as anxious to abandon the island as he had been before to leave Italy. Accordingly, on the request of his Italian allies, he returned to Tarentum.

DESPONDENCY OF PYRRHUS.—The troops of Pyrrhus, now mostly Italian mercenaries, were no longer of the same

metal as those which he had first brought with him from Epirus. His elephants, too, had lost their terror in the eyes of the Romans, who derisively called them Lucanian bulls. His treasury was exhausted; and his self-reliance, already greatly diminished by former disappointments, was further impaired by the failure of a sacrilegious attempt he made at this time, for the purpose of replenishing his military coffers. Being sadly in want of money to pay his troops, he gave orders to seize the treasures of the temple of Proserpine, at Locri. But the ships which conveyed away the stolen booty, were wrecked. This circumstance deeply affected Pyrrhus. He restored to the goddess such portion of the plunder as was saved from shipwreck; but, from this time, his mind became haunted by the idea that the wrath of Proserpine was pursuing him, and dragging him down to ruin.

HIS WITHDRAWALS FROM ITALY (B. C. 274).—Nor was the success of his arms such as to dissipate his apprehensions. Wishing to beat separately the two consular armies which held him in check, he planned a night-attack upon one of them, which was commanded by M. Curius. But he miscalculated the time and the distance; the torches burnt out, the men missed their way, and it was broad daylight when he reached the heights above the enemy's camp. The exhaustion of his men made it easy for the Romans to repel the attack; the assailants were routed, two of their elephants were killed and eight more taken. Encouraged by this success, Curius then assumed the offensive, attacked the king in the open plain, and gained a decisive victory. Pyrrhus escaped to Tarentum with only a few horsemen, and soon reembarked for his own country.

HIS DEATH (B. C. 272).—Sad was the close of the life of this extraordinary man. Foiled in an attempt to take Sparta, Pyrrhus marched against Argos. As he was forcing his way into the town, he received a wound; and, while he was pressing upon his antagonist, the mother of the latter, who from a house-top witnessed the fight, hurled at his head a tile with such force that he fell from his horse, and in this state was dispatched by the enemy.

ROME MISTRESS OF ITALY.—The departure of Pyrrhus had left the Lucanians and other Italian tribes exposed to the full power of Rome. They continued the hopeless struggle a little longer; but the surrender of the Tarentine fleet and garrison, in B. C. 272, gave to the Romans as com-

plete a mastery over the southern, as they had before obtained over the central portion of the peninsula. A few years later, the whole of Italy south of the rivers Macra and Rubicon acknowledged their supremacy. Thus, after a struggle of amazing pertinacity, which lasted 120 years, Rome had triumphed over all her neighboring enemies; she was now ready to dispute with Carthage the empire of the west

CHAPTER VIII.

THE ROMAN CITIZENS, THE PEOPLE OF THE LATIN NAME, AND THE ALLIES.

THE ROMAN CITIZENS.—The free population of Italy was divided into three classes, the Roman citizens (*cives Romani*), those of the Latin name (*nomen Latinum*), and the allies (*socii*). The Roman citizens consisted: 1. Of the members of the 33 tribes scattered over the territory proper (*ager Romanus*) of the republic, which now extended north of the Tiber a little beyond Veii, and southward as far as the Liris; 2d. Of the citizens of Roman colonies planted in different parts of Italy; 3d. Of the citizens of municipal towns upon whom the Roman franchise had been conferred. The number of the citizens, at the conclusion of the Samnite and Tarentine wars, is estimated at 280,000, an aggregate which represents a total population of 1,200,000 souls.

URBAN AND SUBURBAN TRIBES.—Of the 33 tribes, 4 were within, and 17 in the neighborhood of the city. Owing to their proximity to the Roman forum or the campus Martius—the only places where the Roman citizen could cast his vote—the *urban* and *suburban* tribes had more influence than the others on public affairs. They were also favored in another way; for, although their numbers probably did not exceed those of the outlying tribes, yet they controlled 21 votes against 12 only possessed by the latter.

ROMAN CITIZENSHIP, besides the political franchise, implied among other rights: * absolute authority over wife and

* These were sometimes granted to strangers without the right of voting in the comitia—*civitas sine suffragio*.

children, slaves and chattels; exemption from stripes and capital punishment,—except in consequence of a vote of the people, or under military authority in the camp; access to civil honors and employments; in fine, the possession of lands and goods, subject only to the rules of Roman law, with immunity from tribute and such arbitrary taxes as might be imposed on subjects of the state.

ROMAN COLONIES.—The citizens of the Roman colonies were as free to vote in the assemblies at Rome, as if they had never quitted the city; but, in practice, they could seldom use the privilege. Their own communities were organized politically on the model of the parent state. They were ruled by two annually elected magistrates—*duumvirs*, corresponding to the consuls. They had their own popular assembly and senate, their own military chest and armed force.

LATIN COLONIES.—The term *nomen Latinum*, or the Latin name, was applied to the colonies founded by Rome which did not enjoy the right of citizenship. These communities consisted mainly of Latins* who had not the Roman franchise. When Roman citizens, in consideration of valuable grants of lands, or otherwise, chose to join such colonies, they forfeited by the very act their citizenship, that is, the right to vote or become magistrates in Rome, but were permitted to retain the other personal privileges enumerated above. The citizen of any Latin colony, who emigrated to Rome, if he had previously held a magistracy in that colony, might be enrolled in one of the Roman tribes.

THE ALLIES.—The *socii*, or allies, included all the inhabitants of Italy south of the Macra and the Rubicon, who were not Roman citizens nor of the Latin name, viz., the Etruscans, the Latins, the Sabellian populations—Samnites, Lucanians, Apulians, Bruttians, with other minor tribes, and finally the Italian Greeks. As each of these communities yielded to Roman arms, a treaty (*fœdus*) was at once made which clearly determined its duties and rights.

DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF THE ALLIES.—The one condition invariably laid down by Rome was that, in case of war, the allies must furnish a quota of troops to fight side by side with the Roman legions. The allies, as a rule, were allowed

* Within 70 years after the *settlement* of Latium, 20 such colonies were established in various parts of Italy.

to retain their lands, laws, and self-government. The Latins enjoyed the peculiar privileges of trade and intermarriage with Roman citizens, and also the *jus Latii*, whereby those that had held the highest local magistracies might be raised to the dignity of Roman citizenship. The allies were, in reality, subject-nations. By means of her colonies, Rome bound them to her, and gradually imbued them with her own spirit, till at length, in laws, language, and institutions, they became one body politic with herself.

ROMAN ROADS.—Another means employed by the Romans to consolidate their empire over the allies, was road-making. Within 50 years of the construction of the Appian way from Rome to Capua, the Valerian was laid to Corfinium; the Aurelian skirted the coast of Etruria; the Flaminian penetrated the Apennines to Ariminum; and the Æmilian continued this line to Placentia. Upon their solid pavement, in all weathers and at all seasons, the Roman legions could with all their baggage travel with speed and certainty.

CHAPTER IX.

THE ROMAN ARMY.

THE LEGIONARY.—The legal age for military service extended from 17 to 47. No one was admitted into the ranks of the Roman legions, who was not a citizen and possessed of some property, that both his condition and his fortune might be a pledge of gallant behavior. The Roman soldiers were simply citizens withdrawn for a few weeks or months from the pursuits of civil life. They were armed at their own expense; and it was only from the siege of Veii, B. C. 400, that they received some compensation for the time spent on service. When the legionary had served 20 years in the infantry or 10 in the calvary, being *emeritus*, he was entitled to an honorable discharge, and, if poor, might receive a grant of land in some newly conquered territory. Thus were founded the Roman colonies, sorts of permanent garrisons at once beneficial to the state and useful to the individuals.

THE DRILL.—As most of the Romans cultivated their estates with their own hands, they generally had great bodily strength, and by their vigorous constitutions were well prepared for the toilsome life of the soldier. Out of such men, when came the day of enlisting, only the strongest were selected;* and by violent exercises, these were further inured to the fatigues of painful and harassing marches. The new levies were made to practise running and leaping in their full armor, the throwing of the spear or javelin, the shooting of arrows, twice a day; and the veterans, once. They engaged in mock fights; or were employed on public works, such as those magnificent roads, which, from their authors and their objects, received the names of *viæ militares*, military roads.

PERSONAL BAGGAGE.—In consequence of this drilling, the Roman soldier was able to carry—besides his offensive and defensive armor—two or three stakes (*valli*), his baggage, and provisions† for a certain number of days, the whole amounting to at least 60 pounds. Troops thus laden have been known to travel twenty-five miles in five hours. The commanders marched on foot, at the head of the army, setting to all an example of endurance, cheerfully submitting to every inconvenience, whether from the roads, the weather, the climate, or any other circumstance.

THE ROMAN LEGION.—The number of foot-soldiers who composed a legion, and their style of equipment, varied at different times. The description we are about to give from Polybius, applies to the period of the great contest with Carthage, which we have reached. The legion, at this time, usually contained 1000 *velites*, 1200 *hastati*, 1200 *principes*, and 600 *triarii*, all of whom served on foot, besides 300 *equites* supplied by the centuries of knights. The 300 horse were divided into 10 troops (*turmæ*), over each of which were placed three officers named decurions. The infantry, or legion proper, was divided into sixty small companies called *centuries*,* commanded by a centurion. The centurions were

* *Legere, legio*, whence legion.

† The provisions consisted chiefly of wheat, which the soldiers usually crushed with stones, when they wished to have bread. In the baggage of each individual, was comprised a portion of the tools needed in intrenching the camp; the stakes served to palisade it.

* *Century*, or centurion, has no reference to the word *centum*, a hundred, but to the division of the people by centuries. *Tribune*, too, is derived from tribe (*tribus*).

the real leaders of the legion, and were chosen from the ranks for their experience and skill. Next above them in each legion, were 6 tribunes (*tribuni militum*), usually appointed from the noble families at Rome through political influence. These had charge, two at a time. Their functions had reference to the levying and discharge, the equipment and supplies, of the troops; they also tried and punished offenders against military law. But minor offences fell under the cognizance of the centurion.

EQUIPMENT.—The *velites*, consisting of the youngest and poorest recruits, acted as the skirmishers of the legion. For defensive armor, they were furnished with a plain head-piece of leather strengthened with brass (*galea*), and a strong circular buckler (*parma*) 3 ft. in diameter. Their offensive weapons were a sword and a light javelin (*hasta velitaris*). The sword (*gladius*) had a blade about 2 feet long and several inches wide; it was two-edged and pointed, and hung from a belt on the right side, the left being encumbered by the buckler. The shaft of the javelin was about 3 ft. in length; its iron point about 9 inches. This was hammered so fine that it was of necessity bent at the first cast, and therefore could not be hurled back by the foe. In battle, the *velites* were not drawn up in regular manner, but posted, as occasion suggested, in front or at the wings of the enemy.

The *hastati** wore a full suit of defensive armor, consisting of shield, helmet, breastplate, and greave. Their shield, termed *scutum*, was a rectangular piece of wood, covered with leather or with iron plates, exceeding 4 ft. in length and 2 in width, but so curved as partially to encircle the body. Their helmet was of iron (*cassis*); the breastplate was merely a piece of brass 9 inches square, covering the heart. But those who were rich enough to make the expense, had the *lorica*, or complete cuirass of chain-armor. In lieu of cuirass many had bands of metals fastened on their leathern coat† across breast and back and on the shoulders. The greave (*ocrea*), of bronze, protected the leg below the knee.

* So called from having been originally armed with the *hasta*, just described as being now the distinctive weapon of the *velites*.

† Under this coat, next the skin, was the *tunica*, a sleeveless woollen shirt, the only garment worn by the Romans when at work. In addition to his tunic and leathern coat, the soldier, in the field, had his military cloak, *sagum*, a woollen blanket.

Usual, but one was worn, on the right leg.—The offensive weapons of the *hastati* were a sword and two heavy javelins, or spears (*pila*). These javelins resembled those used by the *velites*, but were thicker, longer, and heavier. The wooden shaft was upwards of 4 ft. long; and the iron shank, itself upwards of 2 ft. in length, terminated in a steel head. The whole weight of this weapon was nearly 10 pounds.

The *principes** were in every respect equipped like the *hastati*; so also the *triarii*,† except that the latter, instead of *pila* (or spears) carried *pikes* (*hastæ*), or long, heavy lances. The pikes, as well as the light and the heavy javelins, formed the characteristic weapons of the legionaries.—At the bottom of the shaft was an iron shoe, so that, in camp or during a rest on the march, the spear might be set in the ground.

When, subsequently,‡ the legionaries ceased to serve at their own expenses, they were clothed, armed, and equipped alike, all being now furnished with the *pila* and the same kind of heavy sword (*gladius*). The distinction of *hastati*, *principes*, *triarii* then ceased to exist; the *velites* disappeared, the skirmishers being included under the general term *levis armaturæ*, or light-armed troops, who consisted mostly of foreign mercenaries, such as the Balearic slingers (*funditores*), the Cretan archers (*sagittarii*), and the Moorish dartmen (*jaculatores*). At times, however, and for special operations requiring great activity, detachments of legionaries were lightly equipped.

ORDER OF BATTLE.—The first line of the army, when in battle-array, consisted of the *hastati*; next stood the *principes*; and last, the *triarii*. As the bugle sounded the charge, the three lines advanced, keeping proper intervals, sword in sheath, but the first two ranks of the *hastati* with spears uplifted (*pilis infestis*) ready to hurl. When within reach of the enemy, the two front ranks of the *hastati* hurled their heavy spears in a shower; and immediately, with drawn swords,

* Derived from *primi*, *first*, because they originally occupied the front line.

† So called, because, in the order of battle, they came third, viz, after the *hastati* and the *principes*.

‡ In the first consulship of Marius, when the legions were thrown open to citizens of all grades, without distinction of fortune. Then we see the *pila* and *gladius* of the legionaries used in contradistinction to the *hastæ* and *spathæ* of the auxiliaries.

charged upon the disordered mass of the foe, the odd numbers of the front rank springing forward to gain room, the even numbers and the entire second rank following as a support. While a series of single combats thus took place along the whole line, the third, fourth, and fifth ranks pressed close up, to aid their comrades and to take the place of any that fell, and meanwhile threw their spears over the heads of the combatants among the throng of the enemy beyond. When the whole of the first line, that is, all the *hastati*, had thus been brought into action, it withdrew, to reform and get breath, while the second, rushing through the intervals, attacked in turn with spear and sword. After the lapse of some ten or fifteen minutes, the *hastati*, if necessary, returned to the charge, and again made room for the *principes*, each line being thus successively hurled against the enemy, and giving them no rest till they yielded. The *triarii*, meanwhile, were held in reserve, being only brought into action in case the *hastati* and *principes* proved insufficient to overcome the enemy. In this pliant and successive order of battle lay the superiority of the Roman tactics. Most other nations drew up their whole army in one line, trusting their fortunes to the success of one onset, which, if repulsed, was habitually followed by entire defeat. Their men stood close together, forming a compact body, which depended chiefly for success on the momentum of its mass. Only those on its outer edges could use their weapons, while the rest were practically imprisoned in the crowd. With the Romans, nearly every man, sooner or later, took part in the contest. Hence, although they might be greatly inferior in number, they could bring into action more swords and spears, at a given point, than the enemy could.

THE AUXILIARY TROOPS.—Besides the legionaries, who were Roman citizens, there were attached to each legion an equal amount of infantry furnished by the *socii*, or subject-allies, and a body of horse twice or thrice as numerous as the Roman cavalry. In this way, the entire force of the legion might be reckoned at from nine to ten thousand men. But the allies were kept perfectly distinct, both in camp and on the battle-field. Their superior officers were called, not tribunes as in the legion, but prefects, *præfecti sociorum*.

A CONSULAR ARMY.—Under ordinary circumstances, four legions were levied yearly, two being assigned to each consul, and thus forming a consular army. When both

consuls took the field, their united troops, together with the contingents of the allies, amounted to nearly 40,000 men.

THE ROMAN CAMP.—The location, construction, and fortification of the camp, were objects of the greatest attention among the Romans. In time of war, they never passed a single night without intrenching themselves. Skill to select the camping-ground in a position easily defensible, with wood and water near by, was regarded by them as a most important qualification for a good commander.

The form of the camp was a square, or a rectangle, crossed by a regular system of streets. The position assigned to each corps was so well determined, that any soldier arriving late knew at once where to find his company. The tents, made of skins, and large enough to contain ten soldiers with their chief, were arranged in lines, a space of 200 feet being left between them and the intrenchments, so that, in case of attack, they were secured from the darts of the enemy.

Immediately upon reaching the place of encampment, parties were detailed under their centurions to dig the ditch—9 feet deep, and raise the mound on the inner side of it. When completed, the mound was palisaded with interlaced stakes firmly planted on its summit.

Sentries drawn from the ranks of the *velites* were posted at frequent intervals all along the rampart, and strong pickets, both of horse and foot, thrown forward to a considerable distance outside each of the four gates. We thus see that the Roman camp was a well fortified post, capable alike of checking the progress of the enemy and of affording shelter to routed troops. It was also a place of safety, wherein a prudent commander might keep his soldiers until ready for action.

DISCIPLINE.—Admirable order reigned in the camps and during the march of the Roman troops; and a strict discipline guarded them against licentiousness and theft. Faults were punished, in proportion to their degree, with the rod, with degradation to a lower rank, and sometimes even with death. Indiscriminate pillage of an enemy's country was forbidden, but parties were especially detached for that purpose, and the spoils were held in common to be distributed by the tribunes among the soldiers. No one was allowed to eat before the signal was given, and this was done but twice a day. The soldiers stood up while taking their dinner, which was a very frugal meal; their supper was a little better.

When it happened that the Roman troops failed in their obligations, or an uncommon effort was required of them, they were called to a sense of their duty, or made equal to the emergency, by the revival and even the increase of the former strictness of discipline. On such occasions, their commander made them undergo painful marches, or otherwise imposed such labors on them that they soon asked for the combat, as the end of their excessive fatigues.

CHAPTER X.

CARTHAGE.—HER CONQUESTS IN SICILY.

HER COMMERCE.—Carthage was indebted to the Tyrians, not only for her origin, but also for her manners, customs, laws, religion, and particularly for her enterprising spirit. She had commercial relations with every place of trade on the Mediterranean, and was the common carrier of the vast population established upon its borders. The Carthaginians worked the iron mines of Ilva (Elba), the silver mines of the Balearic Isles, and the gold mines of Spain. They traded with the Britons for tin, and with the Frisians and the Cimbri for amber. Wherever they found it necessary to protect their establishments, they erected fortresses and planted garrisons.

HER CHARACTER.—The Carthaginians, as a nation, were never conspicuous for any proficiency in literature and the arts, nor for polish and gentleness of manners. They were, on the contrary, noted for craftiness, duplicity, and cruelty. This last disposition they displayed not only against enemies, but also against their Libyan subjects and their own fellow-citizens. The naval and military commanders were made responsible for the events of the war. Ill success was deemed a crime: the general who lost a battle, or failed in an expedition, was almost certain, at his return, to end his life upon a gibbet.

RELIGION.—The Carthaginians evinced the same spirit of cruelty in their religious worship. In seasons of calamities, they immolated human victims, generally infants, to their

gods. On one occasion,* according to Diodorus Siculus, no fewer than 200 children of the first families were burnt alive in honor of Saturn. In vain did Darius I of Persia and others endeavor, even by threats of war, to deter the Carthaginians from such atrocities; the practice continued till the destruction of their city.

GOVERNMENT.—The government of Carthage was oligarchical: a few rich and powerful families divided among themselves the influence and power of the state. These great families were often at feud with one another, but concurred in treating with contempt the mass of the people. Two chief magistrates, called *suffetes*, were elected annually from among the principal families. Like the Roman consuls, they convoked the senate, and presided over its deliberations; they had also the care of the public revenues, and sometimes commanded armies in the field.

The senate consisted of 300 members—persons venerable for their age, experience, standing in society, and personal merit. In this august body were debated all affairs of consequence, the letters from generals read, the complaints of provinces heard, ambassadors admitted to audience, and peace or war declared.

Besides the senate, there was a council of One Hundred, holding office for life, and exercising an almost sovereign sway over the other authorities in the state.

HER MILITARY ORGANIZATION.—The forces of the Carthaginians consisted of troops raised among themselves or their tributaries, but chiefly of mercenary soldiers—Libyans and Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, Greeks, and even Italians. These hired soldiers, attracted by liberal pay, were trained under Carthaginian officers. To attach them permanently to the service of the republic, they were enlisted together with their wives and families; and, when sent on foreign expeditions, left hostages behind them. Yet, even such means failed to infuse into them either great attachment for their employers, or much zeal for the prosperity of the state whose battles they were engaged to fight. More than one revolt of her mercenary troops imperilled not only the prosperity, but the very existence of the Carthaginian republic.

HER CONQUESTS.—The superior political aptitude of Carthage enabled her, sometimes by arms, sometimes by

* When Carthage was besieged by Agathocles.

money, gradually to extend her empire. She not only subjected to her sway the whole north of Africa from the straits of Hercules to the borders of Cyrene ; but, after the weakening of Tyre by Nabuchodonosor (B. C. 574), she occupied Corsica and Sardinia, the Balearic Isles, Malta, and a part of Spain. Thenceforward she became formidable as a naval and military power.

SIEGE OF HIMERA (B. C. 480).—Sicily was to the Carthaginians one of their earliest objects of foreign conquest ; and their power in that island proportionately increased, as the Phœnicians' declined. But the Greeks also were powerful in Sicily, and successfully impeded the progress of Carthage. When therefore Xerxes, previous to his invasion of Greece, formed an alliance with the Carthaginians, the latter resolved to drive the Greeks from the island and secure its entire possession. Knowing well the difficulty of the enterprise, they made stupendous preparations ; and an armament of 300,000 men and 2,000 vessels was entrusted to Hamilcar, who laid siege to the important city of Himera.

DEFEAT OF HAMILCAR.—In his distress, Theron, the ruler of Himera, sent for aid to Gelon, who exercised the principal authority in Syracuse. Gelon at the head of 50,000 foot and 5,000 horse, hastened to the relief of the besieged, and, learning on the way that Hamilcar expected a body of auxiliary troops, he chose from his own army an equal number of men whom he sent to that general. These pretended auxiliaries, being received as friends, slew Hamilcar and fired his vessels. Gelon at the same moment fell upon the Carthaginians, who, hearing that their leader was dead, and seeing their fleet in a blaze, lost courage and fled. In the dreadful slaughter which ensued, 150,000 men are said to have perished. The rest surrendered at discretion, and the Carthaginian government, crippled by this terrible disaster, sued for peace.

GELON, KING OF SYRACUSE (B. C. 480-473).—For this brilliant achievement Gelon was rewarded by his countrymen with the royal diadem. Of this distinction he showed himself, during his short rule of seven years, more and more worthy. The sceptre, after his death, passed into the hands of his brothers Hiero and Thrasybulus, who reigned in succession till the Syracusans, disgusted at the acts of tyranny committed by Thrasybulus, drove him from among them, and restored the democratic form of government (B. C. 460).

CARTHAGINIAN CONQUESTS IN SICILY.—70 years after the battle of Himera, the Carthaginians again made vigorous efforts to subjugate Sicily. Not only Selinuntès, Himera, and Gela, but the still more populous city of Agrigentum, fell into their hands. Emboldened by these successes, they at last directed their general Himilco, with his vast armament of 300,000 men and a numerous fleet, to undertake the reduction of Syracuse.

DIONYSIUS, TYRANT OF SYRACUSE (B. C. 405-368).—Syracuse was at this time under the sway of Dionysius the Elder. For some years previous, this able ruler had been preparing for a vigorous resistance. Yet such was the overwhelming force of the invaders, that he was forced at their approach to retire from the open field, and concentrate his strength within the city.

DEFEAT OF HIMILCO.—The Carthaginian leader, looking upon Syracuse as an assured prey, laid waste all the country round, sparing neither the temples nor the tombs within his reach, nor even the splendid mausolèum of king Gelon. But a fierce pestilence which desolated his camp, soon enabled Dionysius to attack him at a disadvantage. His land-army was almost totally destroyed; and of his navy only 40 vessels escaped. The disappointed general returned to Carthage, but no sooner entered his house, than, without seeing anyone, he killed himself in despair.

DEFEAT OF DIONYSIUS.—The Carthaginians, although intensely grieved, still were not discouraged. After a short interval, they sent fresh troops into Sicily. Again they lost a great battle, in which Mago, the commander of the army and one of their chief magistrates, perished. This new disaster, however, was retrieved by another Mago, son to the one lately killed, who, after signally defeating Dionysius, obtained for Carthage an honorable peace together with some increase of territory in the island.

VICTORIES OF TIMOLEON (B. C. 345-343).—The death of Dionysius was followed by great disturbances in Sicily. His son and successor, known as the younger Dionysius, was first expelled for his tyranny, but succeeded in regaining the power, which he abused as before. The Carthaginians, deeming this a favorable opportunity, sent an army against the Syracusans. The latter in this juncture applied to Corinth, and a body of 1,000 men under Timoleon was sent to their assistance. The Corinthian general found the Syr-

acusans in the most critical situation. The Carthaginians were masters of the harbor; Iceta's, king of Leontium, a false friend, occupied the city, and Dionysius still retained the citadel. With the latter,* Timoleon first treated, and induced him to deliver the fortress with its garrison. Thereupon the Carthaginian leader, yielding to fear, returned to Carthage, where he was tried and condemned to death for his dastardly conduct. Two other generals, appointed in his place, led another expedition into Sicily, which consisted of 200 ships of war, and a land-force of 70,000 men. To this multitude Timoleon could oppose no more than 6000 warriors. Yet, trusting to the courage of his little army, he marched out of the city, and gave battle to the invaders. A brilliant victory rewarded his confidence. The Carthaginians were confined within their ancient possessions, and peace was restored to the island. Timoleon spent the rest of his life at Syracuse, honored by all as a father and public benefactor. At his death (B. C. 337), his mortal remains were accompanied to the grave by all the citizens, and annual games were instituted in his honor.

AGATHOCLES AND THE CARTHAGINIANS (B. C. 317-289).—Twenty years after the death of Timoleon, Agathocles, a Sicilian of obscure birth, but remarkable talents and still greater ambition, usurped the sovereign authority in Syracuse. Thence he extended his sway over other cities, till the Carthaginians, growing jealous of his power, directed their general Hamilcar to set a bound to his ambitious projects. Hamilcar defeated him in the field, and finally shut him up in Syracuse.

Seeing he could place but little reliance on the Syracusans, by whom he was held in detestation, Agathocles conceived the bold design of carrying the war into Africa. Without communicating his intentions to any but the pilots in his fleet, he reached the African shores, burnt his navy, so as to leave his men no other alternative than victory or death, and advanced into the enemy's country, subduing cities, and defeating all the levies sent against him. Happily for Carthage, Agathocles, at this juncture, determined to revisit Sicily. His absence, though short, caused a complete change. On his return, he failed to regain his former superiority. In

*Dionysius is said to have spent the remainder of his life at Corinth, teaching school.

this critical situation, seeking his personal safety, he again abandoned the army, and recrossed with a small escort into Sicily. The enraged soldiers vented their fury on his sons, and yielded themselves prisoners. Soon after, Agathocles died of poison, but not till he had restored democracy at Syracuse. It is recorded of him, that, being the son of a potter, he not only betrayed no shame of his birth, but purposely made use of earthen vessels at table, in order to perpetuate the recollection of his humble origin.

CHAPTER XI.

FIRST PUNIC WAR.—B. C. 264–241.

POLYBIUS (B. C. 204–122).—From this epoch, we obtain, for the first time, the guidance of a truthful and impartial historian, Polybius, an educated Greek, who lived near enough in time to the events which he relates to have the means of verifying them with some accuracy. A hostage at Rome for many years, and an intimate friend of the young Scipio, he not only enjoyed frequent opportunities of conversing with many of the chief actors in the Punic wars, but had access to the official documents of an earlier time. His history, though the great part of it has unfortunately perished, is one of the most valuable remains of antiquity.

REMOTE CAUSE OF THE WAR.—The relations of Rome and Carthage had hitherto been peaceful; and a treaty, concluded between the two states in the first years of the Roman republic, had been renewed more than once. But the extension of Roman dominion excited the jealousy of Carthage, and Rome began to turn longing eyes to the fair island at the foot of her empire. It was evident that a struggle was not far distant, and Pyrrhus could not help exclaiming, as he quitted Sicily, “What a fine battle-field do we leave to the Romans and the Carthaginians!”

THE MAMERTINI AIDED BY ROME (B. C. 264).—The city of Messina, situated on the straits which divide Sicily from Italy, was occupied at this time by the Mamertini. They were soldiers from Bruttium, who had served under Agathocles, and after his death were marched (B. C. 283) to Messa-

na, in order to be transported to Italy. Whilst in that city, they massacred the male population, and made themselves masters of the women and property. They now took the name of Mamertini* (children of Mars), and soon became formidable to their neighbors. Hiero, the king of Syracuse, determined to destroy this nest of robbers. The Mamertini, unable to withstand him, invoked the assistance of Rome. The senate, who had lately concluded an alliance with Hiero, declined to interfere. But the consuls, thirsting for glory, called together the popular assembly, which eagerly voted that the Mamertini should be assisted. Meanwhile, however, a Carthaginian garrison had been admitted into the citadel of Messina; and, through the mediation of Hanno, their commander, peace had been made between Hiero and the Mamertini, so that Rome had no longer any pretext for intervention. But the tribune, C. Claudius, who brought to the Mamertini the assurance of Roman assistance, persuaded them to expel the Punic garrison. In consequence, Hiero and the Carthaginians now proceeded to lay siege to Messina; and the Romans, on their side, declared war against Carthage.

SUCCESSSES OF THE ROMANS IN SICILY.—The Carthaginians commanded the sea with a powerful fleet, while the Romans had no ships of war worthy of the name. But the consul Appius Claudius, the son of the censor, having contrived to elude the Carthaginian squadron, landed near Messina, and defeated in succession the forces of Syracuse and those of Carthage. Fresh successes, in the ensuing year, crowned the efforts of the consuls Otacilius and Valerius. Thereupon Hiero, foreseeing what would be the final result of the contest, offered his friendship to the Romans, and aided them in wresting from the Carthaginians Agrigentum, the second city of the island.

THE ROMANS BUILD A FLEET.—At the end of the third year of the war, Rome had left to Carthage no more than a few maritime posts in the island. But, at sea, Carthage was still supreme. Her navy infested the Italian coasts, and often distressed the Roman armies in Sicily by intercepting their supplies. Nor could the Romans, with their small number of *triremes*† at all cope with the *quinqueremes* of which the

*From *Mamers*, a Sabellian name for the god Mars.

†The triremes were vessels with three, the quinqueremes with five, banks of oars.

Carthaginian navy consisted. They even seem to have been not only destitute of war vessels, but devoid also of the knowledge required for their construction. It was not till chance threw upon the coasts of Latium a Carthaginian quinquereme, that they obtained a model upon which to work. Then, indeed, their activity was truly marvellous. In the short space of two months, forests were cut down, timbers sawed, and no fewer than 120 galleys of large size and adequate solidity constructed. While the ships were building, thousands of people were made to learn the art of rowing by practising upon benches on dry land. With ships thus hastily and clumsily built, and with crews imperfectly trained, did the Romans dare the first maritime state in the world!

NAVAL VICTORY OF DUILIUS (B. C. 260).—In the fifth year of the war, one of the consuls, Cn. Cornelius put to sea with 17 ships, but was surprised near Lipara, and made prisoner with his whole squadron. His colleague C. Duilius, on assuming command of the rest of the fleet, easily perceived that he could not expect to conquer the Carthaginians by sea, unless he first deprived them of all the advantage of manœuvring, and took their ships by boarding. He therefore provided the Roman galleys with solid frames of timber 36 ft. in length, which were fastened to a mast in the forepart of the vessels, and armed at their extremity with an iron spike.* Whenever a hostile ship came near enough, these frames were to be dropped upon her deck, and, becoming fastened by means of the spike, would thus form an improvised drawbridge upon which the Romans might pour into the enemy's vessel, and immediately come to close engagement. Relying upon this contrivance, Duilius went in search of the Carthaginians. He found their armament, consisting of 130 sail, near the coast of Mylæ, in Sicily. At the approach of an enemy whom they totally despised, the Carthaginians hastened to the fight as to a triumph. But their ships were rapidly seized by the boarding-bridges, and, when it came to a close fight their crews were no match for the hardy Romans. The victory of Duilius was complete, and peculiar honors were conferred upon him. He enjoyed a naval triumph, the first of the kind ever celebrated at Rome. A white marble column, adorned with the beaks†

* In Latin *corvus*, or crow.

† Called in consequence *columna rostrata*, *rostrum* and *rostra* being the Latin words for beak and beaks.

of the conquered ships, was erected in the forum, to perpetuate the memory of his achievement; and it was decreed that, when returning from banquets, at night, he should be escorted home by the light of torches and the sound of the flute.

BATTLE OF ECNOMUS (B. C. 256).—The war continued at various points, but with a sort of remissness, until B. C. 256, when, wishing to invade Africa, the Romans fitted out an immense armament. It consisted of 330 vessels and 40,000 legionaries, and was in charge of the two consuls, Manlius and Regulus. The Carthaginians met the Romans with still more extensive preparations. Their fleet, consisting of 350 ships, encountered the enemy near Ecnomus, on the southern coast of Sicily. The battle which ensued, was the greatest sea-fight that the ancient world had yet seen. Here again the boarding-bridges of the Romans annihilated all the advantages of maritime skill. The victory was decisive, and the conquerors pursued the vanquished to the African shores.

THE BAGRADA SERPENT.—Africa had long been to the Romans a land of monsters and imaginary terrors. On landing upon its coasts, they hesitated to advance, and thus allowed Carthage time to make preparations for a vigorous defence. One story popular at Rome asserted that the invaders met, near the river Bagrada, a serpent of prodigious size, whose skin no dart could penetrate. As several soldiers were killed by this monster, it became necessary to attack it with the whole strength of the army and with every sort of machines, as though it were a fortress. After many ineffectual discharges, a huge stone thrown by one of the engines at length broke the back-bone of the serpent, and left it stretched on the ground. The skin of the monster, 120 ft. long, was sent to Rome, and hung up in one of the temples.

REGULUS IN AFRICA.—After removing this obstacle and securing means of supply and retreat, the consuls laid waste the Carthaginian territory with fire and sword, and collected an immense booty. On the approach of winter, the senate recalled Manlius and one-half of the legions. With the remainder, Regulus defeated a large force of the enemy, and established himself at Tunis within 20 miles of Carthage. The Numidians took the opportunity of recovering their independence, and their roving bands completed

the devastation of the country. Then the Carthaginians, in despair, asked for peace. But Regulus, dazzled by his success, would not grant it except on the most rigorous terms, and rather than accept these, the Carthaginians resolved to continue the war.

XANTIPPUS AT CARTHAGE.—The Carthaginians now placed at the head of their troops Xantippus, a Lacedæmonian officer of great experience. Under this new leader, affairs assumed quite a different aspect. After he had carefully trained the soldiers, relying on his 4000 cavalry and 100 elephants, he offered battle to the enemy. Regulus, although stationed in a very unfavorable position, did not decline the contest. His defeat was complete. Nearly all his army was destroyed; and he was taken prisoner, together with 500 of his legionaries (B. C. 255).

EMBASSY OF REGULUS (B. C. 250).—It is related that five years later, the Carthaginians dispatched an embassy to Rome, to negotiate terms of peace and an exchange of prisoners. With their envoys they sent Regulus, whom they bound on parole to return to captivity, should their offers be rejected. The senate was well inclined to accept the proposed terms. But, to the surprise of all, Regulus exhorted them not to do so, because such a course would be to the advantage of Carthage. Resisting the entreaties of his friends, he took his way back into captivity; and the Carthaginians, unmoved by his honorable conduct, wreaked their vengeance upon him by a series of horrible tortures which ended only with his death. The story* proceeds to relate that two noble Carthaginians were handed over to the widow of Regulus, who tortured them to death with a barbarity quite equal to that by which her husband had perished.

ROMAN FLEETS DESTROYED BY STORMS.—A fleet of 300 sail, which the senate had sent to bring back from Africa the remnants of the army of Regulus, not only succeeded in effecting that object, but gained a new victory over the Carthaginians. However, as the conquerors were returning home, they were overtaken off Camarina, in Sicily, by a furious tempest. Nearly the entire fleet was destroyed, the coast being strowed for miles with wrecks and corpses (B. C. 255).

*There are good reasons for doubting the truth of all these details.

The Romans with undiminished energy immediately built another fleet; and, in less than three months, 220 ships were ready for sea. But, like the former armament, this one also, after ravaging the coast of Africa (B. C. 253), was surprised by a storm in which 150 vessels were wrecked. Discouraged by their losses, the Romans now contented themselves with maintaining such a navy as sufficed to protect the shores of Italy and their communications with Sicily. For the next two years, therefore, the war was confined to that island, and even here it was suffered to languish. Since the defeat of Regulus, the Roman soldiers had been so greatly alarmed by the elephants, that their generals did not venture to attack the Carthaginians.

BATTLE OF PANORMUS (B. C. 250).—At length, in B. C. 250, the Roman proconsul L. Metellus accepted battle under the walls of Panormus (the modern Palermo), and gained a decisive victory, in which he killed 20,000 of the enemy, and took 13 of their generals who adorned his triumph. One hundred and four elephants were also captured, and led in the triumphal procession. These animals were afterwards exposed to be hunted by the populace in the circus, where it was soon discovered that they were not really formidable. Encouraged by their late success, the Romans determined once more to build a large fleet. The Carthaginians, on the contrary, sued* for peace. Failing to obtain it, and being too much exhausted to continue the struggle in the open field, their troops in Sicily withdrew to the fortresses of Lilybæum and Drepanum, at the western extremity of the island.

SIEGE OF LILYBÆUM (B. C. 250-241).—Lilybæum was the stronghold of the Carthaginian power in Sicily; and accordingly the Romans determined to concentrate all their efforts against it. The siege which followed, is one of the most memorable in ancient history; it began in the fall of B. C. 250, and lasted till the termination of the war.

BATTLE OF DREPANUM (B. C. 249).—In the second year of the siege of Lilybæum, the consul P. Claudius sought out the hostile fleet near Drepanum, and challenged it to battle. In vain did the auguries warn him; in vain was he informed

*This wish for peace led to the dispatch of the embassy of which Regulus formed part.

that the sacred chickens would not eat.* "At any rate," said he, "let them drink," and he ordered them to be thrown overboard. Disconcerted by this action, and imagining themselves to be under the displeasure of their gods, his soldiers did not fight with their usual intrepidity. This circumstance, and the masterly manœuvres of the Carthaginian admiral, who confined the Romans to so narrow a place that they could scarcely move, gave the enemy a brilliant triumph. Of the Roman armament only 30 vessels escaped; about 90 were taken with more than 20,000 legionaries, and the rest of the fleet was destroyed. Such a defeat Rome had not suffered since the day of the Allia. Claudius was recalled and requested to resign.

A ROMAN FLEET WRECKED.—About this time also, the other consul Junius, whilst conveying provisions to the besiegers at Lilybæum, was overtaken by one of those terrible storms which had thrice before proved so fatal to the Roman fleets. The transports, 800 in number, were all dashed to pieces, and of his 105 ships of war only two escaped.

SUCCESS OF HAMILCAR BARCA (B. C. 247–241).—During the following years, the Romans contented themselves with keeping up the blockade of Lilybæum. Their enemy on the contrary became more active than ever. Under the enterprising Hamilcar, surnamed Barca (the lightning), the Carthaginians roved the seas unopposed, plundering the coasts both of Sicily and of Southern Italy. Not content with this, Hamilcar occupied Mount Hercté near Panormus, whence for three years he paralyzed all the efforts of the Romans against Lilybæum; and, at last, from Hercté he transported his army to Eryx, near Drepanum, a position yet stronger than the former.

BATTLE OFF THE ÆGATIAN ISLANDS (B. C. 241).—At this juncture, the Romans, despairing of driving the Carthaginians out of Sicily so long as the latter were masters of the sea, resolved to build another fleet. The treasury was empty; but the people filled it with voluntary contributions, and an armament of two hundred galleys, speedily equipped, was led to the coast of Sicily by the consul Lutatius. There

*The Romans, like other ancient nations, were addicted to that superstitious practice of *auspices* and *omens* which looked for signs of the divine will and presages of futurity in the flight of birds or their manner of eating.

he blockaded the Carthaginian land-forces, and gained a great victory at sea, off the Ægatian islands.

END OF THE WAR.—The Carthaginians, thus deprived of their supremacy at sea, and weary of the war, sent orders to Hamilcar to make the best terms he could. Peace was at last concluded, on the following conditions: that Carthage should evacuate Sicily and the adjoining islands, molest no ally of Rome, restore all the prisoners without ransom, and pay the sum of 3200 talents within the space of ten years (B. C. 241).

CHAPTER XII.

EVENTS BETWEEN THE FIRST AND THE SECOND PUNIC WAR.

B. C. 240-210.

ROMAN OCCUPATION OF SICILY, SARDINIA, AND CORSICA.—The first contest between Rome and Carthage had lasted 24 years, and a period of equal length elapsed before the two nations came again into collision. The interval was spent by both in making fresh conquests. The Romans first consolidated Sicily into a *province*, a name henceforth given to every new acquisition of territory outside of Italy proper.* True, a nominal independence was allowed to Syracuse under Hiero, to Messana, and some other Sicilian states; but the major part of the island, placed under a Roman pretor, was required to pay a yearly tithe of corn and other produce, and to none but Roman purchasers could the inhabitants sell their lands. Thus a large portion of the soil soon passed into the hands of the conquering race.—Sardinia and Corsica were next taken by the Romans, and also formed into a province (B. C. 238).

TEMPLE OF JANUS CLOSED IN 235 B. C.—The annexation of Sardinia and Corsica was followed by a short interval of peace; and, in B. C. 235, the temple of Janus, which had remained open since the days of Numa, was closed a second

* The old Romans, as has been said before, never included Cisalpine Gaul in Italy.

time.—At this period two new tribes were added to the Roman territory, thus making their total number 35.

CONQUEST OF CORCYRA (B. C. 229).—The eastern shores of the Adriatic had long been the nest of a swarm of pirates; and these buccaneers, under their queen Teuta, had of late become over-bold. Corcyra had fallen under their dominion. Not a few Greek cities on the coast had been plundered, and Roman commerce was interfered with. Rome, therefore, determined to put down these barbarians. One campaign sufficed; and not only were the Illyrians reduced within their proper limits, but Corcyra was added to the territories of the republic, and an alliance, amounting almost to a protectorate, was concluded with the numerous Greek towns along the coast. The people of Hellas were overjoyed at being relieved from apprehension from their savage neighbors. The Romans, hailed as a race of heroes, were solemnly invited by Corinth to take part in the Isthmian games, while, at Athens, they were declared to be honorary citizens, and admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries.

BATTLE OF TELAMON.—The next great step in advance made by Rome, was the conquest of the whole Gaulish territory between her own northern frontier and the Alps. Hitherto her most advanced positions had been Ariminum on the upper, and Lucca on the lower coast. But, in B. C. 232, the tribune C. Flaminius carried an Agrarian law to the effect that the territory from which the Senones had been ejected 50 years before, known as 'Gallic Land,' should be distributed among the poorer citizens. This alarmed the Boii, who dwelt upon the borders of this district. They invoked the assistance of the Insubres; and, being joined by them, as well as by large bodies of Gauls from beyond the Alps, they set out for Rome. All Italy trembled at their approach. The Romans especially were in consternation. The Sibylline books being consulted, the answer was that Rome must be twice occupied by a foe; whereupon the senate ordered two Gauls and two Greeks to be buried in the forum, hoping thus to satisfy the requirements of Fate. But Roman policy, to ward off the impending danger, relied not alone on the performance of this cruel rite. A 'Gallic tumult' was proclaimed; all the citizens were called to arms, and an army of 150,000 foot and 6,000 horse was speedily raised. Every city, moreover, was required to strengthen its defences, and to lay in stores of arms and provisions.

Nor did the senate neglect negotiations. The Cenomani and Veneti were prevailed upon to act in the rear of the Gauls, as they advanced southward, and to threaten their possessions. The force of the invaders was thus crippled at the outset, and they were unable to pour into the Roman territory more than 50,000 foot and 20,000 horse. Yet they advanced undismayed; and, pushing adroitly between two opposing armies, crossed the Apennines, and descended into the valley of the Arno. The first Roman force that closed with them, was repulsed, and only saved from destruction by the opportune arrival of a second. Evading the pursuit of the combined armies, the Gauls retreated with their booty, but unexpectedly found themselves confronted, at Telamon, by a third Roman army which had just arrived from Sardinia. Thus surrounded, the invaders were completely overpowered. As many as 40,000 of their men were slain, and 10,000 were taken prisoners (B. C. 225).

CONQUEST OF CISALPINE GAUL (B. C. 225-222).—The Romans pursued the retreating Gauls across the frontier, and carried the war into the enemy's country. There it continued to rage for three years, as the natives fought gallantly in defence of their homes. The Boii, who were first attacked, submitted in B. C. 224. In the following year, the Romans for the first time crossed the Po, and the consul C. Flaminius gained a brilliant victory over the Insubres. His agrarian law, above referred to, had made him a favorite with the people, while it excited the opposition of the aristocracy. Just before he gave battle to the Gauls, the senate, in their jealousy, sent letters warning him against an engagement, because the omens were unfavorable. But not till he had fought and won, would he open the letters; and then he quietly remarked, that it was too late to act upon the advice. At the end of the campaign, he demanded a triumph; and, when the senate refused it, the people interfered, and decreed him full honors by a vote in their assembly.—Flaminius secured for himself more lasting fame as the builder of the great Flaminian Way, the direct road from Rome to the Gallic frontier near Ariminum.

The consuls of the next year, Cn. Cornelius Scipio and M. Claudius Marcellus, continued the war against the Insubres, who called to their aid a fresh body of Transalpine Gauls. Marcellus slew with his own hand in personal combat, the Gaulish king Viridomarus, and thus gained the third *spolia*

opima,* 'the prize of prizes.' At the same time, Scipio took Mediolanum (Milan), the chief town of the Insubres. This people now submitted unconditionally, and the war was brought to an end. To secure this conquest, the Romans planted (B. C. 218), at Placentia and Cremona, two Latin colonies consisting each of 6,000 men; and the military road was soon after continued from Ariminum to the foot of the Alps. About this time also, the Roman eagles† were carried into the peninsula of Istria, and access by land was thereby secured into the regions beyond the Adriatic. With such giant steps did Rome proceed onward to universal empire. Meanwhile Carthage, as shall be seen presently, had not been idle.

REVOLT OF THE CARTHAGINIAN MERCENARIES (B. C. 240-238).—Defeated and bankrupt as she was at the end of the first Punic war, Carthage had soon to face on her own soil a yet sterner struggle. Her mercenary troops, who had returned to Africa, not receiving their arrears of pay, rose in open mutiny, under Spendius, a runaway Campanian slave, and Matho, a Libyan. They were quickly joined by the native Libyans, and brought Carthage almost to the brink of destruction. They laid waste the whole country with fire and sword; made themselves masters of all the towns, except the capital; and committed the most frightful atrocities. In this crisis, Carthage owed her safety to the genius of Hamilcar. He armed the populace, changed them into

* Twice only had such an exploit been achieved before—by Romulus and by Tullus Hostilius. Marcellus's was the last feat of the kind.

† A small eagle (*aquila*) usually of bronze, fastened on the top of a wooden staff, was the standard of the legion. Often it was adorned with a *vexillum*, a little banner, suspended from a cross-bar.—The standard of the cohort, called *signum*, was usually a figure of an animal—a wolf or sheep, for instance—on a staff. Its bearer was the *signifer*; and that of the eagle, the *aquilifer*. *Vexilla* were also carried on the flanks of the maniples to mark the alignment, performing the same office as *guidons* in a modern battalion.—The cavalry and light troops, and all separate detachments, carried only the *vexillum*. Its bearer was called *vexillarius*. Under the empire, the figure of the animal on the *signum* was replaced by a representation of the head of the reigning emperor, which became an object of worship to the soldiers; and, after Constantine, to the emperor's head was substituted that of the Savior. In the time of the pagan emperors, the *eagles* were of silver, and, like the *signa*, objects of worship.

soldiers, secured the cooperation of 2000 brave Numidians, and, thus supported, met and defeated the rebels. By superior generalship, he finally ensnared them within a spot from which there was no escape. Here the mercenaries were soon reduced by famine to such straits, that they began to feed upon one another—a just punishment, says Polybius, of the atrocities which they had committed during the war. Hamilcar showed no mercy, and sheathed not the sword, so long as one rebel survived. This was called the *inexpiable war*. It gave Carthage a pretext to extend her sway farther into Numidia and Mauritania; but, at the same time brought about a political revolution. The popular party in arms, with Hamilcar at its head, had retrieved the fortunes of the state. They now claimed a voice in its government, and the old aristocracy had no option but to submit to their demands.

HAMILCAR'S HATRED OF ROME.—It was only with extreme reluctance that Hamilcar had quitted his impregnable position at Eryx, in B. C. 541, when commanded by his government to make peace with Rome. The conduct of the Romans, who profited by the revolt of the Carthaginian mercenaries to subdue Sardinia and Corsica, added to his hatred of the grasping republic. All his thoughts were now bent on finding means of renewing hostilities against Rome. But, being thwarted at home by the aristocratic faction, he turned his energies in the direction of Spain.

SAPIN.—Hispania, or Iberia, with its fertile soil, its rich gold mines, and its hardy population, was a prize worthy to be contested by the greatest of nations. The conqueror of such a country would secure great store of the precious metals, large openings for commerce, and an inexhaustible supply of willing and vigorous recruits. Thus would be obtained the means of attacking, and perhaps crushing that hated rival who had robbed Carthage of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica.

HAMILCAR IN SPAIN (B. C. 235-225).—The Carthaginian senate, accustomed to regard commerce rather than arms as the main-stay of their national greatness, looked with jealous apprehension on the warlike schemes of their great captain. But Hamilcar, having once extorted permission to wage his warfare in Spain, was at no loss to make the war self-maintaining. While he subdued several states by force of arms, he gained over others by negotiations, and availed himself of their services as allies or mercenaries. The booty he

acquired was used, in part, to bribe his adversaries at home ; and, when he fell in battle, B. C. 225, the popular party obtained without difficulty the appointment of his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, to complete his undertakings.

HASDRUBAL IN SPAIN (B. C. 225-221).—The soldier was succeeded in this case by the statesman. The wise policy of Hasdrubal conciliated the native tribes, and won the confidence of their chiefs. This influence was exerted to pacify their intestine feuds, and to weld them into a confederacy under Carthage. The empire he thus won to his country, he consolidated by the foundation of Carthagera (New Carthage), in a situation admirably chosen on account of its excellent harbor, and of its proximity both to the Punic coast, and to the silver mines which supplied him with the means of paying his troops.

ROMAN INTERFERENCE.—The Romans could not behold the progress of Carthage in Spain without alarm. Professing to act in the interest of the Massilians, their allies, they bound Hasdrubal, under a threat of immediate war, not to extend his conquests beyond the Ibērus (Ebro). They also entered into friendly relations with the people of Saguntum* who dwelt to the south of the Iberus. Having taken these precautions, and appealing to the faith of their treaty with Carthage, which required both parties not to molest each other's allies, they awaited the course of events.

HANNIBAL COMMANDER-IN-CHIEF (B. C. 221).—Hasdrubal was assassinated, in B. C. 221, by a Gaulish slave, whose master he had put to death. The army at once acclaimed Hannibal, the son of Hamilcar, as their commander ; and the government at Carthage hastened to ratify an appointment which they had not, in fact, the power to prevent. Hannibal was, at this time, in his 26th year. His childhood and youth had been spent in the camp, where he had learned the art of war from his father, and that of government from his brother-in-law. When he was but nine years old, he witnessed the solemn sacrifice offered by his father Hamilcar, for the success of the enterprise which he was on the point of launching against Spain. At the close of the ceremony, the father bade his child devote himself to the service of his country by swearing, with his hand on the altar, never to be the friend of the Romans. The oath was taken ; and

*A city of Greek origin, founded by the Zacynthians.

there is little doubt that, at the time of his appointment as commander-in-chief, Hannibal was already looking forward to the invasion and conquest of Italy. But he had first to consolidate the work of his two predecessors, by firmly establishing the Carthaginian power in Spain. Having in two campaigns completed the subjugation of all the Spanish nations south of the Iberus, he next proceeded to lay siege to Saguntum.

CAPTURE OF SAGUNTUM (B. C. 219).—Though situated south of the Iberus, and therefore not included in the treaty between Hasdrubal and the Romans, Saguntum had concluded an alliance with the latter people. There could be little doubt, therefore, that an attack upon the city would bring on a war with Rome; but for this Hannibal was prepared, or rather it was his real object. The pretext of his invasion was the same that the Romans themselves so often brought forward—some injury inflicted by the Saguntines upon a neighboring tribe in friendship with Carthage. The resistance of Saguntum was long and desperate. For 8 months the inhabitants, nerved perhaps by the vain hope of aid from Rome, made a glorious defence; and, in the end, setting fire to their dwellings, they perished in the conflagration kindled with their own hands.

THE ROMANS DECLARE WAR (B. C. 219).—When news reached Rome that Hannibal was threatening Saguntum, ambassadors came to remind him of the treaty with Hasdrubal, and forbade him to meddle with the allies of Rome. He referred them for an answer to the government at home, and proceeded with his designs. At Carthage, the envoys found the war-party predominant, and were equally unsuccessful. No further step was taken by Rome till Saguntum had fallen, when a second embassy appeared at Carthage, demanding the surrender of Hannibal in atonement for the breach of the treaty. After much discussion, Fabius, one of the envoys, holding up a fold of his toga, said, "I carry here peace or war, choose ye." "The choice rests with you," was the senate's reply. "Then," answered Fabius, letting fall his toga, "let it be war."

CHAPTER XIII.

SECOND PUNIC WAR.—B. C. 218–201.

HANNIBAL SETS OUT FOR ITALY (B. C. 218).—By the Carthaginian government all the preparations for, as well as the conduct of, the war were left entirely to Hannibal. The youthful general first provided for the defence of Spain and Africa in his absence; and, quitting his winter-quarters at New Carthage, late in the spring of B. C. 218, proceeded towards the Pyrenees. The Spanish tribes along his route offered considerable resistance, and forced upon him circumspection and delay. In Gaul, on the contrary, he met no opposition till he reached the Rhone, the passage of which river was barred by bands of natives. Detaching a small force to cross the stream higher up and attack the enemy in the rear, Hannibal effected his passage on the fifth day. But more time had been consumed in coming thus far, than he had anticipated.

MOVEMENTS OF THE ROMANS.—The Romans, not suspecting the design of their enterprising enemy, had levied, as usual, two consular armies, one of which under P. Cornelius Scipio was destined to act against Hannibal himself in Spain; and the other, under Sempronius, to invade Africa. When the news of Hannibal's advance reached Rome, it became necessary to change these plans at once. With the portion of his army which had not yet embarked for Spain, Scipio sailed to Massilia; and, though he arrived too late to prevent Hannibal from crossing the Rhone, yet he shut him up from the easier and more direct road into Italy, that of the coast-line. The wary Carthaginian, who expected to swell his numbers with natives of the Cisalpine, would not pit his Numidians and Spaniards against the Romans, until he had planted himself on Italian soil.

HANNIBAL CROSSES THE ALPS.—Avoiding therefore a combat with Scipio, Hannibal continued his march up the left bank of the Rhone, as far as its confluence with the Isère. Here he interposed in a dispute between two rival chiefs of the Allobroges; and, by lending his aid to establish one firmly on the throne, obtained from him guides, provisions, and clothing. Higher up in the mountains, however, he was attacked by the natives, who killed many of the in-

vaders. The natural difficulties of the pass,* besides, were increased by the lateness of the season. For it was now the month of October, at which time the mountain paths are already encumbered with snow or made slippery with ice. Neither the men nor the elephants of Africa were prepared for such an adventure. No wonder that many of both the soldiers and the animals perished, during the fifteen days occupied by the ascent and descent. Strange stories were told of the difficulties of all sorts encountered and overcome, of horses hauled up with ropes, of steps cut with swords and spades in the sides of the mountains, of rocks blasted with fire and vinegar. Exaggerated as these reports are, they enable us to understand the magnitude of the havoc made in the invading army, during its passage across the Alps. Such indeed were the losses sustained here, or in fighting the Spaniards north of the Iberus; such the number of those who either deserted whilst crossing the Pyrenees, or were left behind to defend the new conquests in northern Spain, that the mighty armament of 90,000 foot, 12,000 horse, and 37 elephants, with which, 5 months before, the expedition had set out from New Carthage; had dwindled, when it emerged into the valley of the Po, to 20,000 foot, 6,000 horse, and 7 elephants. With such paltry numbers did the bold invader attempt to overthrow a power that wielded a force of above 700,000 fighting men!

SKIRMISH ON THE TICINUS (B. C. 218).—Hannibal's first care was now to recruit the strength of his troops, exhausted by their recent fatigues and hardships. When they had taken sufficient repose, he aroused their spirits by a moving speech, and went in search of the enemy, whom he found posted on the north bank of the Po, near the river Ticinus. Here took place the first encounter of Hannibal with the Romans, in Italy. The cavalry and light-armed troops of both armies were alone engaged, and the superiority of Hannibal's Numidian horse at once decided the combat in his favor. The Roman commander, Scipio, severely wounded in the action and with difficulty saved from captivity or death by his youthful son, afterwards the famous Africanus, hastened to take shelter within the walls of Placentia.

BATTLE OF THE TREBIA (B. C. 218).—After the skirmish on the Ticinus, the Cisalpine Gauls began to declare for Hannibal, and 2,000 of their warriors passed over from

* Probably that of the Graian Alps, or *Little St. Bernard*.

the Roman to the Carthaginian camp. The example was speedily followed, and in a short time Hannibal found himself at the head of nearly 40,000 men. With this force he advanced to Placentia, and offered battle to Scipio. The latter, declining the combat, withdrew to the hills on the left bank of the Trebia, where he was joined by his colleague Sempronius, who had brought back his legions by land the whole distance from Lilybæum to Messana in Sicily, and again from Rhegium to the Po. As Scipio had not yet recovered from his wound, Sempronius assumed the command of the combined forces; and, finding himself much superior in number to Hannibal, was as eager as his opponent for a general engagement. In the battle which followed, the victory was decided by the superior tactics of Hannibal. He posted his brother Mago with a chosen band in ambush, and the latter threw the enemy into confusion by a timely onset on their rear. Great numbers of the Romans were cut off; the survivors escaped in two directions, Scipio retiring upon Ariminum, and Sempronius into Etruria. After this success, which caused the wavering tribes of the Gauls to espouse his cause, Hannibal took his winter-quarters among them, and busied himself levying fresh troops, while he awaited the approach of spring.

BATTLE OF LAKE TRASIMENUS (B. C. 217).—As soon as the season permitted the renewal of military operations, Hannibal advanced into the heart of Italy, carrying devastation along his line of march. The two consuls for this year were Cn. Servilius and C. Flaminius. The latter was the author of the celebrated Agrarian law which had occasioned the Gallic war, and in his first consulship had gained a great victory over the Insubrian Gauls. Him Hannibal artfully drew into a defile, where the Romans, hemmed in between rocky heights and Lake Trasimenus, were simultaneously attacked in front, in flank, and in the rear. Polybius tells us that they suffered themselves to be slaughtered without resistance. But, according to Livy, despair revived their courage; and both parties fought with such fury, that none of the combatants noticed an earthquake which then took place, and destroyed considerable portions of several Italian cities. During the fight, Flaminius was slain, and the Romans dispirited by this accident, gave way and fled. Some of them, closely pressed by the victorious enemy, threw themselves into the lake, whilst others, climbing over the mountains,

fell into the hands of the foe whom they sought to avoid. 15,000 at least were cut to pieces; an equal number were taken prisoners, and only a few thousand escaped by different roads to Rome, where the news of this disastrous battle caused universal consternation.

FABIUS CUNCTATOR.—In this crisis, Q. Fabius Maximus was appointed dictator, who with a fresh army of 4 legions went in quest of Hannibal. The latter, disappointed of aid from the Etruscans, had marched off into the country of the Samnites. Receiving no more effectual aid here than in Etruria, he now sought to win over to his side the Greek population of Southern Italy. But even the Greeks were more drawn to the kindred Romans, than to the alien race of Tyre and Carthage. The people of Neapolis and Pæstum stripped the gold from their temples, and brought it to the senate. Hiero of Syracuse sent money and stores. Nor was the dictator wanting to himself. He garrisoned the strong places, cleared the country of supplies around the enemy's camp, and harassed him by constant movement. But, faithful to his policy, whereby he won his illustrious surname of *Cunctator* (the lingerer), he invariably declined any decisive engagement. If he ever allowed the soldiers to fight, it was only in slight skirmishes, and so cautiously that his troops generally had the advantage.

HANNIBAL'S STRATAGEM.—By this wise conduct, Fabius gradually revived the confidence of the Romans. On one occasion, he saved his master of the horse from certain defeat; on another, he succeeded in enclosing the Carthaginians within a valley, so as to leave them no escape. Hannibal, thereupon, had 2000 oxen collected together, caused bundles of dry wood tied to their horns, to be set on fire, at night, and then ordered these animals to be driven towards the narrow passes which were guarded by the enemy. The oxen, feeling the fire, became furious, and ran wildly in every direction. Fabius, apprehensive of an attack, dared not quit his intrenchments, whilst they who guarded the defile, still more frightened than the rest, abandoned their post and fled. Hannibal seized the opportunity, and escaped with his whole force without loss.

BATTLE OF CANNÆ (B. C. 216).—The dictatorship of the *Cunctator* expired all too soon. Fabius was replaced by two consuls. The nominee of the senate, Paulus Æmilius, was well disposed to follow the policy of his predecessor.

sor in command; but Terentius Varro represented the blind impatience of the people, who thought that to bring the war to a close, it needed only a man of energy and decision at the head of an overwhelming force. So, during the winter and spring, an army had been raised of little less than 90,000 men. The two consuls held command on alternate days. But they disagreed, Varro constantly threatening, and Paulus as regularly declining, to give battle to Hannibal, whom they had followed to the broad plain of Cannæ, a field chosen by himself as favorable to the action of his Numidian cavalry. At last, Varro, relying on his superior numbers, which were double those of the Carthaginians, determined to attack. In his blind confidence, he advanced in a massive column, instead of extending his line to surround the weaker enemy. Hannibal allowed him to penetrate to his centre, and then enveloped his entangled and serried ranks with clouds of horse and light-armed infantry. The Romans were routed. Their loss, Polybius tells us, amounted to 70,000. Among the slain were the consul Paulus, both the consuls of the preceding year, 21 tribunes, 80 senators, and several thousand knights.

ROMAN FORTITUDE.—Far from despairing, the Romans immediately raised new legions. While the enrollment was in progress, Varro returned in dejection to the city. Instead of disgracing or even upbraiding him, the senate went forth to meet him, and voted him their thanks for not having despaired of the republic. They intrusted him again with a command, and sent him back, at the head of a consular army, to the very country which had been the scene of his discomfiture.

HANIBAL'S INACTIVITY.—Hannibal's officers urged him to advance at once on Rome. "Thou knowest how to conquer," Marhabal said to him; "but thou doest not know how to improve thy victory. Only send me with the cavalry, and within five days thou shalt sup in the Capitol." But Hannibal understood better the difficulties of the enterprise. Cannæ was 200 miles from the city; and the route lay across mountains and rivers, as well as through Roman colonies and garrisons. He knew that his allies would insist upon lingering on the way to kill, and burn, and amass plunder. Even if he reached the walls, what profit would it be to him? It was chiefly to his cavalry that he owed his previous victories. But of what use would that be in a siege? With his diminished infantry, 6000 of whom had fallen at Cannæ, without

ammunition or machines, how could he succeed in storming the large, populous, and well-fortified city of Rome? To surprise it now, as in the time of Brennus, was altogether impossible.

HANNIBAL VAINLY AWAITS REINFORCEMENTS.—Hannibal therefore resigned himself to the task of stirring up disaffection among the people of Southern Italy, while awaiting assistance from Carthage, and gradually providing the means of laying siege to Rome. Unhappily for him, there prevailed at Carthage great political dissensions. The aristocratic party, headed by Hanno, was little disposed to make great exertions in behalf of the popular champion; the wealthy traders sought rather to protect their commercial interests on every coast of the Mediterranean, than expend blood and treasure on a rash adventure in the heart of Italy; in fine, the government found sufficient occupation in maintaining its hold on Spain and protecting its gold mines in that country.

HANNIBAL AT CAPUA (B. C. 216-215).—Hannibal, being thus left to himself, and in great need of money, proposed to the Roman senate to ransom those of their countrymen who were prisoners in his hands; but his offers were steadily rejected. At the close of the campaign, he chose for his winter-quarters the luxurious city of Capua, the gates of which were opened to him by the popular party. The period of repose which followed, says Livy, was fatal to the invaders. Hannibal's hardy veterans, who had marched so far and won so many victories under his banner, were demoralized by the seductions of a dissipated city; the iron bands of discipline were relaxed, and the spell was broken, which had seemed hitherto to render his arms invincible. In contradiction to this statement—a favorite theme of rhetorical exaggerations in later ages, it may be alleged that those soldiers, who, according to Livy, were so much enervated by their stay in Capua, continued to fight with their usual bravery, if not always* with the same success, took cities in the

*Cor. Nepos, Justin, and Polybius, maintain that Hannibal was *constantly victorious* in his Italian campaigns, and was conquered for the *first time* at the battle of Zama, in Africa. On the contrary, Livy and Plutarch mention several defeats sustained by him in Italy. Perhaps these defeats may have been very inconsiderable, and owing to such circumstances as could not impair his military reputation. But, without admitting the Carthaginian leader to have been blameless, or suspecting Livy's *sincerity*, it may be said that the latter betrays a tendency to lessen the merit of Hannibal, both in his public achievements and in his personal character.

very sight of the Romans, and maintained themselves in Italy fourteen years longer, till they were recalled by orders from Carthage.

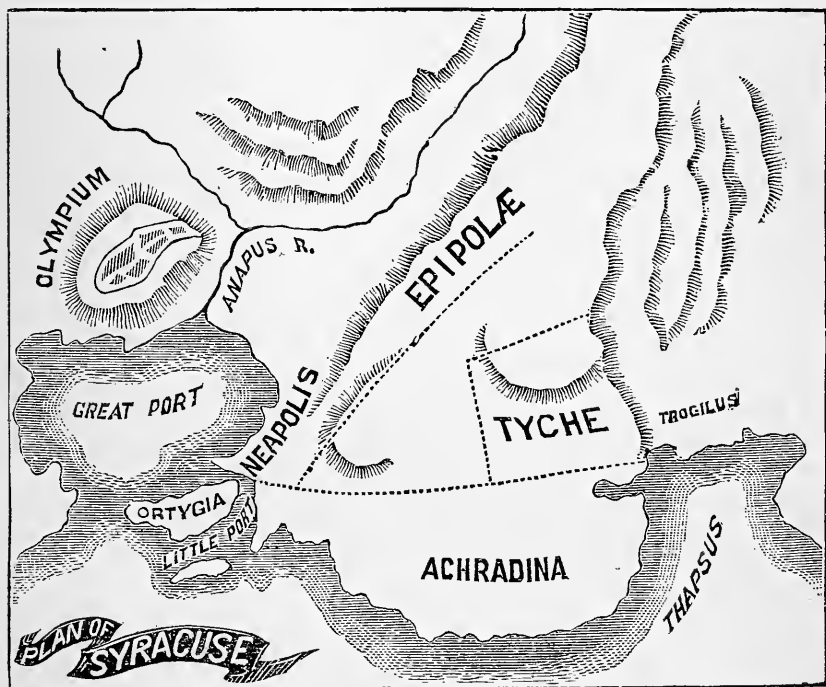
CAUSE OF HANNIBAL'S FAILURE.—The real cause, therefore, of Hannibal's failure was neither his remissness after Cannæ, nor the sojourn of his troops at Capua, but rather the want of proper support from home. Whilst the Romans easily recruited their armies, he was left destitute of necessary succors and reinforcements.

HE STIRS UP FRESH ENEMIES.—Far from wasting his time at Capua, Hannibal now applied himself more industriously than ever to the execution of his long-cherished plan—that of arming Italy itself against the Romans, and crushing the ruling power by means of its own subjects. To this object his attention, henceforth, was directed. Nor did he rely on the cooperation of the Italians alone. He concluded treaties offensive and defensive with the king of Macedon, and with the Syracusans—two transactions which would have placed Rome in the greatest danger, had the chief rulers at Carthage and Hannibal's new allies acted with more prudence and vigor.

CAMPAIGNS OF B. C. 215–212.—Taught by reverses, the Romans after Cannæ altered their tactics; and, instead of opposing to Hannibal one grand army, with separate corps, they hemmed in his movements, guarded the most important towns with strong garrisons, and kept up an army in every province of Italy to check the rising disposition to revolt. They, moreover, sent large forces to Spain, Sardinia, Sicily, and Macedonia; and, by giving Carthage and her allies occupation elsewhere, prevented them from sending effectual aid to Hannibal. Thus the latter was deprived both of reinforcements and of an opportunity for striking a decisive blow, so that, despite his boldness and surprising activity, the three campaigns which followed the battle of Cannæ, were undistinguished by any important event.

SYRACUSE DEFENDED BY ARCHIMEDES.—At the death of Hiero, the faithful ally of Rome, Syracuse espoused the cause of the Carthaginians. Thereupon the consul Marcellus laid siege to that city both by sea and land. His attacks were vigorous and unremitting; but, though he brought many powerful military engines against the walls, his efforts were rendered wholly unavailing by the superior skill and science of Archimedes, which were employed on the side of

the besiegers. This wonderful man, the greatest geometrician of antiquity, invented a multitude of engines, which threw missive weapons and enormous stones with such rapidity and violence, that they crushed whatever came in their way, and forced the besiegers to keep at a distance from the wall, without being able to make either a mine or an assault. At sea, the peril was still greater. Archimedes had placed behind the walls strong machines, which, laying hold of the Roman vessels by means of grappling-irons, lifted them up, and after making them whirl about with rapidity, sunk them, or dashed them to pieces against the rocks.*



Marcellus, repelled on all sides, was obliged to expect from blockade and starvation a success which he could not obtain by open force.

STORMING OF SYRACUSE (B. C. 212).—As the communications of the besieged by sea were almost entirely open, the Romans seemed to be, at the end of three years, as far from

*The story that Archimedes set the Roman ships on fire by the reflected rays of the sun, is probably a fiction.

their object as on the first day, when a common soldier, having noticed a part of the wall more accessible than the rest and calculated its height by counting the stones, informed Marcellus that with a ladder of a certain size it might be easily scaled. The Roman commander, profiting by the suggestion, effected an entrance at this point, during the night which followed a great festival, and thus made himself master of Epipolæ. Shortly afterward, the treachery of a Spanish leader of mercenaries in the Syracusan service opened to Marcellus the gates of Achradina; and, in the general attack which ensued, the whole city fell into the power of the Romans, and was given up to pillage.

DEATH OF ARCHIMEDES.—Whilst confusion reigned without, Archimedes, in his closet, was wholly intent on the examination of a geometrical figure. A Roman soldier suddenly appeared, and commanded the mathematician to accompany him to Marcellus. Archimedes desired his visitor to wait a moment, till he had solved his problem and completed its demonstration. But the soldier, taking this answer for an insult, drew his sword, and killed him on the spot. Marcellus was sensibly afflicted at the melancholy event, and not only gave a solemn funeral to Archimedes, but even erected a monument* to his memory.

SPOILS OF SYRACUSE.—Besides the money in the public treasury, which was set apart for the coffers of the state, Marcellus carried off many Syracusan works of art, to grace his own triumph and adorn the temples at Rome. This was the first instance of a practice which afterward became so general; it gave great offence not only to the Greeks of Sicily, but to a large party at Rome itself.

RECOVERY OF CAPUA (B. C. 211).—The revolt of Capua had greatly exasperated the Romans; and, in B. C. 212, the two consuls drew their forces together for the purpose of reducing it. Hannibal flew to its relief, and compelled the besiegers to withdraw, but could not force them to a general engagement. In the spring, whilst he was himself attacking the citadel of Tarentum, the Romans reappeared before Capua, and in an incredibly short space of time surrounded it with a double line of intrenchments. Once more coming to its relief, Hannibal assaulted the Roman camp from with-

*Cicero, when questor in Sicily (B. C. 75), found this tomb near one of the gates of the city, almost hid among briars, and forgotten by the Syracusans.

out, whilst the garrison cooperated with him by a vigorous sally. But both attacks were repulsed. Thus foiled, Hannibal swept to the north; and, hoping to draw the Roman forces from Capua, showed himself before Rome. But this daring scheme was also frustrated. There was at the time a considerable body of troops within the walls; and these were reinforced with only a portion of the besieging army at Capua, there being left before it a force amply sufficient to prosecute the siege. As Hannibal had no means of effecting anything against Rome itself, after ravaging the country to the very ramparts, he marched sullenly away. Capua soon after surrendered. Its punishment was terrible. Seventy of her senators fell under the axes of the lictors; 300 men of rank were thrown into chains; the rest of the people were sold as slaves, and the city with its territory was given over to Roman occupants. When two years later, Tarentum was retaken, it was treated with almost equal severity; 30,000 of its inhabitants were sold into bondage.

ROMAN ALLIANCES WITH THE ÆTOLIANS, WITH ATTALUS AND ANTIOCHUS.—The same year that she retook Capua, Rome secured herself against the aggressions of Philip of Macedon by means of a treaty with the Ætolians, whereby those lawless brigands were allowed to seize and retain any Greek town which they could conquer, the slaves, the money, and the rest of the plunder being allotted to Rome as her share of the spoil. At the same time, the republic engaged in alliance with nations still farther east, and contrived to keep Philip constantly occupied with the arms of the kings of Pergamus and Syria, as also with those of the barbarians on his northern frontier. Thus the aid promised Hannibal by the king of Macedon, was deferred from year to year; and, at length, after the victory of the Metaurus, the Macedonians for a time abandoned him, and entered into bonds of amity with the Romans.

THE WAR IN SPAIN (B. C. 228-212).—While the consul P. Cornelius Scipio, the first year of the war, was confronting Hannibal in the Cisalpine, his brother Cneius was in Spain with part of the consular army. The next year Publius himself crossed over into Spain, where he found that Cneius had already obtained a firm footing. Henceforth, both brothers made great conquests over the Carthaginians. Emboldened by their success, they divided their troops, in order to complete within a shorter time the reduction of the country. This

imprudent step was the cause of their ruin. The Carthaginian generals, combining their efforts, overthrew the two brothers separately, and both the Scipios were slain (B. C. 112). Yet their presence in Spain had probably saved Rome. For, if the Carthaginians had maintained the undisputed mastery of that country, they might have concentrated all their efforts to support Hannibal, who would thus have been able to compel the Romans to submit. The hero who was to retrieve the affairs of Rome in Spain, was no other than young Publius Scipio, the son of Cornelius, whose defeat and death have just been mentioned.

YOUTH OF PUBLIUS SCIPIO AFRICANUS.—Africanus is perhaps, with the exception of J. Cæsar, the greatest man that Rome ever produced. From his youth, he acquired in an extraordinary degree the confidence and admiration of his countrymen. His enthusiastic mind led him to believe that he was a special favorite of heaven; and he never engaged in any business without first going to the Capitol, to commune there for some time with the protecting deities of Rome. For all his undertakings he alleged the divine approval, firmly believing in the revelations he asserted had been vouchsafed to him—a belief deepened by the marvelous success which attended all his exertions. At the battle of the Ticinus, when only 17 years of age, as previously mentioned, he saved his father's life. At Cannæ, he was already a tribune of the soldiers; and, along with Appius Claudius, was chosen to command the remnants of the army which fled for refuge to Canusium. In B. C. 212, though yet so far from the legal age, he was elected edile. Finally, when the Romans, anxious to retrieve their affairs in Spain, were assembled to choose a proconsul for that country, and none of the experienced generals presented himself for the difficult post, Scipio, then barely in his 24th year offered to go, and so communicated his confidence to all that he was appointed by acclamation (B. C. 210).

AFRICANUS IN SPAIN (B. C. 210–206).—On reaching Spain, Scipio found the three Carthaginian commanders engaged in separate enterprises at a great distance from one another; and he resolved to avail himself of this opportunity to surprise New Carthage. Giving the fleet in charge to his friend Lælius, whom alone he acquainted with his project, he himself rapidly marched his land-forces against the city, surprised it, and obtained possession not only of the rich

stores accumulated there, but also of the Spanish hostages therein detained. These he treated with studied kindness, and restored without ransom, thus winning the support of many Spanish tribes. With the assistance of these allies, Scipio the following year defeated Hasdrubal, who sought refuge in northern Spain; and, before long, the youthful Roman general, by his personal influence even more than by force of arms, made himself master of nearly the whole peninsula. In 206, he returned to Rome to sue for the consulship.

DEFEAT OF MARCELLUS (B. C. 208).—The summer of B. C. 209 had witnessed the return of the Samnites and Lucanians to Roman allegiance. The recovery of Tarentum speedily followed. However Hannibal, who thus saw his supporters fall away one after another, was cheered in 208 by a brilliant success. He drew the two consuls Crispinus and Marcellus into an ambush, in which the latter was killed and the former mortally wounded. But his chief object now was only to maintain himself in the south of Italy, until his brother Hasdrubal should appear in the north, an event to which he had anxiously looked forward.

HASDRUBAL'S MARCH INTO ITALY (B. C. 208-207).—After his defeat at the hands of Scipio, Hasdrubal had at last set out for Italy. To avoid the Romans, who held the direct road, he crossed the Pyrenees near their western extremity, plunged into the heart of Gaul, where he spent the winter, and in the spring of 207 prepared to descend into Italy. The two consuls for this year were C. Claudius Nero and M. Livius; the former kept a watch upon Hannibal in the south; the latter took up his quarters at Ariminum to oppose Hasdrubal. More fortunate than his brother, this chieftain experienced little loss in crossing the Alps, the season being favorable and the Gauls friendly. But, instead of pushing rapidly forward, he lost much precious time under the walls of Placentia. At last, leaving this place behind him unsubdued, he advanced southward until he came in front of the camp of Livius, near Sena.

BATTLE OF THE METAURUS (B. C. 207).—From this position, Hasdrubal sent to inform Hannibal of his line of march; but his letters, falling into the hands of Nero, betrayed his plans to the Roman general. The latter acted with promptitude and resolution. Making a feint to deceive Hannibal, Nero suddenly quitted his camp with 7,000 picked

men, and hastened * to join Livius, whom he urged to make an immediate attack. Hasdrubal, however, noticed that his enemy had been reinforced, and retired behind the Mētaurus. There he was brought to bay, and forced to give battle. A flank attack under Nero decided the combat. The invaders were completely routed; and Hasdrubal, seeing the battle irretrievably lost, rushed into the midst of the enemy, and fell as became the son of Hamilcar and the brother of Hannibal. Nero now hastened back to Apulia almost as speedily as he had come, and announced to Hannibal the defeat and death of his brother by throwing into his camp the severed head of Hasdrubal. "I recognize," said Hannibal sadly, "the doom of Carthage." Still he maintained himself in Italy until the year B. C. 203, when his countrymen recalled him for the defence of Carthage.

SCIPIO IN AFRICA (B. C. 204-203).—Towards the end of B. C. 206, by the unanimous votes of all the centuries, Scipio was elected consul for the following year, although he had not yet filled the office of pretor, and was only 30 years of age. He was anxious to carry the war at once into Africa, considering this the surest means both to remove Hannibal from Italy, and to close the long contest. Accordingly, as soon as he had raised a sufficient armament, he sailed for the African shores, and landed, not far from Utica.

He was immediately joined by Masinissa, king of the Massylians, or Western Numidians, who rendered him the most important services in the war. Scipio commenced his campaign by laying siege to Utica, but soon was confronted in his quarters, under the walls of that city, by two numerous armies, the one under Hasdrubal, son of Gisco, the other under Syphax, king of the Massæsylians, or Eastern Numidians. Learning from his spies, that, in these two armies, the tents of the soldiers were composed only of reeds and withered branches, he resolved to destroy them by fire during the night. He directed Masinissa to burn the camp of Syphax, and he himself advanced against that of Hasdrubal.

Everything succeeded according to his wishes. Not only the conflagration spread with the utmost rapidity through the camp of Syphax, but most of the Numidians were put to the sword, or perished in the flames, or were crushed in

* He marched 250 miles in six or seven days.

the narrow gateways as they strove to escape. A similar disaster soon befell the Carthaginians. They had perceived the fire in the camp of Syphax; and, attributing it to accident, several of them ran confusedly to assist their allies. On the way they were cut off by Scipio. This general then attacked the camp itself; and, finding it unguarded, consigned it to the flames. Of the enemy, 40,000 perished in that dreadful night; more than 5,000 were made prisoners; and only a few escaped with Hasdrubal and Syphax. Shortly after, these two commanders reappeared at the head of 30,000 men, but were again completely defeated.

RECALL OF HANNIBAL (B. C. 203).—These repeated disasters so alarmed the Carthaginians, that they recalled Hannibal. He quitted Italy in B. C. 203, to the great joy of the Romans. For more than 15 years had he carried on the war in that country, devastating it from one extremity to the other; and, during all this time, his superiority in the field had been uncontested. The Romans calculated that, in these fifteen years, their losses in the field alone amounted fully to 300,000 men. Hannibal reluctantly quitted the land where he had won so many victories. Before embarking, he suspended in the temple of Juno, at the extremity of the Lacinian promontory, a number of bronze tablets* on which were recorded in the Punic and Greek languages, the chief events of his Italian campaigns. In all of these, as Polybius remarks, shine his eminent courage, prudence, and ability; but especially in the latter, when beset by all difficulties, are his greatness of mind, fertility of genius, and wonderful skill as a leader, conspicuous.

BATTLE OF ZAMA (B. C. 202).—Hannibal sailed from Crotona in the autumn of B. C. 203. He departed unmolested, landed at Leptis, and spent the winter at Hadrumentum. His arrival revived the hopes of the Carthaginians, who now looked forward to a favorable termination of the war. Hannibal, however, formed a truer estimate of the real state of affairs. He saw that the loss of a battle would be the ruin of Carthage, and he was therefore anxious to conclude a peace before it was too late. He asked for a personal interview with Scipio. It took place on an eminence between the two armies; and the generals, on meeting, are

* These were seen by Polybius, and may have served to correct the boastful narratives of the Roman annalists.

said to have gazed for some time at each other in silent admiration. Hannibal spoke first and with great dignity ; but being unable to obtain any abatement of the hard conditions laid down by Scipio, he was forced to continue the war. Into the details of the campaign, which are related very differently, it is unnecessary to enter. The decisive battle was fought Oct. 19, on the Bagradas, not far from the city of Zama. In it Hannibal, according to the express testimony of his antagonist, displayed all his eminent qualities. But he was now particularly deficient in that formidable cavalry which had so often decided the victory in his favor ; his elephants were rendered unavailing by the skillful management of Scipio ; and, notwithstanding the heroic exertions of his veteran infantry, the battle ended in his complete defeat—a result due rather to the valor and confidence of the well-disciplined legions, than to any superiority of their chief over his rival. Yet, Scipio was thereby elevated to the highest pinnacle of glory, as the conqueror of the conqueror of Trasimenus and Cannæ.

END OF THE WAR (B. C. 201).—Scipio used his victory with moderation. Carthage lay at last at the feet of Rome, and there were many who urged her entire destruction after the manner of Veii, or the treatment, little less severe, which had been inflicted on Capua and Tarentum. But Scipio withstood the clamor of his revengeful countrymen. He abstained from demanding the delivery of Hannibal, and allowed Carthage to retain her own laws and her African territory. But she was required to surrender all her ships of war except 10 triremes, and all her elephants ; to acknowledge Masinissa as king of Numidia ; to give up all claims to foreign possessions ; to make no war, even in Africa, without the consent of Rome ; to pay 10,000 talents of silver in the course of fifty years, and to deliver 100 hostages. Hannibal himself proved to his countrymen the necessity of submission. The terms were accepted, and in the following year, B. C. 201, peace was formally concluded.

TRIUMPH OF SCIPIO (B. C. 201).—Scipio then returned to Italy, and entered Rome in triumph. He was received with universal enthusiasm ; the surname of *Africanus* was conferred upon him, and the people, in their gratitude, were anxious to distinguish him with the most extraordinary marks of honor. It is related that they were ready to make him consul and dictator for life ; but he prudently declined all these invidious distinctions.

LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF HANNIBAL.—After the battle of Zama, Hannibal was, for a time, treated with consideration by his countrymen. But, incurring the suspicions of the aristocratic faction at Carthage, he withdrew first to Tyre, and thence to the court of Antiochus the Great, whom he emboldened by his very presence to a war against the Romans. His last asylum was the court of Prusias, king of Bithynia. The Romans demanding from this prince the surrender of his illustrious guest, the latter swallowed a draught of poison, B. C. 183. He was 63 years of age. By general consent, he is looked upon as the most eminent of ancient commanders.

CAUSE OF THE SUCCESS OF THE ROMANS.—The Romans were devout believers in Fortune; there was no deity to whom they paid their vows more assiduously. To Fortune they fondly referred their preservation from destruction by the Etruscans under Porsena, by the Volscians under Coriolanus, by the Gauls under Brennus, by the Samnites under Pontius, by the Greeks under Pyrrhus, and now, lastly, by the Carthaginians under Hannibal. But there is no doubt that this continued success was really due to their splendid military organization, and especially to their own superiority of character. They had a strength and firmness of mind which gave them confidence in themselves, and in one another. They had a sense of mutual dependence and of brotherly feeling. Above all, they were conspicuous for self-command; and, side by side with this quality, grew up the power to command others, and the consciousness that they were fit to rule mankind.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE ROMANS COMMENCE THE CONQUEST OF THE EAST.

B. C. 200–188.

WAR WITH PHILIP OF MACEDON.—The Roman republic was now the most powerful state in the ancient world. Her legions had been trained to war by long struggles with Gauls, Spaniards, and Africans, and were superior to all other troops in discipline, experience, and valor. She now naturally

turned her eyes toward the east, whose effeminate nations seemed to offer an easy conquest.

About the time of the battle of Cannæ, Philip of Macedon, as before related, had promised his help to Hannibal against the Romans, and 4,000 men sent by him had fought on the side of Carthage, at Zama. Now that Rome was disengaged from her gigantic struggle, it was determined to chastise him. The first two years of the war, B. C. 200-199, no important success was achieved. But, under the consul T. Quinctius Flaminius, who took the command in B. C. 198, the war was carried on with energy and vigor. Philip was forced to shut himself up with his army in his stronghold of Pella, and Rome assumed the protectorate of the Achæan League. The war, however, was not brought to a close until the following year, when the two armies met at Cynoscephalæ (dog's head), a range of hills near Scotussa, in Thessaly.

BATTLE OF CYNOSCEPHALÆ (B. C. 197).—The Macedonian army was disposed in two phalanxes, each of 8,000 men. The first of these broke through the lines of the legions, which, however, closed in upon it again with no material loss; the other was attacked while in process of formation, and scattered to the winds. Philip's defeat was so complete that he sued for peace, and was glad to accept from the Romans easier terms than he could have obtained from his enemies nearer home. It was not the policy of Rome to crush men who might hereafter be useful to her as allies. She required him to pay the sum of 2,000 talents, deliver up his galleys, give his son Demetrius as a hostage, and evacuate all the Grecian cities which were garrisoned by his troops.

DECLARATION OF GRECIAN INDEPENDENCE (B. C. 196).—For a year after the battle of Cynoscephalæ, the Greeks did not know what the terms of peace were. The time arrived for the Isthmian games. An immense concourse met to celebrate them, anxious also to learn their future destinies. Thither came Flaminius, who caused it to be proclaimed that the senate, and T. Quinctius, its general, had liberated the whole of Greece from the power of Macedonia. The Greeks, in a frenzy of joy, pressed forward eager to kiss the hands of their deliverer, and covered him with such profusion of garlands and crowns of flowers, as to put him in some danger of being suffocated. Little did they reflect

that they had but changed masters. Yet, under the protectorate of Rome, Greece enjoyed a period of repose, if not the brightest, the happiest perhaps in the course of her annals.

WAR WITH ANTIOCHUS (B. C. 191).—King Antiochus III of Syria, glorying in some successes gained over the Bactrians and Indians, and exulting in the title of Great, was bent upon restoring the empire of a Cyrus or a Xerxes. Encouraged by the presence of Hannibal and the invitation of the Ætolians, he ventured to erect fortresses on the European shores of the Hellespont; and, in defiance of the threats of Rome, advanced into the heart of Greece. But, at Thermopylæ, he was encountered and driven back across the sea by the consul Acilius.

THE ROMANS IN ASIA.—In the following year, B. C. 191, the Roman legions, under Lucius Scipio and Africanus, first set foot in Asia. The forces of Antiochus were numerous, and they were commanded by Hannibal himself. But even he could make nothing of the wretched Asiatics who marched under his standards. They were scattered, like chaff before the wind, by the hardy warriors of Rome, fresh from the schools of Gaulish and Spanish warfare. Antiochus was soon reduced to sue for peace.

BATTLE OF MAGNESIA (B. C. 190).—As a preliminary condition of peace, the Romans commanded Antiochus to evacuate Asia Minor. He preferred to risk another battle. This was fought and won by Lucius Scipio, at Magnesia. In it, 30,000 Romans with hardly any loss overthrew 60,000 Asiatics, of whom they slew 50,000. On that day the fate of Asia was sealed. Antiochus at once yielded all that was required of him—his claim to Asia minor, his chariots, his elephants, his treasures, his fleet. He would doubtless have given up Hannibal also; but the Carthaginian had already made good his escape.

LAST YEARS AND DEATH (B. C. 183) OF AFRICANUS.—Lucius Scipio brought back to Rome enormous treasures, and in imitation of his brother assumed the title of *Asiaticus*. But his treatment of Antiochus was denounced as too lenient. Lucius even was charged with malversation in his accounts; whereupon Publius indignantly tore up the papers presented to him against his brother, which conduct brought upon him a charge of arrogance and incivism. Lucius was heavily fined. Africanus, on being accused before the peo-

ple, disdained to reply except by recounting his own signal services. Reminding the Romans that the day of his trial was the anniversary of the victory at Zama, he called upon them to desist from this miserable prosecution, and to follow him up to the Capitol, there to return thanks to the immortal gods. This bold stroke succeeded. But, disgusted with his countrymen, he withdrew to Liternum in Campania, and never again visited Rome. When he died, he forbade his remains to be carried thither for interment.

SUBJUGATION OF THE ÆTOLIAN LEAGUE (B. C. 189).—After the battle of Magnesia, the Romans were at leisure to punish the Ætolians for their connection with Antiochus. The consul M. Fulvius Nobilior took their chief town Ambracia, after an obstinate resistance, and compelled them to submit. They were required to acknowledge the supremacy of Rome, to renounce all the conquests they had recently made, to pay an indemnity of 500 talents, and to engage in future to aid the Romans in all their wars. Henceforth the Ætolian League existed no longer but in name.

GALATIAN WAR (B. C. 189).—Whilst Fulvius was reducing the Ætolians, his colleague, Cn. Manlius Vulso, was in Asia Minor, whither he had been sent to arrange the affairs of that country. But he was dissatisfied with the subordinate part allotted to him, and longed for an opportunity of acquiring booty as well as military glory. This opportunity he found in the aid which the Galatians had lately afforded to Antiochus. He therefore attacked them, though he had no warrant for so doing from either the senate or the people, setting a precedent since followed by too many others of his nation. The Galatians were defeated in two battles; and, as they had accumulated enormous wealth by their depredations in Asia, this campaign greatly enriched Manlius and his legions.

SETTLEMENT OF ASIA MINOR (B. C. 188).—Manlius next devoted his attention to the settling of Asia Minor. To Eumenes, king of Pergamus, he assigned Mysia, Lydia, and part of Caria, leaving to the Rhodians the rest of the last-named province together with Lycia and Pisidia. But these countries, henceforth, were in reality administered in dependence upon Rome, whose empire now virtually extended to the frontiers of Cilicia.

EFFECTS OF THE EASTERN WARS.—Manlius returned to Rome in B. C. 187, and his triumph, like that of Scipio

Asiaticus, was most magnificent. But his soldiers, like Scipio's, introduced into the city the luxuries of the east. These campaigns exercised a most pernicious influence upon the Romans, teaching them to love war for the sake of acquiring wealth, and prompting them to acts of robbery and rapine.

CHAPTER XV.

WAR WITH THE CISALPINE GAULS, THE LIGURIANS, SPANIARDS, CORSICANS, SARDINIANS, AND ISTRANS.—B. C. 200–175.

CISALPINE GAUL MADE A PROVINCE (B. C. 191).—The second Punic war had hardly been concluded, when, at the instigation of a Carthaginian officer called Hamilcar, the Gauls on both sides of the Po, and the Ligurians, a race of hardy mountaineers inhabiting the upper Apennines and the Maritime Alps, took up arms against Rome. Their first exploit was the destruction of the Roman colony of Placentia, B. C. 200. They next laid siege to Cremona, the other stronghold of the Roman dominion in Northern Italy. But, before its fall, there came assistance from Rome; and the senate now determined to accomplish the thorough subjugation of these tribes. The Insubres and the Cenomani, to the north of the Po, soon submitted; but the Boii, though betrayed by their countrymen, resisted for several years, and it was not till B. C. 191 that the consul P. Cornelius Scipio Nasica received their final submission. He slaughtered them without mercy, and boasted that he spared only old men and children.* Cisalpine Gaul became a Roman province, and gradually adopted the language and customs of the conqueror. The submission of the people was secured by the foundation of new colonies and the formation of military roads.

THE LIGURIAN WAR.—The subjugation of the Ligurians proved a more difficult task. These hardy mountaineers continued the war, with intermissions, for a period of 80 years. The Romans often penetrated into the heart of Liguria; but

* Many of the Boii sought a new home on the banks of the Danube. Multitudes of others were transplanted into Samnium and other depopulated tracts of Central Italy.

seldom could effect anything beyond compelling the native to disperse, and take refuge in their fastnesses, where they were generally able to defy the invaders.

TWO PROVINCES FORMED IN SPAIN (B. C. 198).—In B. C. 198, the Romans, wishing to consolidate their dominion in Spain, divided it into two provinces, *Hispania Citerior* and *Hispania Ulterior*, or Hither and Farther Spain, with the Ibērus as the line of division. But it was little more than the eastern coast of the peninsula that was really subject to Rome. Over the Celtiberians in central Spain, the Lusitanians in the west, and the Cantabrians and Gallæcians in the northwest, her supremacy was purely nominal.

WAR IN SPAIN (B. C. 197).—When these tribes perceived that the Romans intended to occupy the country permanently, they broke out into a general insurrection, and the prætor Sempronius was slain. Without cities, without commissariat, without military organization of any kind, and without allies, they yet maintained a guerilla warfare, which long defied the power of Rome. Victory after victory was gained by the discipline and endurance of the legions, with little result except the devastation of the country.

VICTORIES OF CATO IN SPAIN (B. C. 195).—Conspicuous among the Roman leaders sent to put down the Spanish insurrection, was the consul M. Porcius Cato. On his arrival in Spain (B. C. 195), the whole country was in arms. But his military genius and indefatigable industry soon reestablished the superiority of Rome. He gained several decisive victories, contrived to set tribe against tribe, and took native mercenaries into his pay. The details of his campaigns are full of horrors. We read of the wholesale slaughter of men who had laid down their arms, of multitudes sold into captivity, or who put themselves to death to escape the doom of slavery. Cato boasted that he had destroyed more strongholds* in Spain, than he had spent days in that country. When he had reduced the whole of Hither Spain to a hollow, sullen, and temporary submission, he returned to Rome, and was rewarded with a triumph.

END OF THE SPANISH WAR (B. C. 179).—The severe measures of Cato only exasperated the Spaniards. They again took up arms, and continued the resistance for the next 16 years, till Tiberius Sempronius Gracchus, the father

*400 between the Pyrenees and the Bætis.

of the celebrated tribunes, after gaining several brilliant victories over the Celtiberians, granted them an honorable peace. By his wise measures and conciliatory conduct he won the affection of the natives, and induced them to submit to Roman supremacy.

WARS IN ISTRIA (B. C. 178).—The Istrians, near the head of the Adriatic Gulf, had been conquered by the Romans just before the second Punic war. But their complete subjugation was now necessary, on account of their proximity to the newly-formed province of Cisalpine Gaul. Accordingly the consuls invaded Istria in B. C. 178, and in the following year the whole people was reduced to submission.

THE SARDINIAN AND CORSICAN WAR (B. C. 177-175).—In B. C. 177, disturbances occurred in Corsica and Sardinia, which were controlled by Sempronius Gracchus; and so many of the natives were sold into slavery as to give rise to the proverb *Sardi venales*, or Sardis to sell, for anything that was cheap and worthless.

CHAPTER XVI.

CATO THE CENSOR (B. C. 234-149).

HIS YOUTH.—The Romans were originally a hardy, industrious, and religious race, distinguished by unbending integrity and love of order. They lived with great frugality upon their small farms, which they cultivated with their own hands; but they were stern and somewhat cruel, and cared little or nothing for literature and the arts. Of this old Roman character, M. Porcius Cato may be taken as one of the last representatives. He was born at Tusculum, in B. C. 234. When still young, the death of his father put him in possession of a small estate, in the Sabine territory. Here he passed his boyhood, hardening his body by sharing the operations of the field. Near his estate was an humble cottage, once the habitation of M. Curius Dentatus, whose warlike exploits and simple character were still talked of in the neighborhood. The life of such a man Cato resolved to imitate.

HIS PRETORSHIP AND CONSULSHIP.—Cato took his first military lessons in the campaigns against Hannibal, and gained the favor and friendship of Fabius Maximus. He was also patronized by his neighbor L. Valerius Flaccus, a Roman noble, and a warm supporter of old manners, who had observed Cato's eloquence, as well as martial spirit. Through the favor of these patrons, he became questor in B. C. 204. Six years later, he was sent as pretor to Sardinia, where he at once reduced his principles to practice. He diminished official expenses, walked his circuits with a single attendant, and administered justice with strict impartiality.

During his consulship, B. C. 195, occurred an event particularly illustrative of Roman manners. In B. C. 215, at the height of the Punic war, a law had been passed that no woman should possess more than $\frac{1}{2}$ ounce of gold, nor wear garments of divers colors, nor drive a horse within a mile of the city, except for attending religious solemnities. Now that Rome abounded with Carthaginian wealth, two tribunes proposed the repeal of this law; but they were opposed by two of their colleagues, who had the hearty support of Cato. But, in spite of the consul, the women carried the day. Worn out by importunities, the tribunes yielded; and by the suffrage of all the tribes the hated law was abolished, and the ornaments restored.—Of Cato's warfare in Spain, during his consulship, an account has been already given. He also served in Greece under Glabrio, and distinguished himself at the battle of Thermopylæ, fought against Antiochus (B. C. 191).

HIS CENSORSHIP (B. C. 184).—Cato's censorship was a great epoch in his life. The duties of this office he discharged conscientiously, regardless of the enemies he was making. He repaired the aqueducts, paved the reservoirs, cleansed the drains, raised the rent paid by the *publicani*,* and diminished the contract prices for public works. There can be no doubt that great abuses existed in the management of the finances, with which nothing but Cato's undaunted courage and administrative abilities could have successfully grappled. But he was disturbing a nest of hornets, whose buzz and attempts to sting disturbed the remainder of his life. No fewer than 44 times was he accused, and yet his

*Farmers of the public revenues.

enemies prevailed against him but once. His enactments against luxury are mentioned as particularly severe and stringent. He levied a heavy tax upon expensive slaves, rich dresses, and costly furnitures.

CATO'S PUNISHMENT OF FLAMININUS.—The consul L. Flamininus, a brother of the illustrious T. Quinctius, took with him to the scene of war, in Cisalpine Gaul (B. C. 192), a beautiful Carthaginian boy, to whom he was much attached. With this youth Flamininus was once feasting, when a Boian chief came to the consul's tent to implore his protection. The boy being dejected at having left Rome without witnessing the games of the gladiators, Flamininus, as a compensation for this, ordered an attendant to stab the Gaul, that his favorite might enjoy the dying agonies of the man. For such an atrocious deed Cato, during his censorship, degraded Flamininus from the senate.

CATO'S CHARACTER.—Throughout life, Cato's conduct was guided by prejudices against classes and nations whose influence was contrary, he thought, to the simplicity of the old Roman character. When Eumenes, king of Pergamus, visited Rome, Cato, indignant at the honors showered upon this royal personage by the senate and the great, refused to approach him, declaring that 'kings were naturally carnivorous animals.' He had an antipathy to physicians, because they were mostly Greeks, and unfit to be trusted with Roman lives. Diogenes, Critolaus, and Carneades having come to Rome as envoys from Athens, the last of these attracted much attention by advocating expediency as a virtue distinct from justice, and feared not to illustrate his doctrine by the example of the Romans themselves, who, 'if stripped of all that they had not justly gained,' he said, 'might return to their huts.' Fearing the effect of such teaching, Cato advised what the senate adopted: "Let the deputies as soon as possible be answered, and politely dismissed." Harsh, punctilious, censorious, and occasionally cruel, Cato entertained no feelings of humanity, where they opposed his stern sense of duty in advancing the interests either of the state, or of the farm, or of the household. The Roman law held slaves to be mere chattels; Cato treated his as such, chastised them himself, thong in hand, for trifling acts of negligence, and sometimes had them put to death. When they were worn out or useless, he sold them, or turned them out of doors. As years advanced, he sought gain with increas-

ing eagerness, and became a speculator, not only in slaves, but in buildings, artificial waters, and pleasure-grounds. From his public functions, however, he never would derive any profit; he accepted no bribes, he reserved no booty to his own use. In old age, yielding to the popular current, he applied himself to the study of Greek literature, and became especially fond of Demosthenes and Thucydides. He was also, considering the age in which he lived, an orator and historian of repute.

CHAPTER XVII.

FALL OF MACEDON, GREECE, AND CARTHAGE.

—B. C. 171-146.

ACCESSION OF PERSEUS IN MACEDON (B. C. 179).—The Romans, intoxicated with the extraordinary fortunes of their empire, now cast aside all moderation. Foreseeing the danger to which their ruthless ambition and unbridled greed of plunder exposed his kingdom, Philip of Macedon, had spent the latter years of his reign in preparing for resistance. To the men and money that he had provided, Perseus, his son, added the further security of alliances with the Greeks and Asiatic princes, as well as with the Thracian, Illyrian, and Celtic tribes which surrounded his dominions. By these measures Roman jealousy was aroused; and, on the suggestion of Eumenes, king of Pergamus, Perseus was charged with injuring the allies of Rome.

CONQUEST OF MACEDON (B. C. 171-168).—War was declared, and in the first encounter the consul Licinius was worsted. Perseus still offered to make terms, but was told that Rome would never negotiate with an armed enemy; he must yield unconditionally. Thus driven to despair, he nerved himself for the contest, and for two years was able to prolong a successful resistance. But the struggle was brought to a close by the abilities of the consul L. Æmilius Paulus, who, in B. C. 168, gained the decisive victory of Pydna, and broke the power of the ancient kingdom of Macedon. From the field of battle, Perseus fled to Pella, then to Amphipolis, and finally to the sanctuary of the sacred

island of Samothrace, but was at length obliged to surrender himself to a Roman squadron. He was treated with courtesy, but was reserved to adorn the triumph of his conqueror; and died a few years later, in prison.

MACEDONIA A ROMAN PROVINCE (B. C. 151).—The Romans transported all the chief people of Macedonia into Italy, and divided the country into four distinct governments, whose inhabitants were forbidden to intermarry. It was not till 17 years later (B. C. 151), that an unsuccessful revolt gave them the opportunity of finally destroying the independence of Macedonia, and converting it into a Roman province.

ARBITRARY CONDUCT OF ROME.—After the war with Perseus, such of the allies of Rome who had manifested some sympathy for the last asserter of independence, were mercilessly punished. Rhodes was deprived of her continental territory in Asia Minor. In Epirus, the gallant Æmilius Paulus was made the instrument of a ruthless devastation. Having placed garrisons in her 70 towns, he razed them all to the ground in one day, and carried off 150,000 inhabitants as slaves. Eumenes, king of Pergamus, came in person to deprecate the anger of the senate, but was not allowed to enter Rome. The king of Bithynia, Prusias, gained admittance into the city only through mean and servile adulation; he appeared with his head shaven, as a liberated slave.

TREATMENT OF THE ACHÆANS.—It was impossible to fix on the Achæan government any act of disloyalty, and yet their time too was come. On the evidence of various despots and traitors, but especially of one Callicrates, more than 1,000 eminent Achæans were charged with having had communication with Perseus. They were required to defend themselves from the charge, at Rome. Once in Italy, they were detained without trial, and placed under surveillance in distant provincial towns.

ACHÆAN HOSTAGES (B. C. 167–151).—Among these hostages was the historian Polybius. He was permitted to reside at Rome, in the house of Æmilius Paulus, where he became the intimate friend of his son Scipio Africanus the Younger. After an exile of 17 years, the hostages, now only 300 in number, were allowed to return to their homes—a favor due to the pity of Cato and the friendship of Scipio. When the senate discussed the question of their dismissal, Cato did not interpose till the end of a long debate, and then simply asked: “Have we nothing to do but to sit here all day

debating whether a parcel of worn-out Greeks shall be carried to their graves here or in Achaia?" and when Polybius begged, that, with the permission to depart they might be also restored to their former honors, Cato said smilingly, "Beware of returning to the den of the Cyclops to fetch away trifles."

THE ACHÆAN WAR (B. C. 147-146).—Soon after the return of the exiles, the government of the league passed into the hands of Diæus and Critolaus, who, forgetting their complete dependence on the Roman power, incited the Achæans to attack Sparta. The reason alleged was, that, instead of consulting the League on a question of boundary, they had appealed to Rome. The Spartans, being too weak to resist, invoked Roman aid; and, in B. C. 147, two commissioners came to settle the dispute. Treated with insolence by the Achæans, they commanded that Sparta, Argos, and Corinth, should be restored to independence. This decision increased the discontent of the Achæans. Serious riots occurred at Corinth, and the envoys narrowly escaped violence; nor would Critolaus, now strategus of the League, make any satisfaction. War being declared, the misguided patriots were defeated; and the Romans, after vainly offering easy terms of submission, advanced to Corinth.

SACK OF CORINTH (B. C. 146).—A last battle fought under the walls of Corinth, brought the struggle to a close. The Achæans were so confident of victory, that they placed their wives and children on the summit of the neighboring hills, to be spectators of the combat. They even prepared a large number of carts, to be loaded with the spoils of the enemy. How groundless their presumptuous confidence was, soon became manifest. Their army, quickly broken, gave way on all sides. Corinth was immediately evacuated, not only by the troops, but also by the greater part of the inhabitants. The few males who remained were put to the sword, the women and children sold, the treasures carried away, and the houses consigned to the flames.* Numberless were the bronzes, pictures, and statues destroyed on this occasion. Many, however, of the ancient masterpieces were saved by the conquerors. But so insensible was Mummius to their excellence, as to stipulate with the carriers who con-

* A hundred years later, Corinth was replanted as a Roman colony, and rose once more to eminence.

veyed them to Rome, that, in case any were lost or injured on the way, they should be replaced by others of equal value !

PROVINCE OF ACHAIA.—With the fall of Corinth vanished the last shadow of Grecian liberty. The whole country to the borders of Macedonia and Epirus, was formed into a Roman province, under the name of Achaia. Greece, however, preserved a kind of sovereignty of which her conquerors could not deprive her, and to which even themselves rendered implicit homage. She continued to be the teacher of art, and the model of taste. It was to an assiduous study of the Greek language and literature, that Rome was indebted for the many orators, historians, and poets, whose writings shed such lustre on the Roman name, and rendered the Augustan age nearly equal to that of Pericles.

ORIGIN OF THE THIRD PUNIC WAR.—The same year that witnessed the ruin of Corinth, was signalized also by the destruction of Carthage. Owing to the reforms introduced by Hannibal and to the commercial activity of its people, this city had regained some degree of prosperity. Rome looked with a jealous eye upon its reviving power, and encouraged Masinissa to make repeated aggressions upon its territory. Carthage dared not retaliate otherwise than by sending complaints to Rome, which the senate disregarded. At last the popular party obtaining more weight, a stand was taken against these encroachments. Thereupon a deputation, headed by Cato, was sent to mediate. The arbitration of these envoys was accepted by Masinissa, but rejected by the Carthaginians, who had no confidence in Roman justice.

‘DELEND A EST CARTHAGO.’—Meanwhile the Roman deputies observed the warlike preparations of the Carthaginians, signs of which were everywhere visible. Above all the strength of Carthage and the extent of her population excited their wonder. Cato became convinced that she was far too powerful a neighbor ; and therefore never afterward spoke in the senate upon any subject, without ending his speech with the words, ‘*Delenda est Carthago*, Carthage must be destroyed.’

ROMAN DECEIT.—Cato’s opinion prevailed ; and a defeat suffered by Masinissa, who had invaded the Carthaginian territory, gave the Romans the pretext for which they were waiting. War was declared, and 80,000 men, under the consuls Marcius Censorinus and Manlius Nepos, were dispatched

to Africa. This move led to a change in the government at Carthage; and the aristocratical party, again in power, sought by unconditional obedience to avert impending ruin. First they sent 300 hostages of noble birth to Sicily, where they were to know the further orders of the senate. But, here, the communication was still deferred. Arrived at Utica, the consuls first required the surrender of that city; they next informed the Carthaginians, that, as their state would henceforth be under the protection of Rome, munitions of war were no longer necessary, and must therefore be surrendered. The Punic government yielded to this demand also, and brought to the Roman camp 200,000 stand of arms with 2,000 catapults. Thinking the Carthaginians now totally defenceless, the consuls finally threw off the mask, and announced the decision of the senate: "That Carthage must be destroyed, but that its inhabitants were at liberty to build for themselves another city, on any site ten miles inland."

PREPARATIONS OF THE CARTHAGINIANS, (B. C. 149).—This terrible announcement filled the Carthaginians with rage, and they resolved to perish rather than submit to their perfidious foe. The popular party again rose to power, and efforts almost superhuman were made to procure the means of defence. Corn was collected from every quarter, arms were manufactured day and night, the women cut off their hair to furnish material for bowstrings, and the whole city became one vast workshop.

SIEGE OF CARTHAGE (B. C. 149-146).—Such efforts were not without result. For three years the Carthaginians stood at bay behind their walls; and Hasdrubal, who commanded their forces in the field, held his own successfully against the Roman consul. But the siege was doggedly maintained; and, in the course of it, the Roman army more than once owed its safety to the skill and bravery of a young military tribune, Scipio Æmilianus, son of Æmilius Paulus, who had been adopted by the son of the great Africanus. In 147, Scipio visited Rome to offer himself a candidate for the edileship; but so great was his reputation, that, though he was only 37 years old, the people elected him consul, and assigned him Africa for his province.

DESTRUCTION OF CARTHAGE (B. C. 146).—Scipio's first step was to restore discipline to the army. He next stormed Megara, a suburb of Carthage; and then proceeded so to close the entrance of the harbor, as to cut off the city

from all supplies by sea. But, while he was engaged in this laborious task, the besieged built fifty new ships in their inner port, and cut another channel communicating with the ocean. This fleet, however, was destroyed after a three days' fight, and at last Scipio was ready for a final assault. In this supreme encounter, the Carthaginians struggled with the courage of despair. During six whole days they fought from street to street, from house to house, until the last 50,000 defenders, who had been driven into the Acropolis of Byrsa,* accepted quarter, and were conducted under a strong guard into the country. The city was sacked, then levelled to the ground. A portion of its dominions was assigned to Utica. The remainder was formed into a Roman province, under the name of Africa.

LATER HISTORY OF CARTHAGE.—Thus fell Carthage, once the seat of commerce, the repository of wealth, and the chief emporium of the ancient world. About 120 years later, it was rebuilt by Augustus, and rose again, under the succeeding emperors of Rome, to be the capital of Africa. It was finally destroyed by the Arabs in A. D. 647.

RECENT EXCAVATIONS AT CARTHAGE.—From the destruction of Carthage by the Arabs, its ruins were left undisturbed till A. D. 1837, when excavations were begun by a group† of scholars and distinguished amateurs. Resumed in 1860 and again in 1874, the work of discovery has been lately (1884) taken in hand by the French government. The little that has thus far been done, shows that Punic Carthage has not entirely perished. Its remains lie buried under some 20 feet of ruins belonging to the Arab, the Byzantine, and the Roman period.

The excavations have brought to light a vast number of antique coins, mosaics, inscriptions, and fragments of sculpture, which, however, give us no exalted idea of Punic art. The few discovered specimens of architecture, are also of a very inferior style, remarkable for solidity rather than for beauty. Of the cisterns connected with every Punic house,

* Appian tells us that this part of the town was the most thickly peopled, and contained many houses six stories high.

† The association formed (A. D. 1837) for the purpose of excavating ancient sites in Northern Africa, consisted of Dureau de la Malle, Raoul-Rochette, Count Portalès, Sir Grenville Temple, and Falbe—an officer in the Danish navy. But the capital originally contributed for the enterprise, soon gave out, and no mention is made of the society after 1839.

which were built in a peculiar and very practical style, some, respected by the successive invaders, might still be used, if the site of Carthage were inhabited.

The language and writing of the inscriptions are in the ancient Punic, that is, a variety of Phœnician closely connected with the Hebrew. Indeed, it is chiefly through the Hebrew that these inscriptions have been deciphered. In a single spot, more than 500 slabs have been lately brought to light. From the nature and similarity of their inscriptions* and figures, they are thought to have belonged to a temple of the goddess Tanit. Most of them are surmounted by a small pediment, whereon are found a triangle crowned by a circle and various representations, such as, an open hand, a palm-tree, the moon, a lotus-flower, a dolphin, a ram, an anchor, a caduceus, and others. The lower part of the slabs is not polished—a circumstance which suggests that they were planted, tomb-like, in the court-yard or the outer precincts of the temple.

A chapel built by king Louis Philippe of France, and a more recently-erected convent now crowning the hill of Byrsa, are about to receive additions, alike extensive and monumental, and may, perhaps, form the nucleus of a modern Carthage. Pope Leo XIII has lately revived the archiepiscopal see of St. Cyprian.

CHAPTER XVIII.

SPANISH WARS (B. C. 153-133).—FIRST SERVILE WAR (B. C. 134-132).

THE PROVINCE OF ASIA (B. C. 129).

WAR WITH THE CELTIBERIANS (B. C. 153-152).—In B. C. 153, the inhabitants of the Celtiberian town of Segeda,

* These inscriptions are very monotonous. The following translation of one of them may give an idea of the whole series: "To our Lady Tanit and to our Lord Baal-Ammon, vow made by Bodmelcarth, son of Hannibal, son of Bodmelcarth, in acknowledgment of having listened to his prayers! May they bless him!"

contrary to the treaty made with S. Gracchus (B. C. 179), began to rebuild their walls. A fresh war with Rome was the consequence. The Celtiberians espousing the cause of their countrymen, the Romans at first met with serious resistance. But, before long, all opposition was overcome and peace restored.

MASSACRE OF THE LUSITANIANS (B. C. 150).—The Roman commanders now turned their arms against certain Spanish tribes yet unsubdued—the Vaccaei, Cantabri, and Lusitanians. The pretor Ser. Sulpicius Galba, having ventured into the heart of Lusitania, was defeated with great loss, and barely escaped with a few horsemen. Eager to wash away this stain, he again (B. C. 150) invaded the country from the south, while Lucullus attacked it from the north. Thus hemmed in between two armies, the Lusitanians sent ambassadors to offer submission. Galba received them with apparent kindness, promising to assign them fertile lands, if they would meet him in three bodies with their wives and children, in three different places which he indicated. Multitudes of unsuspecting people came as directed, but were butchered—men, women, children—without distinction. For this outrage, Galba was impeached at Rome. But he was eloquent and wealthy; and the liberal use of money, together with the compassion excited by his weeping children, obtained his acquittal.

VIRIATHUS (B. C. 150-140).—Among those who escaped from the massacre was Viriathus, a man of low birth, but of lofty sentiments, great energy of soul, and uncommon natural abilities. Placing himself at the head of his surviving countrymen, who were now quite unwilling to submit to the rule of a people equally treacherous and cruel, by open force or stratagem he opposed a determined resistance; and, surprising (B. C. 141) the proconsul Fabius Servilianus in a narrow pass where escape was impossible, generously suffered the Romans to depart, uninjured, on condition that the Lusitanians should retain their lands and be acknowledged as allies of Rome. The senate ratified the treaty. But the consul Cæpio soon found a pretext for renewing the war; and, when Viriathus sent him envoys to propose fresh terms of peace, he persuaded them, by promise of large rewards, to murder their chieftain. With the death of Viriathus, the resistance of the Lusitanians virtually ended. Their country was finally brought to subjection in B. C. 138.

THE NUMANTINE WAR (B. C. 144-133).—The war with Viriathus was not yet at an end, when the Romans found themselves engaged in fresh hostilities with the Celtiberians. The struggle this time centered around Numantia, the capital of the Arevaci, the most powerful of the Celtiberian tribes. A favorable beginning was followed by disaster to the Roman arms, and the consul C. Hostilius Mancinus, on one occasion, escaped destruction with his whole army only by recognizing Celtiberian independence. But this treaty was shamefully repudiated by the senate; and the war being renewed, the Romans met with fresh disasters. Thereupon, turning to Scipio Africanus, they sent him to Spain (B. C. 134).

REVIVAL OF DISCIPLINE.—Here, as in Africa, the efforts of the new commander were first directed to the restoration of discipline. He removed from the camp whatever savored of effeminacy or mere comfort, compelling the soldiers to make long marches, each man carrying his baggage, arms, and provisions for 15 or 20 days. He required them to dig trenches, to build walls, and erect palisades, for the mere purpose of inuring them to labor. "Let them be covered with mud," he would say, "since they dare not be covered with the blood of the enemy."

DESTRUCTION OF NUMANTIA.—With 6000 men thus rendered efficient, Scipio proceeded to lay siege to Numantia. He surrounded it with a line of intrenchments composed of a ditch and wall flanked with towers. Want was soon felt in the beleaguered city. But it was not till its inhabitants had suffered the most dreadful famine, eating even the bodies of the dead, that the few survivors surrendered. Fifty of these were selected to grace the victor's triumph; the rest were sold as slaves, and the town was razed to the ground. Numantia never again rose from its ruins; but its gallant defence against overwhelming odds, deserves to be commemorated to the end of time.

SERVILE WAR IN SICILY (134-132).—Owing to the protracted wars of which Sicily was the theatre, there had been here, as in Italy, a great decrease of the free population, with a proportionate increase in the number of slaves. Of these the recent conquests of the republic furnished an inexhaustible supply; and in consequence they were cheap, and the masters, not caring for their lives, treated them with great barbarity. It was an aggravation of their misery, that

most of them were once freemen; and that, in intelligence and education, many were equal or superior to their masters. Of this last class Sicily had a great number, a large proportion of the slaves with which the island swarmed being Greeks or Syrians. Here it was that the first servile war broke out.

Demophilus, a wealthy land-owner of Enna, by his cruelty drove his slaves to despair. Led by a Syrian named Eunus, who pretended to the gift of prophecy and promised them the victory, they assembled to the number of 400 men, attacked Enna, and, being joined by other slaves within the town, quickly made themselves masters of the place. Eunus, while yet a slave, had prophesied that he would become king, and he now assumed the royal diadem. The Syrians thereupon rallied round him; and, the revolt becoming general, the island was delivered over to the murderous fury of men maddened by oppression, cruelty, and insult. For two years, the rebels defied both the pretors and the consuls of the republic; and it was not till B. C. 132 that the war was brought to a close by the taking of Taurometum and Enna, the two strongholds of the insurgents.

FORMATION OF THE PROVINCE OF ASIA (B. C. 129).—In B. C. 133 died Attalus III Philometor, king of Pergamus. This monarch, leaving no children, bequeathed his kingdom and treasures to the Roman people. The senate accepted the inheritance, but found it necessary to use force to make good the right thus acquired. For Aristonicus, a natural son of Eumenes II, laid claim to the crown, and opposed the Roman occupation. He gained at first some advantages over the Romans. But the latter finally prevailed; and, in B. C. 129, the kingdom of Pergamus was formed into the province of Asia. The foreign dominions of Rome now comprised the following provinces: Sicily, Sardinia and Corsica, the two Spains, Gallia Cisalpina, Macedonia, Illyricum, Achaia, Africa, and Asia.

PERGAMUS, the late capital of Attalus, first acquired prominence when Lysimachus, one of the generals of Alexander, chose it as the repository of his treasures; and under the Roman rule it continued to flourish, and became the focus of all the great military and commercial routes of Asia Minor. The library collected at Pergamus by its successive kings, was inferior only to that of Alexandria. This city was also the seat of a famous grammar-school, and it event-

ually gave its name to parchment.* Under the Byzantine emperors, Pergamus lost much of its importance; but the place (now *Bergamah*) is still noted for the splendor and magnificence of its ruins, which embrace temples, palaces, aqueducts, gymnasia, amphitheatres, and city walls.

CHAPTER XIX.

GOVERNMENT OF THE PROVINCES.—MORAL DECADENCE.—THE
NEW NOBILITY.—PAUPERISM.

EXTENT OF THE ROMAN DOMINION.—The power of Rome was now paramount in the four great peninsulas which project into the Mediterranean, and her authority was recognized in all the principal islands and at almost every point of the coast-line. Italy and Spain, Greece and Macedonia, Asia Minor, and the islands of the Tyrrhenian, the Ionian, and the Ægean Sea, were hers. Her province of Africa comprised the old dominion of Carthage, on either side of which the kingdoms of Egypt and Numidia merely enjoyed a nominal independence. In the south of Gaul, Massilia and Narbo, now the allies of the senate, were shortly to be used as the foundation of a Roman province of Gaul beyond the Alps.

ADMINISTRATION OF THE PROVINCES—REVENUES.—The organization of the provinces was not conducted on a uniform plan. Various communities were treated with varying degrees of indulgence. Some retained their old local government. Some received the Latin or the Italian franchise. Some continued in the enjoyment of their lands, or forfeited but a small part of their territory to the domain of the republic. But everywhere tolls and customs were levied;

* When Ptolemy, king of Egypt, prohibited the exportation of papyrus, there followed at once a greater demand for parchment. That of Pergamus, *Pergamena charta*, soon became famous for its abundance and quality. Hence the name *Pergamena*, corrupted into the English parchment, as the generic appellation for all writing materials prepared from the skins of animals. Till the invention of paper from rags, parchment remained the chief writing material, which circumstance, owing to the great durability of parchment, was most fortunate for literature.

a tax * was laid on the occupiers of the public pastures—so much for each beast—and a tenth of corn with a fifth of other produce was paid by those who tilled the public lands. These revenues were usually farmed by the Roman knights, who made large fortunes from the transaction. Public opinion at home was such as rather to stimulate, than to check, their extortions. For it became a settled maxim of Roman policy, that every penny extracted from the provincial for the enrichment of his ruler, was so much transferred of the sinews of war to the state from its enemies. Indeed the principle underlying the Roman administration of the provinces was, that the native races were to be regarded and treated as conquered subjects.

PROCONSULS AND PROPRETORS.—The government of the provinces was in fact a military occupation. Year by year at first, in later times every third year, a proconsul or a propretor, supported by one or more legions and numerous auxiliary battalions, arrived from Rome to assume the command; and, on all points, his word was law. Himself, his retinue, his troops, were maintained and furnished with houses and establishments out of the local revenues. He was supposed to serve the state gratuitously; but was practically left to remunerate himself by any indirect means of extortion. As supreme authority, both civil and military, was vested in him, his rule was too often one of tyranny and spoliation. The only check upon his rapacity and violence, was the fear of being impeached before the senate † at the end of his term. But, generally, the governor thus accused

* Called *scriptura*, because each grazier's name was *written down* as a debtor to the state for so much, according to the number of head of cattle he fed on the public pastures. The taxes from the tilled lands went under the generic appellation of *decumæ*, tenth part, or tithes, though that amount was paid on corn alone, whilst a fifth was required on other produce.—The wealth arising from these sources enabled the senate, on the conquest of Macedonia, to remit the land-tax from the entire soil of Italy.

† The knights, who were debarred from these guilty gratifications, kept a watch on the provincial rulers, and at first invoked the laws against them. Murder, bribery, peculation, corruption on the seat of justice, were crimes of which the comitia of the tribes took cognizance, and that assembly was not indisposed to judge severely the misdeeds of wealthy nobles. The senate, however, instituted a new tribunal, composed solely of members of their own order, to judge the class of offences here referred to, and thus foiled the attack of the knights.

could screen himself by bribing his judges, who, bred in the the same school of corruption, were guilty themselves of like crimes, and naturally anxious to aid one of their order. In fact, the time came when Roman governors boasted that three years of office sufficed to make their own fortunes, to reward their followers, and to purchase the suffrages of their judges.

INTERNAL CORRUPTION AT ROME.—Up to the time of the Syrian war, Roman patriotism, disinterestedness, and fortitude, had given little sign of decay. Yet, some of the high moral principles, so long the characteristics of Rome, were already trembling to their fall. Religious doubt first, then disbelief in the ancient sacred usages of the Italian and Etruscan nations, slowly crept in among the higher classes. Foreign superstitions, and these not of the purest cast, such as the sensual* worship of the Good Goddess (the Phrygian Cybele) and the spectacle of the *floralia*, were introduced, and became national schools of impurity. But lately, too, the law of divorce—the need of which was not felt for 500 years—had been passed (B. C. 231).

To accelerate moral depravity, the amazing successes of the Romans in the east brought them into immediate contact with Asiatic luxury. From that moment, the downward tendency became irresistible. Avarice, ambition, licentiousness, took the place of the old national virtues. Asia vanquished by Roman arms, in turn vanquished† its victors, and subjected them to its vices.

DAILY LIFE OF A NOBLE ROMAN.—Glancing at the manners and customs of the Romans of high rank at this period, we may observe how the life of the city becomes distinguished from that of the country, and that of the Campanian baths

* In B. C. 186, it was discovered that the worship of Bacchus had been introduced from Southern Italy into Rome and other towns; and that secret societies were formed, which, under the cloak of this worship, indulged in abominable practices. The most guilty members were put to death, and stringent laws enacted to prevent the recurrence of the evil.

† Sævior armis

¶ *Luxuria incubuit, victumque ulciscitur orbem.*—Juven.

Some of the Roman nobles acquired a love for Greek literature and art, but the great mass of the nation imitated only the vices of the Orientals. Cooks, who had formerly been the cheapest kind of slaves at Rome, now became the most valuable. A love of luxury and a general depravity spread through all classes of society.

from both. Of the first, the service of the state and the performance of public duties were the dominant idea. In the morning, the formal reception of freedmen, and the giving of legal opinions to clients; toward noon, public business in the forum or the senate-house; then, preparation for public speaking with hired rhetoricians, followed by retirement for a short mid-day sleep. The afternoon was devoted to active exercises in the Campus Martius, such as swimming, wrestling, and fencing. Supper followed, diversified with singing and buffoonery; and so to bed at sundown. In the country, the Roman was up with the sun to superintend his farm. Part of his day was devoted to hunting, fishing, and other field-sports, and the remainder to study, or writing, or sleep. At the baths, there was a complete holiday. Barefoot, and lightly clad in a Grecian dressing-gown, the Roman lounged through the day in idle gossip, in frequent bathing, in listening to the light songs and music of foreign artists.—The Roman was generally proud of his stern routine of self-imposed duty, and ashamed of these indolent relaxations; but the siren Sloth was gradually gaining his ear, and step by step the love of business gave way to the love of luxury and ease.

THE KNIGHTS.—The equestrian centuries, as before explained, included all the richest citizens; and, as the higher magistrates not only received no salary, but in their edileship had to bear the heavy expense of providing public amusement, none but rich men could aspire to curule magistracies, and accordingly none below the rank of knight were elected.

THE NOBLES.—Anyone who first obtained a curule magistracy, became the founder of the nobility of his family. Such a person was himself neither a *nobilis* nor an *ignobilis*, but a *novus homo*, a new man. His posterity ranked among the nobles (*nobiles*); and he and they were eligible to fill vacancies in the senate. Thus a new nobility grew at Rome, resting on wealth, and composed alike of plebeian and patrician families. The *nobiles* were outwardly distinguished from the *ignobiles* by the *jus imaginum* (right of images), that is, the privilege of keeping, in the *atrium* (reception-hall) of the house, figures of wax representing the ancestors who had held any of the curule magistracies; these figures were carried in the funeral procession of a member of the family.

THE SENATORS.—The number of senators, at this time, was still limited to 300.* A high standard of property was enforced, as a necessary qualification to enter, or remain in the senate; and every five years the censors revised the list, striking off the poor and unworthy, and selecting the most distinguished men to fill their places. Those who had attained to the rank of senators made strenuous exertions to maintain their own position, and to keep out from it those who were still only of knightly rank. The latter were no less eager to advance themselves. Hence the political conflict of the senate and the knights, which, in the later years of the republic, recalled the early struggle between patricians and plebeians. Even at the time we have reached, the wealthy senators, by combining together to keep in their own families the public offices, already formed a powerful aristocracy which strove hard to retain the exclusive possession of the government.

As the dominions of the republic grew larger, the privileges and power of the senate increased in proportion. For, in foreign affairs, with the exception of declaring war and making peace, which needed the sanction of the centuries, the authority of the senate was absolute. The senate assigned the provinces into which the consuls and pretors were to be sent; prolonged the command of a general, or superseded him; and carried on all negotiations with foreign states. From that august body ambassadors were invariably chosen. Thus it may be easily seen, that in addition to their rank and power, the senators enjoyed great opportunities of growing rich. As proconsuls and proprators, though receiving no salary, they amassed vast wealth in the form of gifts and bribes. Preferring to everything else the lucrative employment of provincial governments, they now abandoned usury and commerce, with the farming of the taxes, to the knights, to whom they also allowed a large share in the occupation of the most fertile portions of the public lands.

THE LOWER CLASSES OF CITIZENS.—Whilst from the above causes, the knights, nobles, and senators, grew steadily richer, the lower classes became poorer and poorer. In the

* When renovated by the dictator Sulla, it seems to have numbered 400; thirty years later, the number of senators was not less than 500; it never exceeded 600.

earlier times, the citizen-soldier, after a few weeks' campaign, returned home to cultivate his land ; but this became impossible, when wars were carried on outside of Italy. Moreover the soldier, easily obtaining abundance of booty, found life in the camp more pleasant than the cultivation of the soil. Hence small peasant proprietors easily parted with their estates, which they sold to rich neighbors ; and they, or their posterity came soon to swell the ranks of the poor. Nor had they the resource of hiring themselves as laborers, or of practising the mechanical arts, as these employments were now discharged by slaves. The poor at Rome were thus left almost without resources. Their votes in the popular assembly were nearly all they could turn into money, and it is therefore not surprising that they were ready to sell them to the highest bidder. The first law against bribery (*ambitus*) was passed in B. C. 181, a sure proof of the growth of the practice.

The prevalence of poverty led, in time, to the distribution first of cheap, and then of gratuitous doles of corn, which was levied as a tribute in the provinces of Sicily and Africa,—a fatal expedient, which taught the poor to become state paupers, instead of depending upon their own exertion for a living.

POLITICAL ASSEMBLIES.—Gradually the patrician comitia of the curies was stripped of its privileges, till, long before the time we have reached, it retained nothing beyond the performance of certain religious rites. The whole political power henceforth resided in the comitia of the centuries and in that of the tribes, both of which were organized so as to give a paramount influence to wealth. This indeed had from the first been the avowed object of the comitia of the centuries. As that of the tribes acquired political importance, the same result was attained by giving the censor the power to inscribe all the poorer citizens in the four urban* tribes, thus leaving the control of the 31 others to the rich.

THE FUNCTIONS of these two assemblies were twofold—elective and legislative. The centuries elected the consuls, the pretors, and the other curule magistrates. The tribes elected the inferior officers. Both assemblies could pass laws which were binding upon the whole people, but neither of them could initiate a law ; they could but give, or refuse,

* Manumitted slaves could be enrolled in these 4 tribes alone.

their sanction to measures already approved by the senate. If a consul, a pretor, or a dictator, had a new law to propose, he laid it before the centuries; if a tribune had a measure to recommend, he laid it before the tribes. In both cases the approval of the senate must be first obtained; and if, in some instances, we hear of honors being conferred by popular vote in defiance of the senate, these must be regarded as acts of irregular encroachment.

SENATUS CONSULTA.—It has been stated that in foreign affairs the power of the senate was absolute. In many cases also relating to home affairs, such as religion, police, internal administration, its decrees (*senatus consulta*)* had the force of laws without being submitted to the popular assemblies. The only obstacle to their being carried into effect, was the tribunitian veto. The opposition of the tribunes, however, was in many cases easily combated by sowing dissension among them, and, failing this, by the creation of a dictator, or by investing consuls† with dictatorial powers. This last resource, at first intended to be used only against danger arising from a foreign enemy, was often perverted to serve the purposes of the senate in political strife. Against these arbitrary measures the people had one defensive weapon. No citizen could be sentenced to loss of life or of civil status, without an appeal to the people. If the consuls on any pretext violated this right, they were themselves liable to be condemned by the comitia of the tribes.

CHAPTER XX.

THE AGRARIAN LAWS OF THE GRACCHI.—B. C. 133-121.

THE MONOPOLIZING OF THE LAND.—We have seen that Rome, as she subdued her neighbors, usually confiscated part of the conquered territory, either to distribute it among her poorer citizens as freeholds, or to retain it as public domain to be leased at low rents. Of this public domain, the

* So called, because the consul who brought a matter before the senate, was said *senatum consulere*.

† This was usually done by the well-known formula, *Videant, or Dent operam—consules, ne quid respublica detrimenti capiat*.

Licinian law strictly provided, that no one might occupy more than 500 acres; and that the leased lands might at any time be resumed by the state, to be granted in full possession to the indigents. But, in practice, what was assigned to poor colonists formed only an insignificant amount compared to the vast tracts retained by the state; and the grants made to them were carved out of newly-conquered territory, so that the original leases were never disturbed. Then again, no restriction was really put to the number of acres the rich might occupy; and since the conquest of Macedonia, no rent whatsoever had been required from the tenants of the state lands in Italy. The consequence of all this was, that immense* estates were formed, and that the distinction between the ownership of quiritary land and the mere occupation of the national land gradually disappeared. The public lands, which had for generations descended from father to son, and for which no tax was now paid, came to be regarded as freeholds. There was here a manifold evil which called for a remedy, if one could be found; the more so, as the owners of those immense estates came to employ only slave labor for tillage, or rather, seeing that Italy could be supplied with corn from abroad, dispensed with tillage altogether, and exchanged it for pasture.

DECREASE OF THE FREE POPULATION.—Hence, through extensive tracts, which once swarmed† with population, but whose inhabitants had emigrated into the cities, or settled in the provinces, or perished in war, a few shepherds, mostly foreigners and slaves, were alone to be seen. To arrest the danger which menaced the state from the impoverishment and decay of her free population, and the alarming increase in the number of slaves, was the task which the Gracchi proposed to themselves.

YOUTH OF THE GRACCHI.—Tiberius and Caius Gracchus were the sons of Tib. Sempronius Gracchus and Cornelia, daughter of the elder Africanus. Bereaved of their father at an early age, they owed their excellent education to the care of their mother, herself a woman of culture and taste,

*The free citizens of Rome were reckoned, a few years later, at 406,000, while not more than 2000 could be designated as men of property.

†Previous to the second Punic war, Italy proper, exclusive of the Cisalpine, could arm 700,000 foot-soldiers and mount 70,000 cavaliers—all free men, all trained warriors.

who united in her person the severe virtue of the ancient Roman matron with the superior knowledge and refinement which began to prevail in the higher classes at Rome. She secured the most eminent Greek teachers for her sons; and these so well corresponded to her cares, that in her maternal pride she called them her jewels and ornaments. Their birth, connections, and personal accomplishments, would have made it easy for them to rise to honor and influence through the ordinary course of public magistracies. But such was not the path which they chose.

TIBERIUS GRACCHUS ELECTED TRIBUNE (B. C. 133).—Tiberius Gracchus was nine years older than his brother Caius. Possessed of less brilliant talents, he was more amiable, and won all hearts by the simplicity of his demeanor and his persuasive eloquence. He no sooner reached manhood than he was elected augur; and in such esteem was he held, that at his installation, Appius Claudius, then chief of the senate, offered him his daughter in marriage. When Appius returned home, and informed his wife of their daughter's betrothal, "Why such haste," exclaimed the mother, "unless you secured her Tib. Gracchus?"—Sempronia, the only sister of Tiberius, was married to the younger Africanus.

Tiberius served under his brother-in-law in Africa, and was the first to scale the walls of Carthage. As questor under Hostilius Mancinus, he saved the army (B. C. 137) by obtaining from the Numantines that treaty which the senate afterwards refused to ratify. In B. C. 133, he became tribune—an office which he had purposely sought, to carry out his plans for ameliorating the lot of the poor and repeopling Italy with free population.

AGRARIAN LAW.—Aware that his scheme was fraught with difficulties, Tiberius did not propose it till it had received the approbation of such men as his father-in-law Appius Claudius, P. Mucius Scævola, the great jurist, who was then consul, and Crassus, the pontifex maximus. His bill, like the Licinian Law which had never been repealed, allowed to no one more than 500 jugera of the public land; but permitted every possessor to receive in addition 250 for each of his sons. All the rest of the public domain was to be distributed among the poor citizens, by whom they could not be alienated, that they might not again be absorbed by the wealthy. The bill provided certain indemnifications for actual occupiers. It passed, despite the most violent opposi-

tion; and Tiberius himself, his brother Caius,* and his father-in-law Claudius, were nominated commissioners (*triumviri*) to carry it into effect.

DEATH OF TIBERIUS (B. C. 133).—The exasperation of the nobility was intense. They tried every means to blacken the character of Tiberius. They accused him of aspiring to royalty; they excited tumults; and the more violent among them, headed by Scipio Nasica, determined to put him down by violence. Whilst many of his partisans were engaged in their harvest, they attacked and slew him with 300 of his friends. But Nasica, to escape the popular vengeance, was forced to quit the city, and even to withdraw altogether from Italy. Nor did the nobles, despite their victory, venture to propose the repeal of the obnoxious law. A new commissioner was therefore chosen in the place of Tiberius, as also of Appius Claudius, who died soon after his son-in-law.

DEATH OF THE YOUNGER AFRICANUS (B. C. 129).—The following year (B. C. 132), Scipio returned from the Numantine war. The people expected that, as brother-in-law of Tiberius, he would show sympathy with his reforms and sorrow for his fate. But, when the tribune C. Papirius Carbo,* who was now the leader of the popular party, asked him, in the assembly of the tribes, what he thought of the death of Tiberius, Scipio expressed his approval of the murder, and he moreover lent his powerful aid to thwart the application of the agrarian law. The Italians being alarmed at the prospect of losing some of their lands, he availed himself of the circumstance, to propose, in the senate (B. C. 129), that all disputes concerning the lands of the Italians should be transferred from the commissioners to the consuls. This would have been equivalent to an abrogation of the law. Carbo, therefore, bitterly denounced him in the forum, as the enemy of the people. Scipio, in retorting, once more signified his approval of the death of Tiberius, whereupon the crowd shouted "Down with the tyrant!" In the evening he went home, accompanied by all the senators and a crowd of Italians, but next morning was found dead in his chamber; and, though it was the general belief that he was murdered, no inquiry was made into the cause of his death.

CHARACTER OF SCIPIO.—From his earliest years, Scipio had applied with ardor to literary pursuits. It was his good

*Then a youth of twenty, serving under P. Scipio at Numantia.

fortune to have Polybius as the director of his studies, and as a companion in almost all his campaigns. He profited by this constant intercourse with the Greek historian, as also with the philosopher Panætius, to enlarge his knowledge of Grecian letters and philosophy. Nor did he neglect the literature of his own country. Terence was admitted to his intimacy, and Scipio is even said to have assisted him in the composition of his plays. His friendship with Lælius, whose tastes and pursuits were so congenial to his, has been immortalized by Cicero's celebrated treatise *On Friendship*. When allowed to leave the confinement of business and retire to the country, these two illustrious personages delighted in childish amusements. They would often gather shells and pebbles along the sea-shore, and skip them over the surface of the water, or indulge in some other such innocent diversions.

Scipio was only 56 at the time of his death. Plutarch says, that in him Rome lost one incomparably the first, both in virtue and power, of the Romans of his time. Q. Metellus Macedonicus, though a political opponent, directing his sons to attend his funeral, "Go," said he, "you will never render this last duty to a greater man." Another senator of high rank, at his obsequies, publicly thanked the gods for having made Scipio a Roman, 'because the empire of the world must needs have been for that nation which produced so remarkable a personage.'

IMPEACHMENT OF CAIUS GRACCHUS.—The three commissioners appointed to carry out the agrarian law, were now Caius Gracchus, Fulvius Flaccus, and Papirius Carbo. But so great were the difficulties of their task, so ingenious the obstacles thrown in their way, and so active the hostility of the senate, that no progress was made, and the law remained wholly inoperative. Flaccus, who became consul in B. C. 125, was got rid of by being dispatched to the assistance of the Massilians, in Transalpine Gaul. Caius Gracchus had likewise been removed from Rome the previous year, by being appointed questor to the proconsul of Sardinia. He had already been two years there, and the senate now attempted to keep him away another year, by sending fresh troops to the province, and commanding the proconsul to remain in the island. But Caius suddenly appeared in the city; and, on being brought before the censors to account for his conduct, ably defended himself, showing that he had been made

to serve in the army 12 years, and to act as questor 2 years, while the law demanded only 10 years in the first case, and one in the second.

HIS POPULARITY.—Elected tribune in B. C. 123, Caius sought not merely, like Tiberius, to improve the condition of the poor. He aimed besides at modifying the constitution, so as to weaken the power of the senate. Having gained the people by his wonderful eloquence, by reenacting and extending the agrarian law of his brother, by procuring employment on the public works for the needy, by causing it to be decreed that corn should be sold to the poor at a price much below its market value,* and that the soldiers should be equipped at the expense of the public, he boldly proceeded in his further innovations.

HE WEAKENS THE SENATE.—Hitherto the senate had assigned the provinces to the consuls after their election, and thus had it in its power to grant wealthy governments to its supporters, and unprofitable ones to its opponents. It was now enacted that the two provinces to be governed by the consuls should be determined beforehand, and that these magistrates should, immediately after the election, settle between themselves, by lot or otherwise, which each should have.

THE KNIGHTS MADE JUDGES.—A still more serious innovation introduced by Caius, was that whereby the judicial power was transferred, partially at least, from the senators to the knights. Till now the provincial magistrates were tried for extortion,† before the pretor and a jury of senators. But, as these very senators had been, or hoped to be, provincial magistrates, they were disposed to look leniently on the offences of which they themselves either had been, or might, become guilty. Just then, too, the provinces were exclaiming against the tyranny of the Roman officials, and soliciting redress. The tribune took advantage of the cry which resounded through the city, to install the knights in the tribunals (*judicia*). This measure, however, while effective against the senate, contributed little to the promotion of justice. For the knights, who were the *publicani*, or tax-farmers of the republic, were as harsh and rapacious in their treatment of the provinces, as the senators themselves.

ORDO EQUESTRIS.—Yet the new enactment proved

* This was the first of the *leges frumentariæ*.

† *De repetendis*.

advantageous in other respects. Henceforth the name of knights (*equites*) was applied to all persons whose fortunes qualified them to act as judges, whether they served in the army or not. Thus the knights, apart from their military character, became a distinct order in the state (*ordo equestris*), whose interests were frequently opposed to those of the senate, and who therefore served as a check upon the latter. On many occasions, indeed, was the higher influence they acquired from their judicial functions, of much benefit to the state, either in preventing dissensions among different factions of the nobility, or in maintaining the practical working of the law.

ABORTIVE ATTEMPT TO BENEFIT THE LATIN AND ALLIES.—Caius now brought in a bill conferring the citizenship upon all the Latin colonies, and making the Italian allies occupy the position which the Latins had previously held. Had this wise measure passed, many subsequent troubles might have been avoided. Unfortunately, the bill was almost equally distasteful to the people and to the nobles. The existing citizens, who saw that their importance would be diminished by an increase in their numbers, viewed the proposal with great repugnance; nor could even the influence and eloquence of Caius subdue their opposition. This failure marks the beginning of his downfall.

POPULARITY OF CAIUS UNDERMINED.—The nobles who were bent on the destruction of Caius, now employed one of his colleagues, M. Livius Drusus, to undermine his influence with the commons. For every law proposed by Gracchus, Drusus brought forward some other measure still more popular, giving at the same time full credit to the senate for the initiative in the matter. He took care, moreover, to ask no favor for himself, and left to others the management of business where money was expended. Gracchus, on the other hand, superintended everything in person. His disinterestedness began to be suspected; and while he was in Africa, founding a colony upon the ruins of Carthage, his opponents still further weakened his popularity. On his return, he endeavored to reorganize his party, but failed in being elected tribune, while two of his personal enemies, L. Opimius and Q. Fabius, were raised to the consulship.

MURDER OF CAIUS (B. C. 121).—The new consuls no sooner entered upon office, than they resolved to drive matters to extremities. Gracchus, being no longer protected by

the inviolability of the tribuneship, was purposely insulted by one of the lictors or servants of the consul Opimius. His partisans interposed in his defence, when the senate, hastily summoned, declared 'the state in danger,' and invested Opimius with dictatorial powers. During the night, Opimius took possession of the temple of Castor and Pollux, which overlooked the forum; summoned a meeting of the senate for the following morning; and ordered all the friends of his party to be present, each with two armed slaves. The consul's force was the stronger. Caius was driven from his refuge on the Aventine, the hill of the plebeians; and, seeing no means of escape, ordered one of his attendants to slay him. His head was cut off, and carried to Opimius, who gave for it its weight in gold. With Caius, 3,000 of his partisans are said to have perished.

HIS CHARACTER.—Caius Gracchus was undoubtedly the greatest orator of his time. His eloquence, which was of the vehement, impetuous kind, is represented to have been irresistible. Being of a warm and excitable temper, he was exposed, in addressing the people, to be carried away, to raise his voice to an undue pitch, or to move from end to end of the rostra too rapidly. To guard against these defects, he caused one of his servants, Licinius, to stand behind him during his harangues, and warn him with the sound of a flute of over-excitement. Until this time, when speaking from the rostra, the orators always faced the *comitium*, where sat the patrician curies. Caius was the first to turn his back upon them, and address himself directly to the mass of the citizens—a practice which in the end prevailed.

HONORS PAID TO THE GRACCHI: CORNELIA.—The nobles endeavored to brand Caius and his brother Tiberius, as seditious demagogues. But the people remained passionately devoted to their memory. At a latter period, statues were erected in their honor, and the spots on which they fell were declared holy ground. After the death of Caius, his mother Cornelia retired to Misenum. When visited by distinguished men, she loved to recount the career of her sons, and narrated their death, as of heroes of old, without tears or emotion. For herself, she ordered no epitaph but this, "*Hic jacet Cornelia, Mater Gracchorum*, Here lies Cornelia, the mother of the Gracchi."

THE AGRARIAN LAWS RENDERED INOPERATIVE.—As after the fall of Tiberius Gracchus, so after the death of

Caius, the enactments respecting agrarian measures ceased to be executed. There were no further allotments of lands. With regard to those which had been made by the Gracchi, the claim forbidding the new possessors to alienate their portions had never been popular. It was now revoked. And, as the poorer citizens, since the establishment of a largess of provisions, cared little to quit the idleness of the city for the cultivation of distant farms, their allotments soon again fell into the hands of capitalists. Nor were the nobles slow in reasserting their supremacy. The censors were directed to expunge from the list of senators and knights all persons suspected of favoring a reform of the constitution.

CHAPTER XXI.

THE JUGURTHAN WAR (B. C. 111-106).—MARIUS.—THE CIMBRI AND THE TEUTONES.

JUGURTHA, KING OF NUMIDIA (B. C. 118).—Micipsa, the son of that Masinissa who had given such aid to the Romans during the second Punic war, died in B. C. 118. By his will his sons Hiempsal and Adherbal, and his nephew Jugurtha, each inherited a part of his kingdom. But Jugurtha, who far surpassed his cousins in spirit and ability, soon put them to death, and took to himself the whole succession. At the head of an auxiliary force of Numidians, he had assisted Scipio against Numantia. There, living among the Romans, he had learned how corrupt was the state of their government, and he thought it easy to purchase impunity from the senate. For a time, indeed, his gold did protect him. But, at last, more honorable counsels prevailed. One of the tribunes having brought the matter before the people, the senators were forced to yield, and war was declared against Jugurtha (B. C. 111).

JUGURTHA COMES TO ROME (B. C. 110).—In B. C. 111, the consul L. Calpurnius Bestia landed in Africa with a large army, and proceeded to invade Numidia. But, by means of bribes, Jugurtha obtained peace, on the sole condition of a pretended submission, together with the payment of a sum of money. At Rome, an outcry was immediately raised

against this shameful transaction. The Numidian king was required to come in person, and disclose the details of his bribery. But, as he was about to speak, one of the tribunes, who had been gained over by the interested parties, interfered and stopped the proceedings. Meanwhile, Jugurtha pursued his secret intrigues. So fully did he trust to the influence of gold, that he feared not to assassinate, even in Rome, a grandson of Masinissa, who claimed the Numidian throne. Such a crime perpetrated under the very eyes of the senate, could not be overlooked. Jugurtha was ordered to quit Italy without delay. On leaving Rome, he is said to have uttered the memorable words, "A city for sale, and destined soon to perish, if it can find a purchaser!"*

DISASTER TO ROMAN ARMS (B. C. 110).—Jugurtha reached his kingdom in safety, but was followed thither by a Roman army under the consul Sp. Postumius Albinus and his brother Aulus. The incapacity of these commanders proved as favorable to Jugurtha, as had been the corruption of their predecessors. Aulus penetrated into the heart of Numidia in the hope of securing the royal treasures, but suffered himself to be surprised in his camp. Great part of his army was cut to pieces; and the rest only escaped a similar fate by the ignominy of passing under the yoke. The disgrace, however, roused the Roman indignation. The treaty concluded by Aulus was annulled; fresh troops were raised, and one of the consuls for the new year (B. C. 109), Q. Cæcilius Metellus, hastened to Numidia, in order to repair the honor of Rome. But this did not satisfy the people. The trial of those who had been bribed by Jugurtha, was resumed, and many persons of the highest rank were condemned, among whom Bestia, Albinus, and Opimius—the same that acted with such ferocity towards Caius Gracchus and his party.

METELLUS DEFEATS JUGURTHA (B. C. 109).—The consul Metellus was an able general and an honest man. When Jugurtha found this out, despairing of success, he made overtures for submission. These Metellus apparently entertained, though he sought only to gain the king's adherents, and through them obtain possession of his person; and he continued, all the while, to advance into the heart of the country. Seeing himself deceived, Jugurtha made a sudden attack on

**Urbem venalem et maturè perituram, si emptorem invenerit!—Sallust.*

Metellus, but suffered a total defeat. Thenceforward, he avoided a pitched battle, contenting himself with perpetually hovering on the flanks of the invaders, and thereby causing them great suffering. In vain did Metellus try to bring his adversary to bay by attacking the strong fortress of Zama. The defence of this place was successfully maintained, and the Romans raised the siege to go into winter-quarters.

RISE OF CAIUS MARIUS.—Much of the success of Metellus against Jugurtha was due to his lieutenant, a rude soldier of the old Roman school, who had passed through every stage of the service, and was shortly to be raised to the supreme command. During the Numantine war, Caius Marius learned warfare under Scipio, and by his ready submission to discipline, as well as by his prowess, attracted the notice of that commander. Though low-born and of uncouth manners, he was by Africanus admitted to his table; and, on a certain occasion, when one of the guests asked Scipio where, after his death, the Romans would find another such general, he is said to have answered, laying his hand on the shoulder of Marius, "Perhaps here." At first, however, his road to honors was a difficult one. He was not raised to the tribuneship of the plebs, till he had attained the mature age of 38. He lost his election to the edileship, and with difficulty obtained the pretorship. But his marriage with Julia, an aunt of the future ruler of Rome, by connecting him with the noble family of the Cæsars, gave him a social status which made his subsequent rise easier. His military abilities recommended him to the consul Metellus, who was anxious to restore discipline in the army, and to retrieve the glory of the Roman name in the war against Jugurtha; and so Marius accompanied him, as chief lieutenant, to Numidia. The readiness with which he shared the toils of the troops, eating of the same food and working with them at the trenches, made him the idol of the soldiers; and, through their letters to friends at Rome, his praises were in every mouth. Thus the impression gradually became general among the people, of his peculiar fitness to close the contest with Jugurtha. Aware of these favorable dispositions, Marius now aspired to the consulship.

MARIUS IS ELECTED CONSUL (B. C. 108).—When Marius asked his general's leave to go and sue for the consulship, the high-born Metellus scornfully bade him stay where he was. "You need not be in such haste," said he; "it will

be time enough for you to seek the office along with my son." His son, then serving in the army, was but 20, and could not therefore apply for the office for 20 years to come. The insult rankled in the breast of Marius, and doubtless influenced his subsequent treatment of the nobility. Metellus at last allowed him to depart, but only twelve days before the election. With a favorable wind, he arrived in time; and not only obtained the consulship, but was appointed by the people to the province of Numidia, in defiance of the senate, who proposed to maintain Metellus there as proconsul.

HE ENLISTS THE PROLETARIANS.—Marius openly exulted in his success, and lost no opportunity of flaunting his origin in the face of the defeated nobles. Before returning to Africa, he effected an important revolution in the institutions of Rome. Instead of choosing soldiers only from the five classes according to ancient custom, he enrolled into his legions any persons who chose to offer themselves for the service, however poor and mean. Eager to profit by the opportunity, the proletarians of the city, in hopes of plunder, and with the example of their low-born leader before them, flocked to his standard, thus creating for him an army devoted rather to his personal ambition than to the welfare of the republic.

MARIUS ENDS THE JUGURTHAN WAR (B. C. 107-106).—Marius, after resuming operations, easily wrested from the hands of Jugurtha most of his strongholds. But the desert afforded the Numidian a more secure asylum. There he long continued to defy the attacks of the Romans; thence, too, would he often unexpectedly sally, fall upon the invaders, and withdraw as stealthily into his hiding-places. Nor was the war finally brought to a close, till Jugurtha was betrayed by Bocchus, the king of Mauritania. A cruel vengeance was wreaked upon the captive monarch. He was reserved to grace the conqueror's triumph, and ultimately cast into the Mamertine prison, where for six days he wrestled in the agonies of mortal cold and hunger.

SETTLEMENT OF AFRICA.—As his reward for betraying Jugurtha, Bocchus received the western portion of Numidia. The eastern part was annexed to the province of Africa, and the remainder continued in nominal independence, being divided between two princes of the house of Masinissa.—A few years later, Ptolemæus Apion, the last of the Greek kings

of Cyrenaica, bequeathed his kingdom to the Romans. A shadow of independence was allowed to the five principal cities in the country; but Leptis was occupied by a Roman garrison.

EARLY CAREER OF SULLA.—To L. Cornelius Sulla, the questor of Marius, was chiefly due the capture of Jugurtha. Descended of a patrician family, Sulla enjoyed the advantages of a good education, and early imbibed that love of literature and art for which he was distinguished throughout life; but, at the same time, he became conspicuous for licentiousness and debauchery. His love of pleasure, however, did not absorb all his time, nor enfeeble his mind. In clear judgment, keen discrimination of character, and firm will, few Romans were Sulla's equals. Though trained by no previous experience, when sent as questor to Marius, he discharged his duties to the full satisfaction of his commander, and was equally successful in winning the affections of the soldiers. He always addressed them with kindness, seized every opportunity of obliging them, and was as ready to join in all the jests, as to share in all the labors, of the camp.

VICTORIES OF THE CIMBRI (B. C. 113-105).—The Cimbri were first heard of, in B. C. 113. They were then in Noricum. Hence they descended into Illyricum, and marched westward into Helvetia, where they were joined by the Tigurini and Ambrones. They next swept over Gaul, which they plundered and ravaged in every direction. Rome had lately taken from the Allobroges the southern corner of Transalpine Gaul, since known as the *provincia* (modern Provence). To defend this recent acquisition against the barbarians, now became her chief care. Thither, accordingly, three consular armies were sent in turn, and successively beaten. A Silanus was defeated, a Cassius slain, and a Scaurus made prisoner. But the most dreadful loss was still to come. In B. C. 105, the camps of Manlius and Cæpio, who commanded two consular armies, were forced on the same day, and 80,000 men slaughtered. Since the defeat of Cannæ or the Allia, no such catastrophe had overwhelmed the republic. Happily for Italy, the victors, instead of at once invading it, separated into detached columns, and resumed their depredations through the neighboring countries. The mass of the Cimbri crossed over into Spain, which they ravaged for the next two or three years.

RESTORATION OF DISCIPLINE BY MARIUS.—The capture of Jugurtha occurred early in B. C. 106. Marius remained nearly two years longer in Africa, to regulate the affairs of Numidia. But the repeated disasters of the Romans in Gaul made them long for his return, and the consulship was thrust upon him in his absence. He entered Rome in triumph on the 1st of January, 104, which was also the first day of his second consulship, and soon set out for the Transalpine. He employed the breathing-time afforded by the scattering of the barbarians, in training the new levies, and accustoming them to hardships. Notwithstanding the severity with which he punished the least breach of discipline, he was a favorite with the soldiers, who learned implicitly to trust their general, and appreciated the strict impartiality with which he visited the offences of the officers, as well as of the privates. No less was the confidence of the people at Rome in their champion, and so he was elected consul a third and a fourth time.

BATTLE OF AQUÆ SEXTIÆ (B. C. 102).—At last, in B. C. 102, the barbarians began to move. The Cimbri and Helvetii proposed to make the circuit of the Alps, and pour into Italy by the valley of Trent. The Teutones* and Ambrones were to follow the ordinary road, along the sea coast of Liguria. A place of meeting was appointed on the banks of the Po. To arrest their progress, the consul Lutatius Catulus went with an army to await the Cimbri in the Cisalpine, while Marius kept his post in the Transalpine province. As the Romans were easily terrified by the huge stature and hideous figures of the barbarians, Marius thought it prudent first to act on the defensive. Regardless alike of the taunts of the invaders and of the impatience displayed by his troops, he kept his men intrenched within a fortified camp, contenting himself with repelling the assaults of the barbarians, till at last, weary of this state of things, they pressed on to Italy. For six days he allowed their warriors with their wives and children, their chariots and baggage, to defile before his camp, while they asked his soldiers derisively ‘what message they must carry to their families.’ At last, he followed them; and in a favorable position, 12 miles east of Aquæ Sextiæ

* Who the Teutones and the Cimbri were, or whence they came, has not yet been ascertained. Their fighting men are said to have amounted to 300,000, besides a much larger number of women and children.

(*Aix*), offered them battle. First the Ambrones, and two days later the Teutones, furiously assaulted the Roman lines, but were repulsed with immense slaughter. An ambush of 3000 men, placed by Marius in the rear, fell upon the retreating forces of the barbarians, and completed their rout. The multitude of slain unburied on the spot, gave it the frightful appellation of the Putrid Plain—a name still recalled by that of *Pourrieres*, the village which now marks the scene of that fearful carnage. Immediately after the battle, as Marius was in the act of setting fire to the vast heap of broken arms which was intended as an offering to the gods, horsemen rode up to him, and greeted him with the news of his being elected consul for the fifth time.

BATTLE OF VERCELLÆ (B. C. 101).—The Cimbri, in the meantime, had made their way across the Alps by the Brenner pass, the only one which was practicable for their wagons. The colleague of Marius, Q. Lutatius Catulus, at first awaited them in a strong position on the Athesis (*Adige*). But, in consequence of the terror of his soldiers at the approach of the barbarians, he retreated beyond the Po, leaving the whole Transpadane territory at the mercy of the invaders. These now proceeded westward in search of the Teutones, of whose destruction they had not yet heard. But, before long, they were confronted, near Vercellæ, by the united armies of Catulus and of Marius, the latter having hurried with his victorious legions to the scene of danger. His presence had revived the courage of the troops of Catulus, and the Romans offered battle to the invaders. But as these were still waiting for their allies, they declined the engagement, and sent to ask of Marius lands and cities sufficient both for themselves and their brethren.

When Marius inquired of their ambassadors who were their brethren, they answered, "The Teutones." The assembly laughed, and Marius replied in a taunting manner: "Do not trouble yourselves about your brethren; for they have land enough, which we have given them, and they shall have it forever." The ambassadors, displeased at this answer, replied that the Cimbri would chastise him immediately, and that the Teutones would do the same when they arrived. "And they are not far off," said Marius; "it would, therefore, be very unkind in you to go away without saluting your brethren." At the same time, he ordered the chieftains of the Teutones to be brought forward, loaded with chains;

for they had been taken prisoners after their defeat, as they were endeavoring to escape over the Alps.

The Cimbri thus compelled to fight alone, met with the same fate as the Teutones. The whole nation was annihilated, and the women, as did those of the Teutones, slew themselves to preserve their chastity. Though the victory was really won by Catulus and his lieutenant Sulla, yet the popular voice accorded the chief glory to the hero of Aquæ Sextiæ, and hailed him as the third founder of the city with Romulus and Camillus.

SECOND SERVILE WAR.—From the year 103-101 B. C., Sicily was again a prey to the horrors of a servile war. A soothsayer, named Salvius, was made king by his fellow-bondmen, and soon had around him a force of 20,000 foot and 2000 horse. With these troops he defeated a Roman army, when his success led to a general insurrection. The senate, at this juncture, sent the consul M. Aquilius into the island. The rebellion was put down, and a wholesale extermination of the revolted slaves mercilessly carried on. The survivors were carried to Rome, and condemned to fight with wild beasts; but, disdaining to contribute to the pleasure of their oppressors, they took their own lives.

CHAPTER XXII.

SATURNINUS AND GLAUCIA.—THE SOCIAL OR MARSIC WAR.

—B. C. 90-89.

SIXTH CONSULSHIP OF MARIUS (B. C. 100).—Hitherto brilliant and glorious, the career of Marius will be henceforth full of horrors. Wishing to perpetuate his power, he became again a candidate for the consulship. But he was destitute of the qualities requisite for a popular leader at Rome; he had no power of oratory, and he lost his presence of mind in the noise and shouts of popular assemblies. In order, therefore, to secure his election, he entered into close connection with Saturninus and Glaucia, demagogues both of the lowest stamp. The former was a candidate for the tribunate, and the latter for the pretorship. By their means, as well as by

bribery, Marius was elected. So also was Glaucia; but Saturninus was defeated. This last, on the evening of the election, killed his more successful rival; and next morning, at an early hour, before the forum was full, prevailed upon the assistance to choose him to fill up the vacancy.

DEATH OF SATURNINUS (B. C. 100).—Saturninus in his capacity of tribune proposed a *lex frumentaria*, whereby corn was to be sold to the people by the state, at a very low price. He also brought forward bills for founding new colonies in Sicily, Achaia, and Macedonia. By these measures he secured his reelection to the tribunate. Glaucia was, at the same time, a candidate for the consulship. But, fearing to be defeated by C. Memmius, with the help of Saturninus he murdered him in the comitia. Sensible people had already become alarmed at the course of these demagogues; and this last atrocity emboldened the senate to declare them *perduelles*, or public enemies, and to invest the consuls with dictatorial powers. Marius, thus forced to act against his accomplices, betrayed much remissness, and strove hard to save their lives. But Saturninus, Glaucia, and the questor Saufeius, were all put to death by the partisans of the senate; and this body rewarded with the citizenship a slave, who claimed the honor of having killed Saturninus. Marius was now without influence in the state; and, at the end of his consulship, set out on a tour through the east. He was so anxious, it is said, to recover his prestige, that he endeavored to rouse Mithridates to war, that Rome might again stand in need of his services.

ORIGIN OF THE SOCIAL, OR MARSIC, WAR (B. C. 91).—As we have already seen, some of the most prominent men of Rome, as Scipio Africanus and C. Gracchus, had long been convinced of the propriety of bestowing the Roman franchise upon the Latins and the Italian allies. In B. C. 91, the tribune M. Livius Drusus, who had acquired a just popularity by several beneficial measures, revived the scheme; but, as before, it met with insuperable opposition, on the part of the Roman nobility and populace alike. Drusus was assassinated in his own house; and a law was passed, declaring all guilty of treason, who had assisted the cause of the allies. Many eminent men were condemned under this law. Thereupon the allies, whose hopes were once more dashed to the ground, and who clearly saw that the Roman people would yield nothing except upon compulsion, had recourse to arms.

THE ALLIES TAKE UP ARMS (B. C. 90).—Had the whole Italian people revolted at the same time, Rome must have succumbed. But the Etrurians, Latins, and Umbrians, together with the Campanians and the Cisalpine Gauls, held aloof, while the Sabines, Volscians, and other tribes already possessed of the Roman franchise, supported the republic. Thus the insurrection was limited to the Sabellian tribes—the Marsians, Pelignians, Marrucinians, Vestinians, Picentines, Samnites, Apulians, and Lucanians. Of these the Marsians took the lead; on which account the struggle is termed indifferently the Marsic, or the social, war. Corfinium, a strong city of the Pelignians, was made the capital of the Italian confederation. The new government was to have 2 consuls, 12 pretors, and a senate of 500 members. Q. Pompædus Silo, a Marsian, and C. Papilius Mutilus, a Samnite, were chosen consuls. With them were many able lieutenants, who had learned the art of war under the best Roman generals. The soldiers had also served in the Roman armies, and were equipped and disciplined in the same way. But the Romans greatly outnumbered their opponents, and they had the advantage which a single state always possesses over a confederation. Yet, the result of the first campaign was clearly in favor of the allies.

EXTENSION OF THE FRANCHISE.—The first year of the war, Marius was the only general that gained some success over the rebels. But even his achievements fell much below the public expectation, either because the fatigues of the campaigns were beyond his bodily strength, or more probably because he was unwilling to destroy the allies, who had been among his most active partisans, and to whom he still looked for support in his future struggles with the nobility. The Roman government, therefore, saw the necessity of making concessions; and the *lex Julia*, proposed by the consul Julius Cæsar, conferred the franchise on all the Latin colonies, and on such of the allies as had remained faithful to Rome, or had laid down their arms. Thenceforth, disunion reigned among the confederates, and the cause declined. The following campaign was signalized by many victories on the Roman side. Sulla, on the one hand, drove the insurgents out of Campania, subdued the Hirpini, and then penetrated into the very heart of Samnium; Pompeius Strabo, on the other, forced into submission the Marrucinians, Vestinians, Pelignians, and the Marsians—a result greatly

facilitated by the *lex Plautia Papiria*,* which, completing the arrangements of the *lex Julia*, granted everything that the allies had demanded before the war. By this law, all citizens of a town in alliance with Rome could obtain the Roman franchise, provided they were at the time resident in Italy, and registered their name with the prætor within 60 days. Not many, however, seem to have availed themselves of the opportunity, if we may judge from the fact that, while the census of the year 114 B. C. registered 394,336 Roman citizens, that of B. C. 86 numbered no more than 473,000. The Italians found it irksome to undertake the journey to Rome, and go through the prescribed round of the legal formalities and religious ceremonies. Moreover, pending the strict application of the agrarian laws, the franchise offered little attraction to distant residents, who would have to forego their local citizenship for a privilege they could seldom exercise, as the suffrage could only be given at Rome. Yet, the precedent, now for the first time established on so large a scale, bore ample fruit. The citizens of the Gallic towns between the Po and the Alps, were then admitted to the Latin, and before long to the full franchise,—a privilege subsequently conceded to various cities or states outside of Italy, in Spain, Gaul, Africa, and elsewhere.

COST OF THE SOCIAL WAR.—Though virtually brought to a close within two years, the social war cost the lives of more than 300,000 men, the flower of Rome and Italy. Among the confederates, the Marsian Pompædus Silo was the most prominent figure. On the side of Rome, the chief laurels were gained by Sulla. During this war, the young Cneius Pompeius served his first campaign, and Cicero earned his first and only stipend.

CHAPTER XXIII.

THE FIRST CIVIL (B. C. 88-86) AND THE FIRST MITHRIDATIC (B.C. 88-84) WAR.

FIRST CONSULSHIP OF SULLA (B. C. 88).—Since the Cim-

*So called after the tribunes M. Plautius Silvanus and C. Papirius Carbo, who proposed it.

bric war, the popularity of Marius had been on the wane; and, during the Marsic war, he had done little to restore his reputation. Sulla, on the contrary, uniting the talents of the statesman and the general, was foremost now before the eyes of the public. The senatorial party, moreover, looked on him as their champion, through whom they were in hopes of maintaining their ascendancy. Sulla was accordingly elected consul for the year 88; and, news being received that Mithridates had expelled Ariobarzānes and Nicomēdes from their kingdoms of Cappadocia and Bithynia, he was entrusted with the command of the army sent for their restoration.

THE KINGDOM OF PONTUS.—The kingdom of Pontus, so called from being on the coast of the *Pontus Euxinus*, or Black Sea, and once a satrapy of the Persian empire, extended from the river Halys on the west, to the frontiers of Colchis on the east. Even before the extinction of Persian rule, it became an independent state; and, though brought momentarily under Grecian yoke in the time of Alexander, it soon regained its independence. When the Romans made war on Aristonicus (B. C. 133), in order to secure the succession of Attalus III, they were assisted by Mithridates, king of Pontus, who for his services on this occasion received the province of Phrygia. The successor of this prince was his son Mithridates VI, surnamed *Eupator* and *Dyonisius*, but more commonly known as Mithridates the Great.

MITHRIDATES VI was only 12 years of age, at the time of his father's death. As he grew to manhood, he was distinguished for bodily strength, and skill in all martial exercises. But still more extraordinary were his mental endowments. His naturally vigorous intellect had been improved by careful culture; and so powerful was his memory, that he is said to have mastered 25 languages, being able to transact business, in their own peculiar dialect, with the deputies of all the tribes subject to his rule. Conspicuous for military talents, he considerably enlarged his ancestral dominions in the east. On the west, he subdued the Tauric Chersonesus (now Crimea) and the Greek kingdom of Bosphorus, but was hemmed in by the power of Rome. More than once had he attempted to seize the kingdoms of Bithynia and Cappadocia. But, on these occasions, Roman interference thwarted his projects of aggrandizement,

and he prudently yielded. At length, however, when Ariobarzanes, king of Cappadocia, at the instigation of the Roman legates, M. Aquillius and L. Cassius, made predatory incursions into his territories, Mithridates, taking advantage of the social war which convulsed Italy, retaliated by seizing the coveted territories of Bithynia and Cappadocia. Then, profiting by Sulla's delay, whom the resistance of the Samnites and civil troubles detained in Italy, he not only overran Phrygia and Galatia, but boldly invaded the Roman province itself. Here, the universal discontent caused by the oppression of Roman officials, greatly facilitated his progress; and from Pergamus he sent orders that, in every city, all the Romans and Italians should on the same day be put to death. The sanguinary edict was obeyed; and 80,000* persons were massacred. Nor was Mithridates content with these Asiatic conquests. He extended his sway over the flourishing islands of the Ægean, and sent his general Archelaus into Greece, most of whose states, in the prospect of relief from Roman tax-gatherers, received their new masters with loud acclamations (B. C. 87). Thus the task entrusted to Sulla, had now swelled to the reconquest of one-half of the empire. Before he started on his important mission, the first civil war had begun.

BEGINNING OF THE FIRST CIVIL WAR (B. C. 88).—Marius saw with extreme jealousy the command of the eastern war given to his rival. By intrigues and violence, he raised a tumult in the city, and caused the appointment to be changed in his favor. But Sulla, who was still besieging the Samnite garrison at Nola, at once marched with six legions to Rome, and forced his way into the city. The civil war had begun. The violence of Marius had been met by violence. The legions of Rome had slipped from the government to become the personal following of their leaders. Sulla, however, used his advantage with moderation. He protected the city from plunder; and only Marius and eleven others were declared public enemies.

ADVENTURES OF MARIUS (B. C. 88–87).—Marius, being closely pursued, more than once narrowly escaped with his life. Near Minturnæ, he avoided capture only by hurrying down to the sea, and swimming off to a vessel, on board of which he received temporary shelter. Put on shore soon after, at the mouth of the Liris, and abandoned by the sailors,

* Some say as many as 150,000.

he first concealed himself in a hole near the river, and then for greater safety threw himself into the marsh. Notwithstanding this, he was discovered, dragged out of the water, and delivered up, covered with mud, to the authorities of Minturnæ. The magistrates, in compliance with instructions received from Rome, sent a Cimbrian slave to put him to death in the dark dungeon wherein he was confined. But to the frightened barbarian the eyes of Marius seemed to dart forth fire, and a voice from the gloom demanded, "Wretch! dare you slay Caius Marius?" The Cimbrian fled in terror, exclaiming, "I cannot kill Caius Marius!" and the magistrates, alarmed in turn, connived at the escape of their prisoner to Africa. Marius landed near the site of Carthage; but he had scarcely put his foot on shore, when the pretor Sextilius sent an officer to bid him leave the country, or else he would carry into execution the decree of the senate. This last blow almost unmanned Marius; grief and indignation for a time deprived him of speech, and his only reply was, "Tell the pretor that thou hast seen Caius Marius, a fugitive, sitting on the ruins of Carthage!" He then crossed over to the island of Cercina, where he was suffered to remain unmolested.

RIOTS AT ROME AND PROSCRIPTION (B. C. 87-86).—Sulla had remained in Rome till the consuls were elected for the following year. These were Cn. Octavius, who belonged to the aristocratical party, and L. Cinna, a professed champion of the popular side. The latter, in order to strengthen his party, brought forward a law incorporating the new Italian citizens among the 35 existing tribes, where their influence would be paramount. His colleagues, on the contrary, opposed this arrangement, wishing to form ten separate Italian tribes that would consist of the new citizens exclusively. The two consuls had recourse to arms; and, after a dreadful conflict and great slaughter, Cinna was driven out of the city. But he soon reappeared at the head of a formidable array of Samnites, Lucanians, and others; in his train, too, was Caius Marius, whom his late sufferings had exasperated almost to madness. A dreadful massacre ensued, and the streets ran with the noblest blood of Rome. The consul Octavius was slain, while seated in his curule chair; the great orator, M. Antonius, fell by the hands of assassins; Q. Catulus, the conqueror of Cimbri, was obliged to put an end to his own life. Marius's appetite seemed only whetted by the

slaughter, and daily required fresh victims. To crown all, he and Cinna, without going through the form of an election, made themselves consuls for the following year, 86 B. C.

DEATH OF MARIUS (B. C. 87-83).—Marius was now consul for the seventh time. Though 70 years of age and broken by hardships, he was desirous of assuming the command of the legions, and of wresting the conduct of affairs in the east from Sulla's control. But, finding the effort beyond his strength, he fell into despondency; and, on the 18th day of his consulship, after a short illness, died of an attack of pleurisy. Cinna then enrolled the Italians among the 35 tribes; proclaimed an adjustment of debts, to the great detriment of creditors;* and sent his new colleague, Valerius Flaccus, with a large army to supersede Sulla.

SULLA'S VICTORIES IN THE EAST (B. C. 87-83).—When Sulla quitted Italy, he determined to secure his own fortunes rather by the devotion of his soldiery than by the favor of any political party. With this object in view, he encouraged the licence of his troops, and his path was marked by devastation and sacrilege. He gave up to his men the sacred treasures of Epidaurus and Olympia; and, when Athens, the first city that resisted him, fell into his hands (B. C. 86), it was treated with more than the usual Roman barbarity, the soldiers being indulged in indiscriminate slaughter and plunder. From this scene of ruin and desolation, Sulla proceeded to Bœotia, and at Chæronea encountered a vast army of Orientals, whom he totally defeated. A second victory, at Orchomenus, broke the power of the king of Pontus, and compelled him not only to evacuate his conquests in Greece and the Ægean, but even to seek terms of peace. On surrendering Bithynia, Cappadocia, and the province of Asia, with a large portion of his fleet and treasures, Mithridates was admitted into amity with the republic (B. C. 84). Meanwhile, the consul Flaccus had been assassinated by his soldiers, who promoted Fimbria to the command in his place; and Fimbria, finding himself deserted by his men, whom Sulla won over by bribery, had put an end to his own life. Being thus rid of all his enemies in the east, and leaving his legate L. Licinius Murena in Asia, at the head of two legions, Sulla with 30,000 devoted veterans now returned to Italy.

*He compelled them to accept the copper *as* in payment for the silver sesterce, whose value was 4 times as great.

CHAPTER XXIV

THE SECOND CIVIL WAR (B. C. 83-82).—SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP,
LEGISLATION, AND DEATH (B. C. 81-78).

SULLA'S RETURN (B. C. 83).—Whilst Sulla caused the Roman power to be respected abroad, his opponents held indisputable sway at home. He had been declared a public enemy; his property was confiscated and his house demolished; his most distinguished adherents were murdered; and his wife and children, to escape death, were forced to take refuge with him in Greece. These wrongs soured the naturally harsh disposition of Sulla. He publicly declared that his foes and the foes of the republic, whom he classed together, should on his arrival suffer condign punishment. On hearing this, both the senate, now half filled with Marians, and the populace, were terrified; and immense preparations were made to resist him. Fortunately for Sulla, his opponents had now, Cinna being dead, no one of sufficient influence and military reputation to assume the supreme command. Their vast forces were scattered under different generals; they were themselves divided by mutual jealousies, and their soldiers felt neither confidence in them, nor enthusiasm in the cause. Still, if all the Italians had remained faithful to the Marian party, the resistance would have proved well-nigh insuperable. Wishing, therefore, to detach them from his enemies, Sulla forbade his troops to do to their town or fields any injury, and he formed separate treaties with all those who consented to receive his overtures, securing to them all the rights and privileges of Roman citizens which they enjoyed. But with the Samnites no such accommodation was possible. Their object in joining the Marian party was to use it, first to conquer, and next to destroy Rome; and, under the indomitable Pontius Telesinus, they were resolved to fight to death.

SULLA DEFEATS HIS ENEMIES IN ITALY (B. C. 83-82).—Sulla advanced unopposed, as far as Campania. Here he gained his first victory, defeating the consul Norbanus, whom he forced to take refuge in Capua. The soldiers of Scipio, the other consul, deserting his standard, joined those of Sulla. Many distinguished Romans, among others M. Crassus and M. Lucullus, also took up arms in his behalf; and Cn. Pompey, then only 23 years of age, levied three legions to employ

in his serviçê. Yet it was not till the following year (B. C. 82), that the struggle was brought to a decisive issue. Both the consuls of this year, the younger Marius and Papirius Carbo, were defeated, and the latter was even compelled to embark for Africa. But Rome, meanwhile, had nearly fallen into the power of its worst enemies, the Samnites and Lucanians. Their leader, the indomitable Pontius Telesinus, made a sudden descent upon it, intending to burn and raze it to the ground. Sulla barely arrived in time to prevent the execution of this design. A desperate encounter took place at the Colline gate. Sulla's left wing, which he personally commanded, was routed; but Crassus, with the right, broke the enemy's ranks, and retrieved the day. 50,000 men are said to have fallen on each side; and 8,000 Samnites, who had surrendered on promise of their lives, were next morning butchered in cold blood. Pontius, with many officers of distinction, had perished during the engagement; others, who had been taken, were slain on the spot after the fight. Marius caused his own slave to dispatch him; Sertorius fled to Spain; and thus the war in Italy was now virtually at an end.

PROSCRIPTION (DEC. TO JUNE, 82-81 B. C.).—Sulla, not content with having subdued his enemies in the field, resolved to extirpate the popular party, root and branch. Lists of proscription were set up at Rome and throughout Italy. All persons on those lists were outlaws; their property was confiscated to the state; their children and grandchildren lost their votes in the comitia, and were excluded from all public offices. Whoever killed a proscribed person, or revealed his place of concealment, received two talents as a reward; whoever sheltered him, was punishable with death. From the Dec. of 82 to the following June, this system of authorized murder was continued. No one was safe; for Sulla gratified his friends by placing on the fatal lists their private enemies, or persons whose property was coveted by them*. An estate, a house, or even a piece of plate, was to men of no political party often a death-warrant. Of senators

*Although the confiscated property belonged to the state, and had to be sold by public auction, the friends and dependents of Sulla purchased it at nominal prices, as no one durst bid against them. Oftentimes, Sulla did not require the purchase money to be paid at all; and, in many cases, he gave such property to his favorites without even the formality of a sale. Catiline, in particular, was the recipient of golden favors at Sulla's hands; and Crassus, 'the richest of the Romans,' now laid the foundation of his enormous wealth.

perhaps 200, of knights near 3000, and of the common people an unknown multitude were slain. But far more sweeping still and indiscriminate was the destruction of the Italians. The inhabitants of those towns which had fought against Sulla, were deprived not only of the Roman franchise lately conferred on them, but of their lands. These were distributed among Sulla's veterans, of whom 120,000 were settled * in colonies from end to end of the peninsula. While Sulla thus established throughout Italy a population devoted to his interests, he created at Rome a kind of body-guard for his protection, by giving the citizenship to some 10,000 freedmen, late slaves of the proscribed, who were now called *Cornelii* after him their patron.

SULLA'S DICTATORSHIP AND LEGISLATION (B. C. 81-79).—After the battle of the Colline gate, Rome lay at the feet of Sulla. So soon, therefore, as the death of both the consuls permitted it, he caused one of his creatures to be appointed *interrex*, and the latter caused Sulla to be invested with the dictatorship. This office he was empowered to retain at his own discretion, and he used its unlimited prerogative to restore, as far as possible, their ancient influence to the senate and nobility. Hence, he gave again to the senators the exclusive possession of the highest tribunals, and made them independent of the censors; he deprived the *comitia tributa* of their legislative and judicial functions; he took away from the tribunes their vetoing power on senatorial legislation; he decreed that the holding of the tribunate was a bar to being ever a candidate for any of the higher magistracies, and that none but senators could become tribunes.

ABORTIVENESS OF SULLA'S LEGISLATION.—The efforts of Sulla to restore permanently the ascendancy of the senate, proved wholly abortive. The selfish and corrupt aristocracy used their newly-recovered influence only for their own aggrandizement. The consequence was a general disgust in the capital and throughout the provinces. In eight years, the people regained their power. But, as neither class was fit to rule, anarchy followed; and the Romans, in the end, had to submit to the despotism of the empire.

DEATH OF SULLA (B. C. 78).—After exercising absolute

* Thus was an industrious agricultural population supplanted by an idle and licentious soldiery, among whom Catiline found most of his adherents. Etruria had perhaps a larger number of these colonies, than any other part of Italy.

power for about two years, Sulla resigned the dictatorship, and retired to his estate at Puteoli, where, surrounded by the beauties of nature and art, he gave himself up unreservedly to those literary and sensual enjoyments in which he had always taken so much pleasure. But the days of the enfeebled, worn-out statesman were numbered. He was now tormented by the loathsome pedicular disease; and, before many months, he whose hands were stained with the blood of so many thousands, died in consequence of the rupture of a blood-vessel.

HIS FUNERAL.—The senate, faithful to the last, decreed to Sulla the honor of a public funeral. This the consul Lepidus in vain attempted to prevent. Sulla's veterans were summoned from their colonies, and Q. Catulus, L. Lucullus, and Cn. Pompey, placed themselves at their head. Lepidus was obliged to yield, and the gorgeous pageant remained undisturbed. The magistrates, the senate, the equites, the priests, and the Vestal virgins, as well as the veterans, accompanied the funeral procession to the Campus Martius. Hitherto it had been the custom of the *Cornelia gens* to bury, and not burn, their dead. But, in accordance with Sulla's own wish, who feared for his remains those insults which he had heaped on Marius's, his corpse was burnt, and the ashes thrown into the Anio. A monument was erected to him in the Campus Martius, with this epitaph supposed to have been written by himself: "Here lies Sulla, who never was outdone in good offices by a friend, nor in acts of hostility and revenge by an enemy."

CHAPTER XXV.

WARS WITH SERTORIUS, SPARTACUS, THE PIRATES, AND MITHRIDATES.—B. C. 79-61.—POMPEY—CRASSUS—LUCULLUS.

FIRST EXPLOITS OF POMPEY (B. C. 82-80).—The rise of Cneius Pompey to public station, was unusually early. His father Cn. Pompeius Strabo, a soldier of fortune, was consul in B. C. 89, and commanded an army against the Italians in the social war. Young Pompey, then only seventeen, served under him during this and the two following campaigns.

Cradled, as it were, in the camp, he made it his object from the first to secure the attachment of the troops; and in this he succeeded so well that, on Sulla's return from the east, in B. C. 82, though still so young and holding no public office, he was able to raise an army of three legions. With these he gained a brilliant victory over the Marian generals, and on joining Sulla was received by him with the greatest distinction. Upon the conclusion of the war in Italy, Pompey was sent first into Sicily, and afterwards into Africa, where the Marian party still held their ground. His success was rapid and decisive; and Sulla, beginning to grow jealous, required him to disband his troops in Africa. Pompey replied by leading his victorious army to Rome. Numbers of the citizens flocked out to meet him; and the dictator himself, thinking it best to head the procession, hailed the youthful conqueror with the title of *Magnus* (the great). Pompey, though not yet a senator, demanded a triumph. Sulla at first refused; but, pleased with the spirited answer of the young general, who bade him 'consider there were more persons ready to adore the rising than the setting sun,' he yielded; and Pompey, then a simple knight, and only 24 years of age, entered Rome in triumph (B. C. 80).

POMPEY AND THE NOBLES (B. C. 79-77).—Pompey again exhibited his power, the following year, in successfully promoting the election of M. Æmilius Lepidus to the consulship against the wishes of Sulla. The latter contented himself with warning Pompey, as he met him returning from the comitia, "Young man, it is time for you to be awake; for you have strengthened your rival." But Pompey was not wanting to himself. When Lepidus, on the death of Sulla, sought even by force of arms to repeal the dictator's laws, Pompey threw his weight into the scale of the other consul, Q. Catulus; and, as his lieutenant, contributed greatly to the victories gained over Lepidus. The latter, after sustaining several defeats in Italy, fled to Sardinia, where he soon died. But, as his party still held out in the Cisalpine, Pompey went thither to quench the last embers of rebellion. Soon, however, the senate beginning to distrust him, ordered him to disband his army. Under various pretexts, he kept his men together; and, before long, the growing power of Sertorius compelled the senate to send him to Spain with the title of proconsul (B. C. 76).

SERTORIUS IN SPAIN (B. C. 82-72).—Sertorius, a Sabine

by birth, had taken a prominent part in the civil wars, but was untainted with the guilt of the proscriptions. The ablest and the best of the Marian generals, he received the government of Spain in B. C. 82. Here he was hailed as a deliverer by the natives, whom he flattered with the hopes of establishing an independent state, which might bid defiance to Rome. His influence was enhanced by the superstition of the people. He was accompanied on all occasions by a tame fawn, which they believed to be a favorite spirit. So attached did they become to his person, that he found no difficulty in collecting an army, with which he defeated all the generals sent against him by Sulla. Even Metellus, who had been consul, and in whose abilities much confidence was placed, could not cope successfully with him; and it became necessary to send Pompey, to prosecute the Spanish war in conjunction with Metellus.

POMPEY ENDS THE WAR IN SPAIN (B. C. 76-72).—Pompey, on his arrival, found that he had a more formidable enemy to deal with, than any he had yet encountered. He suffered several defeats; and, on one occasion, would have incurred a very severe loss, had he not received timely aid from Metellus. As the latter was much older than Pompey, this gave Sertorius occasion to remark at the time, "If the old woman had not come to his assistance, I would have given the boy a sound flogging, and sent him back to Rome." In course of time, however, the influence of Sertorius over the Spanish tribes became somewhat impaired, and he had to contend with the jealousy of his chief Roman officers. At last, his own lieutenant, Perperna, who aspired to the supreme command, caused him to be assassinated during a repast to which he had invited him. By this treacherous act, Perperna ruined both himself and his party. In his first encounter with Pompey, he was defeated, made prisoner, and put to death. As Metellus had taken no part in the final struggle, Pompey obtained the credit of ending the war. He, moreover, in reconstituting the government of Spain, disposed not merely of offices, but of estates and territories, in such a way as to bind to himself a multitude of partisans, clients, and dependents.

SPARTACUS.—The struggle against Sertorius and Perperna was not yet ended, when a righteous retribution overtook the Romans for their love of the cruel sports of the amphitheatre. The gladiators were generally prisoners taken in

war, and sold to persons who trained them in schools, to be let out to pretors or ediles, on occasions of public entertainment. There was such a school at Capua; and, among the gladiators, was a Thracian, named Spartacus, originally a chief of banditti. This man planned an escape with some 70 of his comrades, and led them to a crater of Vesuvius, then an extinct volcano (B. C. 73). Here he was joined by such multitudes of slaves, gladiators, Apulian shepherds, and Marian veterans, that his numbers were successively estimated at forty, seventy, and a hundred thousand.

WAR OF THE GLADIATORS (B. C. 73-71): CRASSUS.—For upwards of two years Spartacus was master of Italy. Not only were several pretors, but even both the consuls of the year 72, ignominiously defeated. At last, in 71, the command was intrusted to Crassus, who, in the absence of Pompey, was the ablest general of the republic. Six legions were given him, in addition to the remains of the consular armies already in the field. Crassus, after restoring discipline among his soldiers by decimating them, led them against the rebels. The gladiators were driven to the extreme point of Bruttium, and shut up in Rhegium by superior numbers and strong lines of circumvallation. Having attempted vainly to cross the straits into Sicily, Spartacus forced his way through the lines of Crassus and swept northward, but was overtaken with the main body of his followers. A desperate battle ensued, in which Spartacus was slain with 40,000 men. About 6000 were taken prisoners, whom Crassus impaled on each side of the Appian road, between Rome and Capua. A body of 5000 fugitives fell in with Pompey, then returning from Spain, and were also exterminated. For this trifling advantage, Pompey took to himself the credit of concluding the servile war, and wrote to the senate, "Crassus, indeed, has defeated the enemy, but I have extirpated them by the roots."

POMPEY AND CRASSUS CONSULS (B. C. 70).—Pompey and Crassus now approached the city at the head of their armies, and each laid claim to the consulship. Neither of them was by law qualified for the office. Pompey had filled as yet no subordinate civil magistracy, had not even been questor, and was only in his 35th year. Crassus was still pretor, and two years ought to elapse before he could become consul. But both generals having mutually agreed to support each other's candidacy, the senate dared not openly resist. Pompey,

moreover, declared himself the advocate of popular rights, and promised to restore the tribunitian power. He was elected by acclamation, and entered the city in triumph, Dec. 31st, B. C. 71. On the day following, he inaugurated his first consulship. One of his first acts was the bringing of a law for the restoration of the tribunitian power, which was passed with little opposition. Pompey lent also the weight of his influence to the pretor L. Aurelius Cotta, when the latter proposed a bill whereby the *judices* (judges) were to be taken in future from among the senators, the knights, and the officers of the treasury (*tribuni ærarii*). By these acts Pompey broke with the aristocracy, and became the popular hero.

THE MEDITERRANEAN PIRATES.—By the conquest of Greece thousands of expert mariners had been driven from the continent to the islands, and from the islands to their ships. The victories of the Romans in Asia, together with the frightful iniquities of proconsular rule, increased the number of those hardy adventurers; and, when Sulla required Mithridates (B. C. 84) to dismantle his armaments, the sailors, carrying off their vessels to the fortified harbors of the pirates in Cilicia and Crete, their chief strongholds, further added to their power, so that they soon became absolute masters throughout the Mediterranean. The Romans, whose attention had lately been wholly absorbed by the social and civil wars, were at last aroused to a sense of their danger. In the year 78 B. C. a war was begun, which, though carried on for several campaigns, left the pirates as formidable as ever. Driven from one point, they reappeared at another; and, not content with plundering wealthy cities and distant coasts, they made descents upon the Appian road, and carried off Roman magistrates with their lictors. All communication between Rome and the provinces was cut off by sea, or at least rendered extremely dangerous. The corn-ships of Sicily and Africa, upon which Rome to a great extent depended for its subsistence, could not reach the city, and the price of provisions in consequence rose enormously. Such a state of things had become intolerable, and all eyes were now directed to Pompey.

THE GABINIAN LAW.—At the beginning of B. C. 67, the tribune A. Gabinius brought forward a bill, proposing that the people should elect a man of consular rank, to be for three years invested with absolute power over the Mediterranean and its coasts for 50 miles inland, and to have the

disposal of 120,000 foot, 5000 horse, 500 galleys, and 6000 Attic talents. Though the bill did not actually mention Pompey, its object was clear. The aristocracy were in the utmost alarm. Yet, despite their strenuous opposition, supported by the eloquence of Q. Catulus and Q. Hortensius, the bill was passed, and the price of the provisions at Rome, immediately fell—a fact which showed the immense confidence which all parties placed in the military abilities of Pompey.

POMPEY DESTROYS THE PIRATES (B. C. 67). Pompey's plans were formed with great skill, and crowned with complete success. He divided the Mediterranean into 13 portions, appointing a commander for each. His lieutenants, thus distributed, hunted the pirates out of every bay and creek, while he with a select squadron sweeping the middle Mediterranean chased the enemy eastward. A period of forty days sufficed to clear the western seas, and restore the communication of Italy with Spain and Africa. Then, after spending a short time in Italy, Pompey again sailed, and within 49 days forced the pirates to the Cilician coast. Here, after killing a number of them and making besides about 20,000 prisoners, he compelled the rest to surrender. Thus within the space of three months was the war terminated.

THE SECOND MITHRIDATIC WAR (B. C. 83–82).—Murena, whom Sulla had left to hold command in Asia, was eager to earn the honor of a triumph. Pretending, therefore, that Mithridates had not yet evacuated the whole of Cappadocia, he invaded Pontus first in 83, and again in the ensuing spring. Mithridates, wholly unprepared for so flagrant a breach of the treaty lately concluded with Sulla, was taken by surprise, and offered no opposition to the first incursion of the Romans. But, when Murena reappeared, he met and defeated him on the banks of the Halys. At this juncture, peremptory orders from Sulla required Murena to desist from hostilities, and the king of Pontus consented to withdraw into his own territory. Thus ended what is commonly called the second Mithridatic War.

PREPARATIONS OF MITHRIDATES.—Mithridates was aware that Sulla's present intervention, as well as his former peace, was but a makeshift for the occasion; and that the haughty republic would never suffer the massacre of her citizens in Asia to remain unpunished. His own ambition too was now, as before, encouraged by the disaffection of

the provincials. Hence all his efforts were directed towards the formation of an army capable of contending with the soldiers of Rome. With this view, he armed his barbarians after the Roman fashion; and, aided by Marian refugees, strove by thorough discipline to bring his troops up to a state of real efficiency. Having further strengthened himself by concluding an alliance with Sertorius, upon the death of Nicomedes III, king of Bithynia, he resolved to oppose the Roman occupation of that country (B. C. 74).

BEGINNING OF THE THIRD MITHRIDATIC WAR (B. C. 74).—Mithridates took the field at the head of 120,000 foot and 16,000 horse, trained to the use of Roman weapons, and relieved from the luxurious encumbrances usually fatal to Oriental armies. He had, in addition, 100 scythed chariots and a fleet larger than any which the Romans could command. The two consuls of this year, L. Licinius Lucullus and M. Aurelius Cotta, had been dispatched to Asia; but neither was in time to oppose the first irruption of Mithridates. The king of Pontus traversed without obstacle almost the whole of Bithynia; and, when at length Cotta ventured to give him battle under the walls of Chalcēdon, his army and fleet were totally defeated. Hence Mithridates proceeded to lay siege to Cyzicus, both by sea and land.

SIEGE OF CYZICUS (B. C. 73).—The brave resistance of Cyzicus allowed Lucullus time to reach the scene of hostilities. But, not being strong enough to raise the siege by direct attack, from an advantageous post near by he contented himself with cutting off the supplies of the besiegers by land, while the storms of winter prevented them from receiving any by sea. Thus it was not long before famine began to be felt in the camp of Mithridates; and, all his assaults upon the city having failed, he was obliged early in the following year to abandon the enterprise.

MITHRIDATES EXPELLED FROM PONTUS (B. C. 72).—Mithridates withdrew by sea with part of his troops, directing his generals to lead the rest by land to Lampsacus. But both the fleet and the land-army were overtaken by the Romans, and signally defeated. Bithynia was freed of its invaders, and the war was transferred into the heart of the king's dominion. Here Mithridates, who had raised a fresh army, was again put to flight, and followed so closely by the victors that he must have fallen into their hands, had not a mule laden with gold been let loose between himself and his

pursuers. This treasure diverted the attention of the soldiers ; and thus a more important prey—the king himself—escaped them.

TIGRANES.—Expelled from Pontus, Mithridates fled into Armenia, to claim assistance of his son-in-law, Tigranes. Unwilling to engage openly in war with Rome, this prince for nearly two years refused to admit the fugitive monarch to his presence. At last, however, offended at the arrogance of Appius Claudius, whom Lucullus had sent to demand the surrender of Mithridates, Tigranes not only rejected the request, but determined at once to prepare for war.

SETTLEMENT OF ASIA (B. C. 70).—Lucullus, while waiting for the return of Claudius, devoted his attention to the settlement of Asia, which was suffering severely from the oppression of the farmers of the public taxes. He put a stop to their exactions, and earned the gratitude of the natives. But the anger of the *publicani* was aroused, and they continued to utter complaints against him until he was recalled.

BATTLE OF TIGRANOCERTA (B. C. 69).—The kingdom of Armenia, at this time, was at the height of its power. No longer confined to the mountain tract in which the Euphrates and the Tigris rise, it stretched from the Euxine to the Caspian, and westward encroached upon Cilicia, Cappadocia, and a large part of Syria. The sovereign of these extensive territories, looking on himself as the successor of the old Persian monarchs, after their example affected to be called *King of kings*. In Tigranes, the reigning prince, was seen an example of Oriental despotism. Relying on the multitude of his forces, he could not be led to doubt for a moment the result of a conflict even with Rome; and, surrounded by 55,000 horsemen, 150,000 heavy-armed infantry, 20,000 slingers, and 35,000 pioneers, he confidently awaited near Tigranocerta the Roman general, who had invaded his territory at the head of 15,000 men. "If they come as ambassadors," Tigranes remarked at the sight of the enemy, "they are too many; if as soldiers, they are too few." Of short duration, however, was the despot's fond delusion. In an instant, his mailed horsemen were cut to pieces; and the rest of his army, thrown into irremediable confusion, fled in disorder. The royal city of Tigranocerta fell with all its riches into the hands of the victors.

BATTLE OF ARTAXATA (B. C. 68).—Tigranes had purposely given battle before the arrival of Mithridates, in order

not to lose any portion of the glory which he anticipated. Taught by his defeat, he now resigned the conduct of the war to his father-in-law. The two kings levied another army of 10,000 foot and 25,000 horse; but, instead of venturing on a general engagement, they merely strove to harass the enemy by frequent skirmishes and to intercept his convoys. Lucullus, finding it impossible to bring them to a decisive action, marched against Artaxata, the capital of Armenia, where Tigranes had left his family and his treasure. This movement forced the allied monarchs to follow him, and risk a battle, which ended in their rout. But the early severity of the season, and the murmurs of his soldiers, prevented Lucullus from pushing on to Artaxata, and thus terminating the war.

MITHRIDATES REENTERS PONTUS (B. C. 68).—The spirit of Mithridates was not as yet broken. From the scene of his last defeat he hastened back to Pontus, the defence of which was entrusted to Fabius, one of the lieutenants of Lucullus. As the oppression of the Romans had excited a general disaffection, the people crowded around the standard of their newly-returned sovereign. Fabius was defeated, and compelled to shut himself up in the fortress of Cabira. In the following spring, Triarius, another lieutenant of Lucullus, with his whole force of 7,000 men, was completely annihilated—a heavier blow than the Romans, for many a year, had experienced.

RECALL OF LUCULLUS (B. C. 67).—From the field of Artaxata Lucullus, turning aside to Mesopotamia, besieged and captured Nisibis. But the successes of Mithridates in Pontus recalled him into that country. At his approach, Mithridates, again quitting his kingdom, withdrew into lower Armenia, and awaited there in a strong position the arrival of his ally, Tigranes. But the further proceedings of Lucullus were paralyzed by the mutinous spirit of his own troops. Their discontent was fomented by P. Clodius, and encouraged by reports from Rome, where the knights and partisans of Pompey were loud in their clamors against Lucullus. They charged him with protracting the war from motives of avarice and ambition; and the soldiery, often checked by him in their spirit of rapacity, readily joined in the general outcry. Accordingly, the allied monarchs, after the junction of their troops, were able to overrun Pontus and Cappadocia without opposition. The adversaries of Lucul-

lus, availing themselves of this circumstance, caused the appointment of one of the consuls, M. Acilius Glabrio, to the province of Bithynia with the command of the war against Mithridates. But the incompetence of this man soon rendered it necessary to intrust the direction or affairs in the east to abler hands.

THE MANILIAN LAW.—In B. C. 66, the tribune C. Manilius brought forward a bill giving to Pompey the command of the war against Mithridates, with unlimited sway over the fleet and army in the east, and with proconsular rights throughout Asia, as far as Armenia. As Pompey's actual commission, in virtue of the Gabinian law, already extended over the coasts and islands of the Mediterranean, by this new measure he would be invested with absolute authority over the greater part of the Roman world. Such power the aristocracy rightly deemed excessive, and strenuous opposition was made to the bill, especially by Catulus and Hortensius. But Cæsar and Cicero supported it, the one by the weight of his growing influence, the other by his eloquence;* and the people, who thought nothing too exalted for their favorite, cheerfully voted the Manilian law.

END OF THE MITHRIDATIC WAR (B. C. 66-63).—The forces of the enemy whom Pompey was directed to crush, were already thoroughly broken; but his skillful plan of operations certainly hastened the downfall of Mithridates. For, by setting the Parthians against Tigranes so as to give him occupation at home, and by judiciously stationing his fleet in different squadrons along the coast of Asia Minor, Pompey effectually cut off the king of Pontus from all foreign assistance. Thus completely thrown back on his own resources, Mithridates, who had with him only 30,000 men, did not dare venture an engagement, and withdrew gradually to the frontiers of Armenia. For a long time, indeed, he succeeded in avoiding a battle; but he was at length surprised as he marched through a narrow pass, and completely defeated. Escaping with a few horsemen, he fled to Tigranes, who this time refused him all shelter and assistance. The fallen monarch then fought his way, through a thousand perils, to his own distant dominions in the Cimmerian Bosphorus, where, though secure against the Roman eagles, he found himself enveloped in revolts and intrigues among his

* In an oration which has come down to us—*Pro Lege Manilia*.

own people. Threatened with death by his son Pharnaces,* the aged monarch took poison, which he constantly carried with him. But his constitution had been so long inured to antidotes, that the poison produced no effect; and he requested one of his Gaulish mercenaries to dispatch him with his sword.

ROMAN SUPREMACY EXTENDED OVER SYRIA, PHŒNICIA, CŒLESYRIA, AND PALESTINE (B. C. 66–62).—Unwilling to pursue Mithridates amidst the barren regions of the Euxine and the Caspian, Pompey led his victorious troops into Armenia, where he received the submission of Tigranes, together with the surrender of all this prince's claims to Syria, Phœnicia, Cilicia, Galatia, and Cappadocia. He next (B. C. 65) reduced Pontus to the form of a Roman province. Thence marching into Syria, he deposed Antiochus Asiaticus, and compelled the neighboring princes who had established kingdoms on the ruins of the Syrian empire, to submit to Rome (B. C. 64). Phœnicia, Cœlesyria, and Palestine, were likewise conquered (B. C. 63). In Palestine, two brothers, Hyrcanus and Aristobulus, were angrily contesting the dignity of high-priest, to which was annexed also the temporal sovereignty, and the quarrel was referred to Pompey. But the rashness of Aristobulus caused his own imprisonment and the storming of Jerusalem, with the slaughter of 10,000 Jews. The temple was profaned by the presence of the Roman standards, and Pompey sacrilegiously entered the Holy of Holies.† Having imposed a tribute and demolished the walls of Jerusalem, he carried off Aristobulus to Rome, and left to Hyrcanus the priesthood and principality. But the authority of the latter was limited to Judea proper, and he was not allowed either the crown or the title of king. Henceforth Judea ceased to be a kingdom, and was subject to Rome.

CHAPTER XXVI.

CICERO.—CATILINE.—CATO.

CICERO'S EARLY LIFE.—Born at Arpinum (B. C. 106) of a knightly family, none of whose members had ever held

* Pharnaces, after his father's death, was confirmed by Pompey in the possession of the kingdom of Bosphorus.

† No human being, except the high-priest, had before penetrated into this sacred spot.

any curule office,* Cicero gradually rose in general esteem by his eloquence and integrity of life. After a thorough course of studies and a most laborious preparation, at the age of 26 he came forward as a pleader. The first of his extant speeches in a civil suit, is that for P. Quintius (B. C. 81); the first delivered upon a criminal trial, was in defence of Sex. Roscius of Ameria, accused of having murdered his father. The charge appears to have been a mere conspiracy. But the accuser was a favorite with Sulla, and few were willing to incur the displeasure of the tyrannical dictator. Young Cicero boldly affronted this danger, and secured the acquittal of his client. On prudential motives, however, and under pretence of his health, his friends thought it best that he should withdraw for a while from Italy. Cicero, therefore, went abroad; and, after visiting the principal philosophers and rhetoricians of the east, in his thirtieth year returned to Rome, so strengthened and improved in bodily and mental powers that he soon eclipsed all his competitors at the bar. Hence in B. C. 76, although unsupported by any family interest, he was elected questor;† and in this capacity served in Sicily under Sex. Peducæus, pretor of Lilybæum. The metropolis was at this time visited by a scarcity of corn. Cicero, in that delicate situation, acquitted himself with such address as to supply the clamorous wants of the people, without oppressing the province from which the provisions were raised, and thus won universal approbation. During his edileship—an office to which he at once was elected, when he reached the legal age—he made his first appearance as public prosecutor, and brought to justice Verres, late pretor in Sicily, who was charged with high crimes and misdemeanors in his government. In Cicero's famous orations against this official—no bad type of the men of his class, is found a graphic portrait of a provincial tyrant.

VERRES.—About the time of Sulla's abdication, Caius Verres, accompanied the pretor Dolabella to his government of Cilicia. On his way thither, he extorted a sum of money from the chief magistrate of Sicyon, by smoking him with a fire of green wood till he yielded. At Athens, Delos, Chios,

* Cicero, therefore, never was anything beyond a *new man*, *novus homo*.

† This was the first step on the official ladder. This dignity, as he already possessed the necessary property qualification, gave him a seat in the senate.

Erythræa, and Halicarnassus, he shared with his chief the plunder of the sacred edifices. At Samos, he stripped a famous temple on his own account. At Perga, he scraped the heavy coat of gilding from the statue of Diana. From Miletus he stole a fine ship provided for his conveyance. At Lampsacus, he sought to dishonor the daughter of the first citizen of the place; and, when he was resisted by her father and brother, he charged them with attempting his life, and obtained their execution. Such were the atrocities of the young ruffian, while yet a mere dependent of the proconsul. Being appointed questor, he quickly extorted from two to three millions of sesterces, with which he was enabled to pay for his election to the pretorship.

As proprætor in Sicily (B. C. 73), Verres sold both his patronage and his decisions, making sport alike of the laws, religion, fortunes, and lives of the provincials. Not a single senator of the 65 cities in the island was elected without offering him a bribe, and he levied for his own profit many hundred thousand bushels of grain beyond the authorized tithe. But Verres had a taste for art, as well as a thirst for lucre. Wherever he stopped, he extorted gems, vases; trinkets, antiques, curiosities, ornaments of gold and silver, even statues of the gods—the objects of local worship, all of which were destined to decorate his villas. The Roman treasury suffered, as well as the Sicilian people; for Verres embezzled the sums advanced to pay for the supply of corn to the city. He left the fleet without equipments; and, when it was worsted by the pirates, he executed the officers for cowardice. He crowned his enormities by crucifying a Roman trader on the beach, in sight of Italy, that he might address to his native shores the ineffectual cry, “I am a Roman citizen!”

IMPEACHMENT OF VERRES* (B. C. 70).—Such was the man whom Cicero determined to bring to justice. Verres met his impeachment with characteristic boldness. Strenuous efforts were made by him and his influential patrons, either to put off the trial indefinitely, or to turn it into a sham, by wresting the case from the hands of Cicero and procuring the appointment of a friend as public prosecutor. Both these attempts

* State trials were held in the forum, where a temporary tribunal with accommodation for counsel, witnesses, and jury was erected in the open air. The ordinary trials took place in halls, called *basilicæ*, erected on the north and south sides of the forum.

were defeated by Cicero's energy and spirit. In less than two months, he traversed the whole of Sicily collecting evidence, and returned attended by all the necessary witnesses. Their depositions and his documentary evidence constituted a mass of testimony so decisive, that Verres, after hearing the brief opening speech of his prosecutor, despaired of the contest and went into exile. The full pleadings, however, which were to have been delivered, had the trial been permitted to run its ordinary course, were subsequently published by Cicero, and are among the most magnificent pieces of declamation found in any language.

CICERO'S ORATORICAL PREEMINENCE.—The result of this trial was to raise Cicero at once to the leadership of the Roman bar, a place before occupied by Hortensius, eight years his senior, and by C. Aurelius Cotta. Hortensius had the advantage of the most extraordinary memory, a musical voice, and a rich flow of language. He had till now tried hard to retain his forensic supremacy, but from that moment seems to have quietly yielded to the rising fame of his younger rival. Cicero, in his edileship (B. C. 69), conducted himself with singular propriety; and, after the customary interval of two years, he was returned at the head of the list as pretor. It was during his pretorship (B. C. 66) that, first appearing in the capacity of a political orator, he delivered from the *rostra* his celebrated address to the people in support of the Manilian law—a splendid panegyric of Pompey, which gained him the friendship of this powerful person, together with an increase of the popular favor, and did much to pave his way to the consulship.

CATILINE.—The wealth accruing from the conquest of the east, overthrew at Rome all moral barriers to the torrent of indulgence. Luxury and dissipation, political and private gambling, converted men of rank into needy and reckless adventurers. Among these, none was so conspicuous or so able, as L. Sergius Catiline. His birth, his high connections, his iron frame equally capable of enduring the stern toils of war and the excesses of debauch, his address in bodily exercises, made him a model for the younger nobles, and gave him an extraordinary ascendancy over them. Catiline was their friend, their champion, their idol. Though tainted with crimes, and laden with infamy to such a degree that he was believed to have made away with his brother, his first wife, and his son, he became pretor in B. C. 68, and

was governor of Africa the following year, during which magistracy he amassed enough, he thought, to satisfy his creditors and purchase the consulship. But a charge of malversation which met him on his return from Africa, disqualified him to be a candidate, and his first object was to procure his acquittal. This being obtained by means of bribes, and a numerous body of supporters having been won over, he now preferred his suit (B. C. 64) for the consulship, not doubting that he should be elected, together with his friend C. Antonius, a weak man, whose insignificance would enable him to govern the state according to his own caprice.

CONSULSHIP OF CICERO (B. C. 63).—Besides Catiline and Antonius, there was a third candidate for the consulship, M. Tullius Cicero. Much as the nobles despised him as a new man, they joined the knights and Pompey's friends in giving him their support, in order to exclude Catiline, whose intentions were suspected. The consequence was that Cicero and Antonius were returned, the former almost by acclamation, the latter by a small majority over Catiline. Once consul, Cicero, renouncing his connection with the popular party, became a staunch supporter of the aristocracy. He successfully opposed an agrarian law proposed by the tribune Rullus, and defended Rabirius, an aged senator, accused of having been concerned in the death of Saturninus. But the attention of Cicero was chiefly directed to the movements of Catiline.

THE CONSPIRACY OF CATILINE (B. C. 63).—Since his repulse from the consulship, Catiline had been gathering round him a band of profligate young nobles, and needy adventurers of all classes. He had partisans who were collecting and drilling troops for him, in several parts of Italy. His promises to his followers were: the division among themselves of all offices of honor and emolument, the abolition of debts, the exile or murder of the wealthiest citizens, and the confiscation of their property. All this he would effect so soon as he was made consul, an office for which he was again a candidate, and to which there was but one bar—Cicero's opposition and vigilance. Cicero's death was accordingly decided upon, and assassins were hired to kill him during the election of the incoming consuls. But the plot was discovered, and the election put off. When it did take place, Cicero appeared in the comitia, wearing somewhat ostentatiously a corselet of bright steel, to show that he knew

his danger, and surrounded by a strong force of the younger citizens of the middle class. Thanks to this, the election passed off quietly, and Catiline was again rejected. Driven to despair by this fresh disappointment, he resolved at once to bring matters to a crisis. On the night of the 6th of Nov., summoning his chief partisans, he made arrangements for an immediate outbreak. At the concerted moment, his adherents outside of Rome were to advance simultaneously against the city, whilst the conspirators within would, in a hundred places, set it on fire, murder Cicero, and seize the reins of government.

THE FIRST SPEECH AGAINST CATILINE (Nov. 8).— Happily the whole plot was betrayed* to Cicero. Calling immediately a meeting of the senate in the temple of Jupiter Stator, a strong position on the Palatine, the consul addressed the arch-conspirator personally in that eloquent invective which has come down to us as his First Oration against Catiline. The wretch at first attempted a justification. But, the senators shouting in his ears the cries of ‘enemy’ and ‘parricide,’ he lost all self-control, and rushed forth, exclaiming that he would ‘smother the conflagration of his own house in the ruin of the city.’ At nightfall, leaving the chief control of affairs at Rome to his associates Lentulus and Cethegus, he proceeded to join his armed adherents at Fesulæ.

EXECUTION OF CATILINE’S ACCOMPLICES.—When on the morrow the flight of Catiline was known, Cicero delivered his Second Speech, which was addressed to the people in the forum. The senate, on its part, declared Catiline a public enemy, and the consul Antonius was sent against him, while Cicero remained to guard the city. His chief object now was to obtain such evidence, as should warrant him in apprehending the conspirators who were still within the walls. This was furnished by the imprudence of Lentulus and Cethegus, who entrusted to certain ambassadors of the Allobroges a paper signed by themselves, wherein the nature of the plot was set forth. With this document in his possession,† Cicero arraigned the con-

*Through Fulvia, the mistress of L. Curius, one of Catiline’s intimate associates.

†How the ambassadors, after revealing the disclosures of Lentulus to the senator L. Fabius Sanga, were directed to obtain a written paper signed by the ringleaders, and on leaving the city were intercepted with this document, forms the subject of the Third Oration, delivered in the forum.

spirators before the senate, and their guilt was established beyond the possibility of a doubt. They were declared *perduelles*, or public enemies. On Dec. 5th, the senate again met, to decide upon their fate. Silanus, consul elect, who spoke first, pronounced for death, and all the consulars followed on the same side. But, when it came to Cæsar's turn to speak, he gave his vote for perpetual imprisonment, and, encouraged by him, many raised their voice for mercy. Cicero, who desired the death of the conspirators, tried to check the current of opinion; but, mighty as he was in the forum, he had little influence over the senate. It was different, however, when Cato rose, and, in a tone of deep conviction demanded the instant execution of the criminals. His views were adopted by a majority of the members present, and a decree passed to that effect. The knights, who waited impatiently for the result, were furious against Cæsar, and could hardly be restrained from assassinating him. Cicero took care that the sentence should be executed without delay. The condemned men were brought to the Tullianum, the prison under the Capitoline, and there strangled. When Cicero, who attended to the last, traversed the forum on his way home, he exclaimed to the crowds of people through which he made his way, ' *Vixerunt*—They have lived!' and the people shuddered in silence.

DEATH OF CATILINE (B. C. 62).—Outside the walls of Rome, the officers of the senate had been no less successful in repressing the insurrection. In Etruria alone was the resistance serious and obstinate. Catiline had there assembled 20,000 men, but of these one-fourth only were fully armed. Against him there advanced from Rome the consul Antonius, while his rear was menaced by a second army under Metellus Rex, lately returned from the east. The news of the executions at Rome threw Catiline into despair. His men deserted him by whole cohorts, and soon no more than 4000 remained under his standard. Foreseeing the ruin which must fall upon him, he tried to escape westward into the Province, but the passes were blocked by Metellus, and he was forced to turn and face Antonius again. The armies met near Pistoria. The half-hearted consul feigned sickness, and left the command of his legions to Petreius. After a short but sharp struggle, the rebels were cut to pieces, and the head of Catiline, who died fighting gallantly in advance of his troops, was cut off and sent to Rome.

CICERO'S POPULARITY.—For his important services to the state, Cicero was hailed by Catulus in the senate, and by Catō in the forum, as the 'The father of his Country.' Thanksgivings in his name were voted to the gods, and all Italy joined in enthusiastic admiration and gratitude. Cicero's elation knew no bounds. He fancied that his political influence was now supreme; he believed himself secure at the head of the aristocratical party, which he had saved. In this, he greatly erred; that party felt no devotion for their preserver. Cæsar, Crassus, and Pompey, looked coldly on him, while the surviving friends of Catiline swore vengeance. In his great achievement, indeed, lay the germ of his downfall. The execution of the conspirators was a violation of a fundamental principle of the constitution, that no citizen should be put to death, until sentenced by the people in their comitia; and of this violation was Cicero soon reminded. On the last day of the year, when, according to established custom, he ascended the rostra to give an account to the people of his consulship, the tribune elect, Metellus Celer, interposed. "The man," he said, "who condemned our fellow-citizens unheard, shall not himself be listened to," and he required him to confine himself to the customary oath that he obeyed the laws. But this attack was premature. The audience had not yet forgotten their recent escape; so that, when Cicero swore with a loud voice that 'he had saved the republic and the city from ruin,' both nobles and commons with one voice responded that he had sworn truly.

CICERO'S SUBSEQUENT POLITICAL CAREER.—During his consulship, Cicero had welded together the two chief orders—the equestrian and the senatorial, and it was one of his great political objects to keep them united by a common interest in the government. This union, had it persevered, would doubtless have witnessed the happiest results. But Cicero lacked that which is first in a statesman—the quality of firmness; and, when he met with opposition on the part of the aristocracy, he gave up his object. The two orders, accordingly, became soon again jealous of each other, and consequently as exposed as ever to the attacks of enterprising demagogues.

After the eventful period of his consulate, Cicero's political career was a miserable failure. His foresight, sagacity, practical good sense, and singular tact, were lost for want of

that strength of mind which points them steadily to one object, and which was at that time especially needed to adjust the pretensions of the rival parties in the commonwealth, to withstand the encroachments of Pompey, and to baffle the arts of Cæsar.

CATO (B. C. 95-46) AS A ROMAN, A SOLDIER, A PUBLIC MAN.—The individual who helped Cicero the most in crushing the Catilinarian conspiracy, and thwarted him the most in his endeavor to unite the equestrian order with the senate, was M. Porcius Cato. Heir to the venerable name of the censor Cato, his great-grandfather, the younger Cato believed, like his ancestor, in the mission of a superior caste to govern the Roman commonwealth, in the right of a superior race to hold the world in bondage. Of singular strength of will and tenacity of purpose, he trained himself, from his early years, after the austere pattern of the ancient times. Inured to frugality, and of simple tastes, he rose above the temptations of his class to rapine and extortion. An enthusiastic admirer of the Stoic philosophy, he followed the strictest rules of integrity, being determined to make a stand against the corruptions of the time.

Cato served as a volunteer during the war with Spartacus. Amidst the effeminacy and luxury which prevailed, he faithfully observed discipline, and evinced so much spirit, coolness, and capacity, that Gellius, his general, would have given him the highest military rewards. These Cato refused, saying that he had done nothing worthy of such recompense. He was shortly after sent into Macedon in the capacity of tribune, with the command of a legion. By instruction and persuasion, rewards and punishments, but especially by exemplifying what he commanded, he succeeded in making all his men like himself—peaceable and warlike, valiant and just.

At Rome, he showed himself the open enemy of injustice, intrigue, and corruption. In the senate, measures for the support of order and morality were sure to find in him a powerful defender; those of a contrary nature, a formidable opponent. These virtues of Cato, whilst they raised his reputation, and procured him influence, were yet a bar towards his elevation to the consulship. Intrigues and bribery had now the chief share in the election of magistrates; and Cato scorned to court the popular favor by such means. Hence, when he presented himself as a candidate, he failed to

be elected. Whilst others would have been overwhelmed by this discomfiture, Cato was so little concerned at the event, that he anointed himself that same day to play a game of ball, and after dinner, with his friends, walked as usual in the forum.

Though Cato had not half of Cicero's abilities, yet his firmness and moral virtues raised him to the high station which the other could not keep—that of trusted leader of the senatorial party. But his want of tact little qualified him to counteract the intrigues of his wily adversaries. "No man," Cicero said, "means better, but he ruins our affairs; he speaks as a citizen of Plato's republic, not as one dwelling among the dregs of Romulus." Cato boldly opposed, with much personal danger, the ambitious views of Cæsar and Pompey, each of whom sought to concentrate the whole power; but was unable to save the public liberty, and buried himself under its ruin (B. C. 46).

CHAPTER XXVII.

JULIUS CÆSAR.—THE FIRST TRIUMVIRATE.—BANISHMENT AND RECALL OF CICERO.

EARLY CAREER OF JULIUS CÆSAR.—C. Julius Cæsar was born in B. C. 100. Though descended of a patrician family of the highest antiquity, he was closely connected with the popular party by the marriage of his aunt Julia with the great Marius; and he himself took to wife at an early age Cornelia, the daughter of Cinna, the most distinguished of the Marian leaders. Disdaining to divorce her at the bidding of Sulla, he was included in the proscription list; and it was with much difficulty that his friends obtained his pardon from the dictator, who observed 'that in him there were many Mariuses.'

In fact, Cæsar already looked on himself as the rightful heir to the leadership of the popular party; and, justly discerning that many causes were fast obliterating the instincts of freedom, and moulding the Romans to subjection to a single ruler, he lent at once his whole strength to what he deemed an inevitable revolution. He was careful, however,

to hide his purpose under appearance of frivolity, and at first was chiefly known as a leader of fashion. But his genial and generous nature, his engaging manners and condescension, as well as his personal beauty, gained him many friends. Later on, the brilliancy of his talents, the eloquence with which he defended his clients and impeached the nobles for malversation abroad, further increased the number of his admirers and devoted adherents.

CÆSAR COURTS POPULARITY (B. C. 68-63).—During his questorship, which dignity he obtained in B. C. 68, Cæsar lost his aunt Julia and his wife Cornelia. Over both of them he pronounced funeral orations in the forum, using this opportunity to praise the former leaders of the popular party; and, at the funeral of his aunt, to the great delight of the populace, he caused the images of Marius to be carried in the procession. As edile (B. C. 65), he endeared himself still more to the people by the lavish munificence of his shows, but especially by causing the statue of Marius and the Cimbrian trophies to be restored and placed in the Capitol. Before this time, he had warmly supported the Gabinian and Manilian laws, in opposition to the aristocracy; and now he favored with his whole influence the agrarian law of Rullus (B. C. 63). Being invited to preside over a tribunal which inquired into cases of murder, he seized the opportunity to brand with a legal stigma the dictatorship of Sulla, by condemning two obscure wretches who had been implicated in the guilt of his proscriptions. He next caused Rabirius, an aged senator, to be charged before him with the murder of Saturninus.

IMPEACHMENT OF RABIRIUS (B. C. 63).—Cicero, then consul, pleaded for Rabirius, but in vain. The accused now appealed to the tribes; and, though the deed had been done 36 years before, and Rabirius was evidently guiltless, yet the people would have defied all justice for the sake of a party triumph, had not the pretor struck the flag on the Janiculum, while the tribes were assembled. This ancient signal was still respected. The assembly was dissolved, the people, who had just before clamored for innocent blood, laughing at the trick by which their fury had been arrested. Cæsar had shown his power, and was content to let the matter drop.

CÆSAR CHIEF PONTIFF (B. C. 63).—The leaders of the people determined to reward so bold a champion by getting

him elected to the office of chief pontiff, which would render his person inviolable. Neither the laxity of his morals, nor his avowed disregard for the religious traditions of the state, nor the exalted merit of Catulus, who competed with him for the dignity, were sufficient obstacles to his promotion. He was triumphantly elected.

PROFANATION OF SACRED RITES BY CLODIUS (B. C. 62).—A few months later, P. Clodius, the profligate young noble whom we have seen inciting the army of Lucullus to insurrection, penetrated into Cæsar's house in female attire, during the celebration of the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, from which all males were excluded. He was detected and expelled. The outrage was soon made public, and the nobles did their best to magnify the scandal, hoping both to discredit Cæsar and sow discord between him and the popular party, with whom Clodius was a great favorite. The senate took cognizance of the matter, and referred it to the members of the Pontifical College, who, with Cæsar at their head as chief pontiff, passed a resolution that sacrilege had been committed. Thus Cæsar's honor and office were compromised; and, yet, he felt loath to be severe toward one who was an instrument of his own policy. He evaded the difficulty, by enabling Clodius to bribe his judges, and by divorcing his own spouse upon this plea 'that Cæsar's wife should be beyond suspicion.'

POMPEY'S GREAT TRIUMPH.—Early in the year B. C. 61, Pompey arrived at the gates of Rome, asking a triumph for himself, lands for his veterans, and the ratification of his measures in Asia. The senate, in opposition to whom he had been appointed to the command against the pirates and Mithridates, were resolved to make him feel their displeasure. He was harassed with ungracious delays, and his triumph was not celebrated till 9 months after his return. When it at last took place, the display of spoils and trophies surpassed all that Rome had yet seen. The tablets carried in the procession declared, that he had taken 1000 fortresses, 700 towns, and 800 ships; that he had founded 39 cities; that he had raised the public revenue from 59 to 85 millions; and that he had brought into the treasury 20,000 talents (\$25,000,000). With this triumph, ended the first and most brilliant period of Pompey's career. His place in the popular affections, during his prolonged absence from Rome, had been usurped by Cæsar; and the part which he was now

called upon to play in the civil commotions of the republic, was one for which neither his natural talents nor his previous habits had in the least fitted him.

CÆSAR'S FIRST MILITARY COMMAND (B. C. 61-60).—Secure in the affection of the people at Rome, Cæsar now aimed at a military position such as Pompey and Sulla and Marius had assumed. The province of Farther Spain was offered to him; but he was so deep in debt that, as he avowed, he wanted 250 millions of sesterces (about \$10,000,000) to be 'worth nothing.' He was also hindered by a decree which forbade any magistrate to go abroad, till the Clodian process should be decided. The first difficulty was got over by the help of Crassus, who advanced \$1,000,000 for Cæsar's pressing needs. The other impediment Cæsar boldly disregarded.

On assuming his command, he at once made war upon some native tribes that were still independent, ingratiating himself with his officers and soldiers, and filling his own pockets, as well as theirs, with plunder. One campaign sufficed to free him from debt, and to reveal to him his own military capacity. Thereupon, in the course of the year 60, as the elections drew near, he threw up his command, and appeared suddenly before the city. He claimed a triumph; but his position as an imperator was not consistent with that of a candidate for the consulship. The nobles refused to relax the law in his favor, and to their surprise Cæsar immediately relinquished the triumph, and sued for the consulship.

FIRST TRIUMVIRATE (B. C. 60).—Cæsar, profiting by the coldness which existed between Pompey and the aristocracy, drew the former to himself by promising to aid him in obtaining the ratification of his acts in Asia and lands for his veterans. He also made him feel the importance of securing the cooperation of Crassus, who by his connections and immense wealth wielded great political influence. Pompey and Crassus, who had long been deadly enemies, were therefore reconciled; and the three secretly entered into an agreement to divide the power among themselves. The glory of Pompey, the wealth of Crassus, and the popularity of Cæsar, gave to this triumvirate, as it came afterwards to be called, an irresistible influence over public affairs. Through this new combination, Cæsar was not only raised to the consulship, but enabled, during his term of office, to bring about whatever enactments he chose to propose.

CONSULSHIP OF CÆSAR (B. C. 59).—Cæsar's first consulship was distinguished by several important measures. He first proposed an agrarian law, which embraced an assignment of lands to the Pompeian veterans, together with the distribution among the poorer citizens of large public domains in Campania. To the passing of the bill the nobles opposed a spirited resistance. During the voting, the other consul, Bibulus, supported by Cato and Lucullus, advanced to Cæsar's chair, and, on a plea of unpropitious omens, abruptly dissolved the assembly. Thereupon the populace, among whom were a multitude of armed men introduced by Pompey, furiously attacked Bibulus, and cast him down the steps of the temple of Castor. Two of the tribunes were wounded; Lucullus was nearly killed, and Cato was twice dragged by main force from the rostra: thus was the law finally carried. Bibulus, apprehensive of fresh violence, shut himself up in his house, and Cæsar continued to govern unchecked, as if he had been sole consul and absolute ruler.

He easily obtained from the people the ratification of all Pompey's acts in Asia; and, to cement their union more closely, gave him in marriage his only daughter, Julia. He next detached the knights from the aristocracy. In their eagerness to obtain the farming of the public taxes in Asia, the *equites* had agreed to pay too large a sum. Seeing their mistake, they petitioned the senate for a reduction of the bid. This, chiefly through Cato's opposition, was denied them. Cæsar then carried a law, which relieved them of one third of the stipulated amount. Having thus gratified the people, the knights, and Pompey, he had no difficulty in obtaining for himself the Gallic provinces. This government he preferred to all others, because he could pass the winter in Italy and keep up his communication with the city, while the disturbed state of Farther Gaul, now threatened by the Helvetii, would enable him to engage in a series of wars, and form an army devoted to his interests. For he already saw, that the struggle among the different parties at Rome must eventually be terminated by the sword.

CLODIUS ELECTED TRIBUNE (B. C. 68).—Clodius, when impeached for violating the mysteries of the *Bona Dea*, in defence pleaded an alibi, offering to prove that he was at Interamna at the very time when the crime was said to have been committed. But Cicero, coming forward as a witness, swore that he had spoken to Clodius on the day in question.

From that moment, Clodius vowed deadly vengeance. To compass it more readily, he further ingratiated himself with Cæsar, secured even the friendship of Pompey, and with the help of the triumvirs was elected tribune* for B. C. 58.

BANISHMENT OF CICERO (AP., 58).—Clodius, after entering upon office, took care by various measures to confirm his influence with the populace. He substituted gratuitous to cheap doles of corn; forbade the consuls to dissolve the comitia under pretence of observing the heavens; and deprived the censors of their power of degrading knights and senators, at their sole discretion. He next proposed a bill interdicting fire and water to whosoever should have inflicted death on a citizen, without allowing an appeal to the tribes. Cicero, though not named, was clearly pointed at. Declining Cæsar's offer of a post in his province, he descended in the forum in the garb of a suppliant, soliciting the compassion of all whom he met. The senators were disposed to stand by him. But the consuls, Piso and Gabinius, supported Clodius, who raised a tumult in the streets, and pelted Cicero and his sad *cortege* with mud and stones. Pompey, when appealed to, coldly repulsed him. Clodius convened the tribes outside the walls to allow the attendance of Cæsar, who, after condemning the execution of the conspirators, faintly exhorted the people to forego revenge and condone the offence.

Cicero had already retired from the city, but the implacable Clodius caused him to be sentenced by name. Cicero was banished 400 miles from Rome, or beyond Italy. It was declared capital even to propose his recall. His estates were confiscated, his cherished villa at Tusculum given over to pillage, and his mansion on the Palatine pulled down, part of the site being cynically dedicated to the goddess Liberty, so as to render its restitution impossible.

RIOTS AT ROME (B. C. 57).—Clodius, blinded by his success, did not care to consult any longer the views of the triumvirs. He restored Tigranes to liberty; he publicly ridiculed Pompey, and perhaps even made an attempt upon his life. Pompey, in revenge, resolved to procure the recall of Cicero, and was thus brought again into some friendly relations with the aristocratical party. The next elections raised

* As Clodius was a patrician, he could not sue for the tribuneship until he was, by means of a special law, adopted into a plebeian family.

to power some decided friends of Cicero and resolute opponents of Clodius. But, though the latter was no longer in office, he had, among the tribunes, several partisans, who strenuously opposed Cicero's return; and, surrounded by a band of ruffians, he openly defied or attacked his opponents. The nobles, in self-defence, armed a party of swordsmen under the tribune T. Annius Milo, a man as unprincipled and violent as Clodius himself. For seven months, the two factions shed each other's blood in the sight of the affrighted citizens, and the streets of Rome were the scene of almost daily conflicts.

RETURN OF CICERO (SEPT., B. C. 57).—At last, when the senate thought that the tribes could meet in safety, with the full approbation of Pompey they invited the voters from the different parts of Italy to repair to Rome, and assist in carrying a law for the recall of Cicero. Accordingly, on the 4th of August, the bill was passed by an overwhelming majority. The patriot's return was not unlike a triumphal procession. From Brundisium to Rome, he received deputations and congratulatory addresses from all the towns along the road; and, when he neared the city, a vast multitude poured forth to meet him, while the crowd rent the air with acclamations, as he passed through the forum, and ascended the Capitol to give thanks to Jupiter (Sept. 4th, B. C. 57). But, glorious as was Cicero's return, he reentered Rome an altered man. By the unmanly dejection to which, in the hour of his trial, he had yielded, the weakness of his character was revealed. Feeling unequal to the task of resisting the triumvirs, he lent them his support, and publicly praised those proceedings which he had once openly and loudly condemned.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

CÆSAR'S CAMPAIGNS IN GAUL—B. C. 58–50.

CÆSAR'S OBJECT.—Cæsar's government included, not only Illyricum and the Cisalpine, but the portion of Transalpine Gaul known as the Province, the only part of the

country as yet conquered by the Romans. The rest of Gaul, comprised between the Pyrenees, the Atlantic, the Rhine, the Swiss mountains, and the Roman province, was still inde-



pendent. The *Belgæ* inhabited the regions north of the Seine; the *Aquitani*, the south part of the Garonne; and the *Celtæ*, the intermediate territory. These nations, with

their many tribal divisions and subdivisions, Cæsar now resolved to bring under the Roman sway—a work which occupied the next nine years.

CÆSAR BEATS OFF THE HELVETII AND THE SUEVI (B. C. 58).—Cæsar set out for his province toward the end of April, in B. C. 58. During this year, he delivered Gaul from two invasions; that of the Helvetii, who, to the number of 400,000 persons, were seeking new settlements; and that of the Suevi (wanderers), who under their chief Ariovistus had crossed the Rhine and approached Vesuntio (Besançon). Having driven back these invaders, Cæsar set himself to form alliances with some of the Gallic communities and sow the seed of discord among others, so as to prepare the way, after the Roman fashion, for the subjugation of them all. The Ædui were the first to accept his alliance and protection.

THE BELGIC WAR (B. C. 57).—Alarmed at Cæsar's designs, the Belgic tribes raised an immense force to resist his progress. Nothing daunted by their reputation for valor, he marched into their territory in the spring of 57; entered the country of the Remi, who submitted at his approach; and, pitching his camp in a strong position on the Aisne (Axona), waited till want of provisions forced the Gauls to break up their vast army and withdraw to their homes. Then resuming the offensive, he subdued in quick succession the Suessiones, the Bellovaci, and the Ambiani. But, when he came into the country of the Nervii, he was set upon by the natives before his entrenchments were completed, and for some time placed in imminent danger. At last, his genius and Roman discipline prevailed. The assailants were beaten off; and, before the end of the campaign, all the Belgæ had made their submission.

SUBJUGATION OF THE WESTERN TRIBES (B. C. 56).—In the third campaign, Cæsar conducted a naval war against the Veneti, in modern Brittany; reduced the Morini, in the neighborhood of Calais, and attacked the Menapii near the mouths of the Scheldt and the Rhine. Meanwhile, young Crassus, the son of the triumvir, one of his lieutenants, conquered the tribes of the southwest, in Aquitania. Thus all Gaul had, in three years, been overrun and apparently reduced to subjection.

INVASION OF GERMANY AND BRITAIN (B. C. 55-54).—In the next year, two German tribes, the Usipetes and the

Tenchtheri, pushed westward by the Suevi, crossed the Rhine into Gaul not far from the sea. These Cæsar not only drove back, but followed into Germany, less perhaps with the intention of extending the Roman dominions, than of procuring the means of booty together with employment for his soldiers. He made a bridge across the Rhine, and took his army over, cavalry and all, in 10 days. Eighteen days he spent on the eastern side of the river, ravaging the country of the Sigambri, burning their villages, and cutting down their corn, after which he returned to Gaul, and broke down the bridge. There were left of the fighting season just a few weeks. These Cæsar employed in an invasion of Britain, about which he desired to obtain some knowledge from personal observation.—With a more powerful armament he again went thither the following year, penetrated to some distance into the interior of the country, defeated the Britons in a series of engagements, and, having imposed a tribute which probably was never paid, returned to Gaul with the satisfaction of being the first of his nation that invaded Britain.

REVOLT IN THE NORTHEAST OF GAUL (B. C. 54).—The fall of B. C. 54 was made memorable by the revolt of the Belgæ. In consequence of the scarcity of corn—the result of excessive drought, Cæsar was obliged to divide his forces, and to station his legions for the winter in different parts. Among the Eburones, between the Meuse and the Rhine, were Sabinus and Cotta with nine or ten thousand men. Imprudently trusting to a false report that a German army was coming, the legates started to join the detachment of Quintus Cicero, the brother of the orator, who was wintering among the Nervii. But, on the march, the Romans were cut off almost to a man by Ambiorix and his Eburones. The victors, without loss of time, now advanced against Cicero; and, being joined by the Nervii, assaulted his camp. Here, however, the Romans succeeded in keeping the enemy at bay until the arrival of Cæsar, who hastened to their relief. His presence checked the spirit of insurrection; yet, for greater security, he remained the whole winter in Gaul. About this time, his proconsular power was extended for a second period of five years.

CÆSAR'S SIXTH CAMPAIGN (B. C. 53).—The preceding campaign had been prolonged far into the winter; and,

before the return of spring, Cæsar again took the field. He had received some reinforcements, and with 80,000 men under his command he would teach the Gauls, who were learning to unite themselves for common defence, that it was useless to contend against Rome. His first raid was against the Nervii. He next went to Lutetia Parisiorum (Paris); made a peace with the Senones and Carnutes in central Gaul; thence returning northward, devastated a second time the territory of the Menapii; and finally, crossing the Rhine once more, forced the Ubii to submit, and ravaged the country of the Suevi. Having thus isolated Ambiorix and the Eburones, he proceeded to exact condign punishment for the destruction of the detachment under Sabinus and Cotta. In his opinion, such an offence deserved nothing less than complete extirpation. This, with the help of certain Gauls and Germans, he did his best to accomplish. Yet, Ambiorix succeeded in eluding his pursuers.

CENTRAL GAUL REVOLTS UNDER VERCINGETORIX. —During the winter of B. C. 53-52, the tribes of central Gaul tried in turn to shake off the Roman yoke. The project originated among the Carnutes, whose chief town was Genabum (Orleans); but the soul of the enterprise was Vercingetorix, a gallant young chieftain of the Arverni, who collected around his person followers of every tribe between Paris and the ocean. Cæsar was then at the bath of Lucca in Italy, whence it was his custom, during the winter, to direct the intrigues of the capital, and, with his friends who flocked to him from Rome, to concert the measures most conducive to their common interests. On hearing of the movements in Gaul, though it was still winter, he hurried off to the scene of danger, crossed the Cevennes at a time of the year in which such mountains are supposed to be impassable; and, moving his army with wonderful quickness, took Genabum with two other cities in the centre of Gaul, thus providing himself with food and shelter. Unwilling that Cæsar should subsist on the provisions of his enemies, Vercingetorix sent orders to burn all the towns in those parts. The stern injunction was obeyed, except in the case of Avaricum (Bourges), the glory of the country round, which was spared under pretence that it could be easily defended.

SIEGE OF AVARICUM (B. C. 52).—Great were the difficulties encountered in the siege of this place. The cattle had

been removed from the whole neighborhood; the corn had been carried off, or hidden; from his camp near by, Vercingetorix watched the besiegers, who were at times absolutely without food. Add to this the skill and spirit with which the defence was conducted. The Gauls, Cæsar tells us, were good at mining and countermining; they matched the Roman engines with their own, or rendered them harmless; on the besiegers themselves they flung hot pitch and boiling grease; in fine, they vied with one another in daring intrepidity, assaulting the enemy day and night and in every possible way. Roman endurance, however, in the end prevailed. The inhabitants, 40,000 in number—the old, the women, and the children together with the warriors—were all slaughtered. After this terrible reverse, Vercingetorix, not daring to await the victorious enemy, withdrew to the strong position of Gergovia* among his own clansmen.

SIEGE OF GERGOVIA (B. C. 52).—Cæsar with 6 legions followed Vercingetorix to Gergovia. Besides the fortress itself of Gergovia, the Gallic chieftain had fortified three camps after the Roman fashion. These Cæsar succeeded in storming, and the town itself, he tells us, nearly fell into his hands. Yet, as he explains it, through the rash courage of his men, and not by bad generalship of his own, he was beaten back, and had to give up the siege. A fresh calamity soon followed this repulse. The Æduans, taking courage from his recent discomfiture, not only seized or destroyed the stores he had left in their keeping, but joined their countrymen in the hope of cutting off his retreat into the Province. His good fortune, however, did not desert him. Being happily reinforced at this critical moment, he was able to turn upon Vercingetorix, whom he defeated with considerable loss. The beaten chieftain, thereupon, led his followers to Alesia in Burgundy. Here, on an elevated spot between two rivers—a position which seemed impregnable—he collected 70,000 warriors. But multitudes of unarmed fugitives also sought refuge with him, and Cæsar prepared for another siege.

SIEGE OF ALESIA (B. C. 52).—In an incredibly short space of time, Cæsar surrounded the Gauls with ditches and ramparts extending over a circumference of twelve miles or more. At the same time, he protected himself by other works of

* Both the names of that fortress and its ruins are still extant, about 5 miles south of Clermont in Auvergne.

still greater dimensions against an attack from without. How wise this precaution was, soon appeared. Before long, the besiegers were themselves besieged by nearly 300,000 Gauls of various tribes, who hastened to the relief of Alesia. But no efforts of theirs could prevail against Roman discipline. Cæsar both prevented Vercingetorix from breaking through the lines, and entirely routed the Gallic army without. Alesia was, at last, compelled to surrender. Of the captives, 20,000 Ædui and Arverni were reserved as hostages, to secure the fidelity of their tribesmen. The others underwent the ordinary fate of prisoners, and were divided as plunder among the troops. As to the valiant leader, Vercingetorix, whose magnanimity had shone forth to the end, after being kept six years a prisoner at Rome and gracing his conqueror's triumph, he was put to death.

THE PACIFICATION OF GAUL (B. C. 51-50).—The victories of the preceding year had determined the fate of Gaul. Many states were still in arms. But their attempts at resistance were quickly suppressed, chiefly by the rapidity of Cæsar's movements. Nor did he hesitate, at times, to strike terror by those acts of cruelty so frequent in Roman warfare, and in which, during the preceding campaigns, he had already indulged more than once. Thus, at Uxellodunum, in the south-west of Gaul, he cut off the hands of all those who had borne arms against him, and turned the maimed wretches adrift, as a warning to their countrymen against further rebellion. His general policy, however, was one of conciliation. Seeing that his presence would soon be necessary in Italy, he was anxious to remove all cause of future wars, and sought to complete by mildness the work so happily begun by his victories. He established among the Gauls no military colony; he left them their lands, and allowed to most of their states, together with their laws and customs, a specious show of freedom. The tribute required was softened by the title of military assessment. Honors and privileges were showered upon the chiefs. The Gallic warriors, formed into cohorts with the same equipment and under the same discipline as the legionaries, were admitted into the ranks of Cæsar's army*; nay, by a totally unprecedented

*Indeed it was so from the first. "Cæsar's conquest of Gaul," says Merivale, "was mainly effected by the swords of Gaulish soldiers."

innovation, an entire legion—the *Alauda** was exclusively composed of Gauls. By these means did Cæsar secure a hold upon the affection of the conquered nation.

CHAPTER XXIX.

EXPEDITION OF CRASSUS AGAINST THE PARTHIANS (B. C. 54-53).

—ANARCHY IN THE CITY.

THE TRIUMVIRS AT LUCCA (B. C. 55).—A misunderstanding having sprung up between Pompey and Crassus, the aristocracy began to entertain hopes of recovering their power. They determined to raise L. Domitius Ahenobarbus to the consulship, and with his help confidently expected to deprive Cæsar of his provinces and armies. Under these circumstances, Cæsar, in the spring of B. C. 56, invited Pompey and Crassus to meet him at Lucca, reconciled them to each other, obtained their consent to a prolongation of his own command; and, in return, agreed to secure them the consulship for the ensuing year, after which Pompey was to have the provinces of Spain, and Crassus that of Syria.

SECOND CONSULSHIP OF POMPEY AND CRASSUS (B. C. 55).—Domitius Ahenobarbus, supported by Cato and the aristocracy, but especially by the consul Lentulus Marcellinus, so stoutly opposed Pompey and Crassus, that, finding it impossible to carry their election while Marcellinus was in office, they availed themselves of the veto of two of the tribunes to prevent the consular comitia from being held this year. The elections, therefore, did not take place till the beginning of B. C. 55, under the presidency of an interrex. Even then Ahenobarbus and Cato did not relax in their opposition; but they and their partisans were overpowered by violence at the polls. A friend of the Triumvirs, the tribune C. Trebonius, now brought forward two bills, one of which gave the province of the two Spains to Pompey and that of Syria to Crassus; the other prolonged Cæsar's government for five years more, viz., from Jan. 1, 53 to the end of the year 49 B. C.

CRASSUS SETS OUT FOR SYRIA (B. C. 54).—Filled with

* So called from the plumes resembling a lark's (*alauda*) crest, worn in the head-piece.

the desire of eclipsing the military renown of Cæsar and Pompey, Crassus set out for Syria. Though a war with Parthia, now the most powerful of eastern nations, was by no means included in his commission, he was determined to subjugate that country, and advance, through Bactria and India, to the farthest limits of Asia. His intentions were not unknown at Rome. The nobles, uneasy and jealous, by means of the tribune Ateius excited the religious scruples of the people against a scheme of unprovoked invasion. Ateius met Crassus at the gates on his departure, and, casting incense upon a burning brazier, devoted the impious aggressor to the infernal gods. Both citizens and soldiers were deeply impressed; the expedition seemed from the first doomed to ill fortune.

CRASSUS BEYOND THE EUPHRATES (B. C. 54-53).—Crassus, on reaching his province, crossed the Euphrates at once, unopposed; but, hesitating to proceed onward into Parthia, he gave the enemy time to assemble his forces. Himself, on the approach of winter, returned to Syria, where, instead of exercising his troops for the ensuing campaign, he plundered the temples, that of Jerusalem in particular, and employed his time in collecting money from every quarter. Meanwhile, the Parthians sent an envoy to demand whether his aggressions imported a declaration of war on the part of the republic. When he haughtily replied that he would give them an answer in their own capital, the Parthian smiled, and, pointing to the palm of his hand, declared that hair would sooner grow there than the Romans ever see Seleucia. The confidence thus felt or feigned impressed the Roman soldiery, who were already made anxious by reports of the prowess of this new enemy. Unfavorable omens were announced; but Crassus heeded them not. Nor would he adopt the wise counsel of his ally, Artabazes, king of Armenia, to follow the course of the Euphrates till he reached the neighborhood of Seleucia—a route which would enable him to use his fleet for the conveyance of provisions, while the river itself would prevent him from being surrounded. Instead of this, he trusted to the guidance of an Arabian chieftain—in the pay of the Parthians, who promised to conduct him by the shortest way to the enemy. Thus, after again crossing the Euphrates a second time (B. C. 53), Crassus was led through the treeless, sandy wastes of Mesopotamia, into the sterile plains to the east of Edessa, where

the Parthian general, Surenas, was awaiting him with a swarm of expert bowmen.

BATTLE OF CARRHÆ (B. C. 53).—The Parthians, clad in suits of mail and mounted on swift horses, were equally formidable in the charge and in the retreat. Their tactics chiefly consisted in rapidly wheeling about, and discharging an incessant shower of arrows, which they hurled with the greatest dexterity and violence. In presence of such a foe, the legionaries knew not how to act. If they continued steady in their ranks, they received mortal wounds; and, if they advanced against the enemy, they were equally exposed. For the Parthians, even in their flight, kept up a continual discharge of their murderous missiles. Contrary to the opinion of Cassius, an able officer, who advised the extension of the Roman lines, Crassus formed his troops into a massive square, thus supplying a good mark to the storm of Parthian arrows, and ordered his son to charge at the head of a small force of mounted Gauls. The youth attacked gallantly; but, not being supported, was soon overpowered and slain. The signal for the retreat being given, the remnant of the legions staggered through the darkness back towards Carrhæ, their last outpost. This place being judged indefensible, the broken army, on the following day, resumed its retreat, when Surenas, fearing that Crassus might after all make his escape, invited him to an interview. A meeting was arranged, in the course of which the two parties came to blows, and Crassus was killed. When his head was carried to the Parthian king, Orodes, he caused molten gold to be poured into the mouth, saying, "Sate thyself now with that metal, of which in life thou wast so greedy." In this fatal expedition, 20,000 men were slain and 10,000 made prisoners.

POPULARITY OF CÆSAR.—Cæsar's glorious achievements in Gaul excited the keenest interest at Rome. His successes were recited in solemn decrees by the senate; the city was decorated with his trophies; and the admiration of the people was kindled into rapture by the eulogies of Cicero, who exalted his triumphs above those of all the ancient imperators. "Marius," said he, "drove back the Gauls from Italy; but Cæsar has penetrated their fastnesses, and conquered them. The Alps were planted there by the gods, as a barrier against the barbarians, to shelter Rome in her infancy. Now let them sink, and welcome; from the Alps to the ocean, she has no enemy to fear."

JEALOUSY OF THE NOBLES.—Cæsar's enemies had hoped that his strength would give way under the toils of protracted warfare. Instead, they heard with amazement how this sickly gallant was climbing mountains on foot, swimming rivers, riding his horse unbridled, sleeping amidst rain and snow in the depths of forests and morasses. The prolongation of his command for a second period of five years, added to their vexation ; and Cato went so far as to propose, in the senate, that Cæsar should be given up to the Gauls for some breach of faith with them.

POMPEY'S VEXATION.—Pompey at first smiled at his colleague's advancement, not supposing it possible that the conqueror of Mithridates could be thrown into the shade. But, when he heard Cæsar's praises in everybody's mouth, and saw himself descending to the second rank, he could ill disguise his mortification, and he sought to regain influence by obtaining the dictatorship. The better to secure this high dignity, he either encouraged or allowed anarchy to prevail in the city.

ANARCHY IN ROME (B. C. 54-53).—Corruption, bribery, and violence, had now reached their height at Rome. Owing to the flagrant bribery of the candidates, no consuls were elected for the year 53 B. C., and an interregnum of six months was the consequence. At this juncture, Cato, in the name of his party, urged Pompey to come forward and require an election to be held. Pompey, who was now released from his connection with Cæsar by the death of both Crassus and Julia, gladly responded to the invitation ; and, when he interposed to facilitate the election of Calvinus and Messala, the nobles once more hailed him as their champion. Yet his adhesion was purely dictated by a desire for personal advancement ; and he was remiss in his efforts to restore peace to the city. Hence the difficulty of getting consuls duly elected, recurred ; and the year B. C. 52 also opened with an interregnum.

CLODIUS IS SLAIN BY MILO (B. C. 52).—This time it was violence rather than bribery that hindered the course of the law. Milo, Scipio, and Hypsæus, demanded the consulship with arms in their hands ; every day was marked by scenes of riot and bloodshed in the forum. Amidst many obscure murders which disgraced this period, one stands out conspicuous for its disastrous consequences. It happened that Milo was travelling on the Appian way, escorted, as was his

wont, by a troop of armed retainers. A few miles from the city, he was met by Clodius, similarly attended. A quarrel arose between the two parties, and Clodius, wounded in the struggle, took refuge in a neighboring tavern. Milo, giving way to his fury, attacked the house, and caused his enemy to be dragged forth and slain. The corpse was picked up by a passing friend, carried to Rome, and exposed naked to the populace. Their feelings, already violently excited at the sight, were still further inflamed by the harangues of the tribunes. The benches and tables of the senate-house were seized, to make a funeral pile for the murdered demagogue; and not only the curia, but several other buildings were reduced to ashes. Riotous attacks ensued upon the houses of Milo and the nobles. The senate had no longer any choice but to call in the assistance of Pompey. They therefore commissioned him to collect troops, and put an end to the disturbances. "It is better," said Cato, "to choose a master, than to wait for the tyrant whom anarchy will impose upon us."

POMPEY SOLE CONSUL (B. C. 52).—Pompey, who now saw the object of his desire within his grasp, obeyed with alacrity; and, on the 25th of Feb., he was invested with supreme power as sole consul. He had little difficulty in restoring tranquillity to the city, weary of riot and bloodshed. But, though he had pledged himself to take Cato as his adviser and rule the state in the interests of freedom, he was fully resolved to perpetuate his power by making himself indispensable; and he meant to be guided, as little as Cæsar, by the views of the senatorial party. Hence one of his first steps was to surrender Milo, the champion of the senate and of those whom Cicero denominated 'the good men,' to the fury of the populace.

TRIAL OF MILO (B. C. 52).—Cicero had, for some time past, held aloof from the forum, where force and bribery had taken the place of law and justice. But gratitude now compelled him to come forward to shield one who, of all men, had been most instrumental in bringing about his own recall from banishment. In defence of Milo, therefore, Cicero prepared an oration, wherein he intended to congratulate the state on being delivered from such a ruffian as Clodius; but, when he rose to address the tribunal, the fury of the people, and the presence of an armed force introduced by Pompey, dismayed him. He stammered through a short and nerveless speech,

and sat down, leaving his task half finished. Milo was found guilty, and banished to Massilia. Some time afterwards, Cicero sent him a copy of the splendid declamation he had purposed to deliver, whereupon Milo sarcastically remarked, that he thought himself lucky in that it had never been spoken. "Else," said he, "I should not be now enjoying the delicious flavor of these Massilian mullets." Before the expiration of his term, Pompey associated to himself in the consulship Metellus Scipio, his father-in-law. They were succeeded by Servus Sulpicius and M. Marcellus, the latter a violent aristocrat, nearly Cato's equal in hatred of Cæsar.

CICERO PROCONSUL IN CILICIA (B. C. 51).—While Cato and Marcellus indulged at Rome in invectives against the Gallic proconsul, the distant government of Cilicia was offered to Cicero. The orator was unwilling to quit the centre of affairs. Despite the scornful neglect with which he was treated by the oligarchs, he clung to the hope that he might once again be called to interpose, and save the state a second time. He departed, however; and, on reaching Cilicia, found that a threatened inroad of the Parthians had been already repelled by Cassius. He earned the title of imperator in petty warfare against the robber tribes of the hill-country, and flattered himself that he might be permitted to celebrate a triumph for this paltry success. His civil administration was upright and moderate, in startling contrast to the tyranny of other proconsuls.

CÆSAR'S DANGER.—Pompey's accession to the senatorial party, emboldened Cæsar's enemies to such a degree that they were ready to resort to the most violent measures. M. Claudius Marcellus, one of the consuls for 51 B. C., urged his recall, on the plea that the war in Gaul was finished. The following year, another consul, C. Marcellus, likewise moved in the senate that Cæsar should be made to lay down his command at once; and Cato declared that he would impeach him, so soon as he was deprived of his *imperium*. But a trial, under the circumstances, could only be a mockery; for Pompey was in the neighborhood of the city at the head of an army, and his soldiery would, as on the trial of Milo, overawe the judges.

CÆSAR'S DEMANDS (B. C. 50).—Cæsar knew that, should he return to Rome in a private capacity, at the expiration of his command, his life would doubtless be sacrificed. While, therefore, his government had still upwards of another

year to run, he sought to provide for his safety. Accordingly, although absent and at the head of an army, he demanded the privilege of being a candidate for the consulship, urging similar exceptions made in favor of Pompey, and offering even to disband his troops, provided that his rival, who maintained seven legions in Spain, and had others at the gates of Rome, would do the same.

MEASURES AGAINST CÆSAR (B. C. 49).—Not only were the proposals of Cæsar rejected, but on the 1st of Jan., 49, the day on which the new consuls, L. Corn. Lentulus and C. Claudius Marcellus, entered upon their office, a motion of Scipio, Pompey's father-in-law, was carried, 'that Cæsar should disband his army at once, or be treated as a public enemy.' In vain two of the tribunes interposed their veto, insisting that, as Cæsar's term of government was granted to him by the people, the senate could not lawfully abridge it. The senate, strong in the support of Pompey, and caring nothing now for constitutional rules, replied by ordering fresh levies of troops, and investing the consuls with dictatorial powers. These magistrates, thereupon, repaired to the camp of Pompey, virtually resigning their authority to him. Pompey had thus been forced into a position which was illegal. Cæsar, on the contrary, was still, strictly speaking, within his rights. He had acquired an excuse which would be sufficient, at least with the people, for the course which he meditated. Under pretence of avenging personal wrongs and the injuries of his country, he would repair to Rome, and seize the sovereign power.

CHAPTER XXX.

FROM THE BEGINNING OF THE CIVIL WAR TO THE DEATH
OF CÆSAR.—B. C. 49-44. .

POMPEY'S REMISSNESS AND CÆSAR'S POWER.—Pompey all along had no apprehension as to the war. Should Cæsar march against him—an eventuality which he deemed well-nigh impossible—he thought that the charm of his name would cause troops to flock around him, and that, 'by merely stamping with his foot upon the ground, he would fill Italy

with his legions.' He had also been deceived as to the disposition of Cæsar's troops, believing that they were ready to desert their general at the first opportunity; while, on the contrary, the power of his rival lay in the devoted attachment of his soldiers, even more than in the love of the people. Indeed, no captain ever knew better than Cæsar how to win at once the respect of his troops and their personal affection. His heroism, which made him share all their hardships, his care in providing for their subsistence and safety, his attention in bestowing merited rewards, attached them to his person; while the experience they had of his transcendent abilities led them to almost blind obedience. Soldiers who under other generals, would have been insignificant troops, fought, and served under him with invincible courage and constancy. Among Cæsar's contemporaries, it was remarked with admiration, that, throughout his Gallic campaigns, his troops never mutinied; and, during the civil war, nothing could induce them, when captured, to turn their arms against him, whilst his forces were continually augmented by renegades coming from the opposite ranks.

CÆSAR CROSSES THE RUBICON (JAN. 15TH, 49).—Cæsar, who was spending the winter at Ravenna, no sooner learned the late proceedings of the senate, than he appealed for support to the legion he had with him. The men showing their willingness to stand by him, he sent forward a few cohorts to the Rubicon, the boundary of his province, some 20 miles distant. The same evening he followed in person, and crossed over with a small detachment. This was in reality a declaration of war. Some writers state, that, on reaching the banks of the stream, Cæsar paused, as if hesitating to take the irrevocable step, and at last exclaiming, "The die is cast!" plunged into the river.

POMPEY'S RETREAT TO BRUNDISIUM.—Cæsar commenced operations with scarcely 6000 men, having left the remainder of his troops in Southern Gaul, to watch the Pompeian forces in Spain, and proceed either east or west, as occasion might demand. His opponents in Italy, who had actually thrice that number, ought to have resisted his advance; but they were disconcerted by so sudden an attack. Pompey, moreover, had no intention of sharing his victory with the great men of his party, and thus restoring the ascendancy of the nobles. So he allowed the consternation in the ranks of his adherents to take its full course. Calling upon

'all the good citizens' to follow him, he set out from Rome, and with nearly all the senators and magistrates withdrew to Brundisium.

CÆSAR MASTER OF ROME AND ITALY.—Meanwhile Cæsar advanced with the utmost rapidity, scarcely encountering any opposition, and daily receiving fresh accessions of Pompeian soldiers into his ranks. Such indeed was the popularity of his cause in Italy, that city after city opened its gates to him, and his march was like a triumphal progress. Learning that Pompey with the consuls had quitted Rome, he hastened southward in pursuit of them. He arrived at the gates of Brundisium in time to dispute their embarkation; but, being destitute of ships, was unable effectually to hinder it (March 17). He accordingly retraced his steps to Rome, having in 60 days made himself master of Italy. He entered the city unattended, exercised no violence on the persons of the citizens, but merely demanded the treasure hoarded in the temple of Saturn beneath the Capitol. The gold here deposited was believed to be the actual ransom of the city recovered from the Gauls by Camillus, and was held sacred to the one purpose of repelling a Gallic invasion. The tribune Metellus forbade it to be seized, but Cæsar pushed him aside. "The fear of a Gallic invasion," he said, "is forever at an end. I have subdued the Gauls." The more moderate of his opposers could not but contrast his admirable clemency with the fierceness of Pompey, who threatened to treat even neutrals as enemies.

POMPEY'S POLICY.—The rapid and ignominious flight of Pompey, his refusal to fight Cæsar on Italian soil, his obstinate silence as to his plans, caused much disgust among the nobles, many of whom began to suspect some treachery in their leader. The ominous words often in his mouth, "Sulla could do this, why should not I?" increased their apprehension. In fact, his object was not to restore the chiefs of his party to power, but to grasp it for himself. "He left the city," says Cicero, "not because he could not defend it, not as driven out of it; but this was his design from the first, to move land and sea, to call to arms the kings of the barbarians, to lead savage nations into Italy not as captives but as conquerors. He is determined to reign like Sulla, as a king over his subjects; and many there are who applaud this atrocious design."

CÆSAR IN SPAIN.—Leaving to his lieutenants the care of

securing Sicily and Sardinia to provide for the victualling of Rome, Cæsar, after a short stay in the city, hastened to Spain. There his forces were far outnumbered by Pompey's. But such was the fame of Cæsar's exploits and generosity, that all in a little while passed to his side.

A REGULAR GOVERNMENT RESTORED AT ROME.—During his absence, the people of Rome proclaimed him dictator. This dignity he retained only 11 days; afterwards he was content with that of consul. With due solemnity all the other magistracies were filled, and bestowed upon his adherents. The senate, of which more than half had returned, again held its sessions, and issued its decrees. Rome once more had a regular government. Cæsar, who had in crossing the Rubicon made himself a rebel, now, when legitimately installed as consul, appeared to be the lawful head of the commonwealth, while his adversaries were straightway transformed into traitors.

OPERATIONS AGAINST POMPEY.—Having reduced all the enemies in his rear, and collected some transports, Cæsar crossed the Adriatic in pursuit of Pompey (Jan. 4th, 48). The army of the latter was the more numerous; but there were jealousies among the captains, and its commander was irresolute. Cæsar, on the contrary, could trust every man in his ranks. In his first attack on Pompey, however, near the promontory of Petra, he was outgeneralled. But the elder commander knew not how to profit by his advantage; and the younger merely altered his plans of operations, and sought a more favorable position. He found it in the plains of Pharsalia, in Thessaly.

BATTLE OF PHARSALIA (August 9th,* 48).—The army of Pompey amounted to 40,000 legionaries and 7000 horse, supported by a countless host of foreign auxiliaries. Cæsar had but 22,000 foot-soldiers and 1000 horsemen. To supply his deficiency in cavalry, he placed as a reserve, behind his few squadrons, a choice body of 3000 infantry, to support them when they could no longer withstand the shock of the more numerous horse of the enemy. On this measure and on the behavior of this reserve, he staked the fate of the battle. When, after a gallant resistance, his cavalry was forced back, and that of Pompey was turning his flank, the reserve stood up; and, according to the previous recommendation of their

* According to the calendar of the time; in reality, on the 6th of June.

leader, with their long pikes aimed their blows at the faces of their opponents. Thus unexpectedly assailed, Pompey's splendid horsemen, chiefly knights and senators, were arrested in their victorious onset, and rolled back until they gained the open space behind their own lines. The Pompeian infantry were still holding their ground. But, being attacked both in front and flank by Cæsar's reserve, which had come up after the discomfiture of the horsemen, they soon gave way.

POMPEY FLIES TO EGYPT (B. C. 48).—Pompey had provided no reserve on the field, nor assigned any place for rallying in case of disaster. His hasty preparations to resist Cæsar's assault upon his camp, were baffled by the precipitate flight of his routed battalions. Soon he found himself almost alone within his lines. Though his defeat was complete, he could still command immense resources. He therefore sailed for Egypt, where he reckoned on a friendly reception, as he had been the means of restoring to his kingdom Ptolemy Auletes, the father of the reigning monarch. Hither, too, he could not be pursued by an enemy destitute of a fleet, and so would have time to collect his friends, and prepare for another struggle.

POMPEY'S DEATH (B. C. 48).—Pompey reached Pelusium with about 2000 men. By the will of the late king, his daughter Cleopatra was destined to wed her younger brother Ptolemy, and to reign conjointly with him under the guardianship of a council of state. Cleopatra, however, had been expelled from the kingdom, and was at this moment trying to recover her rights by force. The king's army was drawn up on the eastern frontier to oppose her, and the small band of Pompey might have secured the victory to either party. The royal council determined not to accept his dangerous alliance, but at the same time to prevent him from joining the other side. Under pretence of being led into the royal presence, he was inveigled into a boat; his head was cut off, and his body cast into the surf, whence it was shortly washed up on the beach. His freedman recognized the mutilated corpse, and burned it on a rude pyre made from the wreck of a fishing-boat. The ashes he buried in the sand, and placed over them a stone, on which he traced, with a blackened brand, the word 'Magnus.' Such was the end of Pompey's career; such were the last honors paid to him who had gained three triumphs over the three conti-

nents of the ancient world, whose proconsulate had extended over the east and west alternately, who might have demanded the dictatorship, and perhaps have seized the empire.

THE ALEXANDRINE WAR (B. C. 48-47).—With his usual decision, the victor of Pharsalia hastened to improve his late success. Attended only by a squadron of horse and one legion, he hotly pursued Pompey by way of the Hellespont, Asia Minor, and Syria; and, taking ship from the Syrian coast, reached Alexandria with 4000 men a few days after the death of Pompey. His entrance into the city as a Roman consul, at the head of his army, gave offence to the people, and bloody affrays took place between his men and the Egyptian troops. But Cæsar soon got possession of the king's person. At the same time, he admitted Cleopatra to an interview, and avowed himself her lover and her champion. The young king's advisers, trembling for their lives, raised the populace against the intruders. To keep open his retreat by sea, Cæsar fired the Egyptian fleet; and the conflagration, reaching the shore, involved in flames the great library of the Museum.* At last, the arrival of reinforcements enabled him to assume the offensive. Ptolemy perished; the Egyptians submitted, and Cleopatra was established as their queen. She afterward joined Cæsar at Rome, and bore him a son named Cæsarion.

CÆSAR DEFEATS PHARNACES (B. C. 47).—Cæsar had been detained three months in Egypt. In the meantime, Pharnaces, the son of the celebrated Mithridates, took advantage of the divisions of the republic to attack his neighbors, Deiotärus and Ariobarzānes. These princes, though they had been fighting on the side of Pompey, appealed to Calvinus, Cæsar's lieutenant, for help. Calvinus received orders to support them, but was worsted in battle, and Pharnaces overran Asia Minor. In April, 47, Cæsar quitted Alexandria, and marched in person against Pharnaces. This war, however, did not detain him long. One single battle sufficed to overthrow and destroy the power of the enemy. With truth could Cæsar announce his victory to the senate, in the well-known Laconic dispatch: "*Veni, vidi, vici*—I came, I saw, and I conquered."

BATTLE OF THAPSUS (B. C. 46).—Cæsar's prolonged

* 400,000 volumes are said to have been destroyed.

absence in the east had enabled the Pompeian leaders to collect, in Africa, an armament consisting of ten legions, a large fleet, 120 elephants, and multitudes of Mauritanian light cavalry. Fortunately for Cæsar, the chiefs of this vast force were not free from personal jealousy. Scipio, the emperor, and Varus, the proconsul of the province, contended for the command, while Juba, king of Mauritania, their ally, pretended to lord it over both. Cæsar, on landing in Africa, began at once to intrigue with the Mauritanian and Numidian princes. He then advanced and offered battle to Scipio, who shrunk from it till Juba had joined him. At length, on April 4th, the armies met on the field of Thapsus. Cæsar's troops eagerly rushed to the attack; and, one after another, the elephants, the Numidian cavalry, and the legions of Scipio, gave way. Both Scipio and Juba fled from the field, but perished soon after.

DEATH OF CATO.—It was Cato's intention to make a stand at Utica; but, yielding to the entreaties of the inhabitants, he determined to surrender the city. While most of his followers, at his recommendation, hastened to make their escape by sea, he sat down to supper with his son and some friends, discoursing during the repast on the highest themes of philosophy. He then retired to his chamber, read Plato's volume on the immortality of the soul, and during the night stabbed himself with his sword. But the wound not proving immediately fatal, he tore it open with his own hands, and died with the same dogged resolution that had marked every action of his life.

HONORS CONFERRED ON CÆSAR.—Extraordinary honors awaited Cæsar on his arrival at Rome. The dictatorship was again bestowed upon him, with the unexampled privilege of being preceded by 72 lictors. Under the title of guardian of manners, he was invested for three years with the powers of the censorship. The right to appoint the provincial pretors and half of the curule magistrates, the consuls excepted, was also granted him. In return, he entertained the people with public exhibitions, banquets, and gifts, but took care to bestow his chief largesses upon his armed followers. During the course of one month, he enjoyed 4 triumphs—over the Gauls, over Ptolemy, over Pharnaces and over Juba. Meanwhile, he proceeded to correct a variety of evils which had crept into the state, and obtained several enactments suitable to the altered condition of the common-

wealth. Chief among his changes, this year, B. C. 46, was the reformation of the calendar.

THE JULIAN CALENDAR.—In Numa's calendar, the 12 lunar months, occupying the period of 354 days, were the basis of the Roman year, which accordingly fell short by 11 days and 6 hours of the true length of the solar year, or the period of the earth's revolution round the sun. A pretty accurate knowledge of the exact length of the solar year, was not unknown to the old Romans; and the business of making their civil year agree with it, by means of proper intercalations, was entrusted to the pontiffs. But these purposely shrouded their system in as much mystery as possible, often using it to serve political or private ends. Of late, such had been their neglect, willful or otherwise, that the calendar was now 80 days in advance of the real date. Cæsar with the help of Sosigenes, the best astronomer of his time, remedied this confusion. The year B. C. 46 was made to contain 445 days; and, on Jan. 1st., 45, the Julian calendar came into operation, with its ordinary year of 365 days, and the additional day in February, every leap-year, to compensate for the six hours left out of account in each of the intervening years. Cæsar's calendar, though a great improvement on its predecessor, was not perfect. In the course of centuries, the error accumulated to as much as 10 days. This was corrected by Pope Gregory XIII, in 1682;* and provision was made to prevent the recurrence of any such error in the future.

BATTLE OF MUNDA (B. C. 45).—Cæsar's useful labors at home were interrupted by the alarming state of his affairs in Spain. Here the sons of Pompey, Cnæus and Sextus, had gathered the remnants of their party; and, making additional levies among the brave Iberians, had been able to defy Cæsar's lieutenants, so that he found it necessary to march against them in person. The struggle, protracted for several months longer, was closed on the field of Munda, where Cæsar, after running the greatest danger, gained at last a decisive victory.

CÆSAR'S LAST TRIUMPH (B. C. 45).—On his return to Rome, Cæsar celebrated his fifth and last triumph. Games and festivals followed. At these assisted representatives of all the nations of the Roman world—Moors and Numidians,

*England adopted the correction only in 1751. It has not yet been accepted in Russia.

Gauls and Iberians, Britons and Armenians, Egyptians and Jews, Germans, and even Scythians. The subjects of the empire entered Rome in Cæsar's train, and thus inaugurated the union of the capital with the provinces.

CÆSAR BECOMES SUPREME.—Additional honors and privileges were now conferred upon Cæsar. He was made perpetual dictator, and consul for five years. He was also authorized to transmit to his children both the *imperium*, or military rule, and the sovereign pontificate, which had before been granted him only as personal distinctions. Thus did Cæsar find himself invested with almost absolute sovereignty. The dictatorship and consulship, with the command of the public treasure, secured to him the executive power of the state; the *imperium* gave him the command of its forces; the tribunate intrusted him with a veto upon its legislation, and rendered his person inviolable. As chief pontiff, he was the religious head of the people. As *princeps*, or first man, of the senate, he guided the debates of the great council of the nation; as censor, even the very composition of that assembly greatly depended on his will. But lately he had raised its number to 900, and two-thirds, perhaps, of the members were his nominees.

USE HE MADE OF HIS POWER.—It is Cæsar's glory, that, when thus raised to the height of power, his hand fell heavily on none of his fellow-citizens. The nephew of Marius forgot the ruins of Carthage and the marshes of Minturnæ, and scorned to retaliate the proscriptions of Sulla. Even Cicero, the most humane of his own party, was amazed at the victor's clemency. With generous good taste, Cæsar ordered the restoration of the statues of Sulla and Pompey to their places before the rostra. Towards the institutions of the republic he showed a similar deference. While grasping the substance of absolute power, he allowed the shadows of the old free government—the senate, the comitia, the magistracies, to remain almost unchanged. He was careful to assume no title inconsistent with the principles of the republic and the precedents of its ancient or contemporary history; nor did he grasp at the supreme power, merely for the gratification of a selfish ambition. He wished to signalize his rule by measures of general and permanent utility. He gave the first impulse to the unification of the world-wide dominion of Rome into one national body. He set on foot an elaborate geographical survey of the empire. He had

resolved to drain the Pontine marshes, in the neighborhood of Rome; to open a communication between the Ionian and the Ægean sea, by cutting through the Isthmus of Corinth; to erect moles, and build convenient harbors, along the coasts of Italy; to make roads over the Apennines; to dig a navigable canal from the Anio and Tiber to the sea at Terracina; to rebuild Corinth and Carthage; to erect splendid edifices in Rome; to establish public libraries; in fine, to compose a code of Roman law. These momentous projects, all worthy of his vast intelligence, time did not allow him to accomplish.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST CÆSAR'S LIFE.—On the 1st of January, 44, Cæsar entered on his fifth consulship with Mark Antony for his colleague. Finding himself ill at ease in the city, on account of the restraints imposed upon him by opinion and prejudice, he had planned an expedition against the Parthians, and the legions were already assembling in Illyricum, there to await his speedy arrival. But many of the nobles had never forgiven his assumption of supreme power. Their dislike was increased by the extravagant honors lavished upon him, by the despotic and haughty manners which he occasionally assumed, and by the persistent efforts of some of his friends to force upon him the title of *king*. A plot was formed for his destruction. The conspirators numbered sixty or more, and were chiefly senators and men under great obligations to him—Decimus Brutus, Casca, Cimber, Trebonius, and others. The most active of them, and perhaps the author of the design, was Cassius, a man who cared little for liberty or the republic, whose temper fluctuated between mean subserviency and rude independence. Through the influence of Cassius aided by that of his own wife and mother, Marcus Junius Brutus was prevailed upon to lend the authority of his name to the scheme. The conspirators resolved to dispatch the dictator during the sitting of the senate, on the Ides of March.

ASSASSINATION OF CÆSAR (MARCH 15, 44).—Hints of impending danger reached Cæsar's ear; even the inauspicious day was brought to his notice, and he would fain have excused himself from attending the assembly. But his fears were laughed away by Decimus, and he went. He entered the hall, his enemies closing around him, and keeping his friends at a distance, Trebonius being specially charged to detain Antony at the door. When he had taken his seat

Cimber approached with a petition for his brother's pardon. The other conspirators joined in the supplication, grasping his hands and embracing his neck. Cæsar put them from him gently, but Cimber seized his toga with both hands, and pulled it over his arms. Then Casca, who was behind, drew his dagger, and grazed his shoulder with an ill-directed stroke. Cæsar, disengaging one hand, snatched at the hilt. "Help!" cried Casca, and in a moment 15 daggers were aimed at the victim. Cæsar defended himself for an instant, and wounded one man with his stylus. But, when he distinguished Marcus Junius in the press, the steel flashing in his hand also, "What! thou too, Brutus!" he exclaimed, let go his grasp of Casca, and, drawing his robe over his face, made no further resistance. He fell, pierced with three-and-twenty wounds, at the foot of Pompey's statue. Julius Cæsar was in his 56th year at the time of his death. As he did not commence the first of his grand military expeditions—the conquest of Gaul, till he was 42, he therefore performed the exploits which have rendered him so famous, in the brief space of 14 years.

HIS CHARACTER.—Dean Merivale has pronounced 'Caius Julius Cæsar the greatest name in history.' Mommsen speaks of him as one too great for the scope of his intelligence and power of delineation. That he was probably the greatest man of antiquity, few will be disposed to deny. His personal appearance was noble and commanding; he was tall in stature, of a fair complexion, and with black eyes full of expression. A general, a statesman, a lawgiver, a jurist, an orator, an historian, a philologer, a mathematician, and an architect, he was equally fitted to excel in everything, and has given proofs that he would have surpassed almost all other men in any subject to which he devoted the energies of his extraordinary mind.

CHAPTER XXXI.

THE SECOND TRIUMVIRATE—BATTLES OF PHILIPPI AND ACTIUM.

B. C. 44-30.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE CONSPIRATORS.—By the time the

bloody deed was done, the conspirators found themselves alone in the hall. Senators, lictors, attendants, all had fled. Antony had slipped away, unobserved, to his own house. Great consternation fell on the citizens, who expected riot and massacre to follow. For, while Decimus had armed some gladiators for his own and his friends' defence, the city was filled with Cæsar's veterans, and the master of the horse, Lepidus, with a legion was just outside the walls.

The assassins now marched to the forum, to seek the public approval of their deed. They shouted that they had slain a king and a tyrant; but they met with no response. Dismayed by this cold reception, they took refuge with their armed guards on the Capitol, and were joined there during the evening by Cicero and others of the republican party. Next day, Brutus descended into the forum, and tried to stir the populace by a speech. He was coldly listened to, and finally driven back to his refuge on the Capitol.

MARK ANTONY'S WILY TACTICS.—Hitherto Mark Antony had been known chiefly for his bravery and dissipation. He was now about to display the arts of a perfect intriguer. His first care was to secure the will and private treasures of Cæsar. He next appropriated two million sesterces from the public treasury; and, provided with these resources, made overtures to Lepidus, from whom he received a promise of support. Then, still disguising his intentions under an appearance of interest in the liberators, he opened a negotiation with them, and, on March 17th, with their consent convened the senate near the forum. The murderers, however, durst not leave the Capitol, and the discussion of their deed was carried on in their absence.

The majority of the senate would have declared Cæsar a tyrant. On Antony's pointing out that this course would have the effect of annulling all his acts and appointments, those who were interested in maintaining the dictator's regulations, resisted the proposal; and, by the advice of Cicero, a compromise was agreed to. No judgment was pronounced either upon Cæsar or his murderers; but an amnesty was decreed, leaving the dictator's acts unchallenged, and yet assuring the safety of the liberators.

CÆSAR'S WILL AND FUNERAL.—Antony's next step was to make the provisions of Cæsar's will publicly known. The dictator left as his heir his grand-nephew Octavius, a youth of 18, the son of his sister's daughter. He bequeathed

considerable legacies to his murderers. He gave his magnificent gardens beyond the Tiber to the public, and 300 sesterces to every citizen. The knowledge of such generosity created among the people a deep sorrow for the untimely fate of their benefactor; and their feelings were still further aroused by the ceremonies of the funeral. The body was to be burned in the Campus Martius; but it was first laid in state in the forum. At its head hung the victim's toga, hacked by the assassins' daggers; and the 23 wounds by which his life-blood had ebbed away, were represented on a wax figure visible to all. Antony, as chief magistrate, pronounced the funeral oration. He read the decrees which had heaped honors upon Cæsar, had declared his person inviolable, his authority supreme, himself the father of his country. Then he pointed to the bleeding corpse, which neither laws nor oaths had shielded from outrage, and vowed that he would avenge the victim whom he could not save. The people in a frenzy of enthusiasm, insisted upon burning the body where it lay, in the midst of the forum. Chairs, tables, brushwood, were hastily piled together, and the body laid upon them. The temple of Castor and Pollux stood hard by, and it was averred that two majestic youths, armed with sword and javelin, were seen to apply the torch. As the flame rose, the veterans hurled in their arms, the matrons their ornaments, even the children's trinkets were devoted. The success of Antony was complete.

ANTONY SUPREME IN THE CITY.—The people, now excited to frenzy, would have torn the murderers to pieces; and, seizing burning brands from the funeral pile, they rushed in every direction to fire the houses of the conspirators. These attempts were repulsed; and Antony, who still needed the countenance of the aristocracy, now interfered to stop the rioting. He also took steps to conciliate the senate: he passed a resolution abolishing the office of dictator; and he proposed the recall of Sextus, the last survivor of the Pompeii. He, at the same time, communicated with the liberators Brutus and Cassius, who were in hiding, and offered them his good offices and protection. In return for all this, he asked one favor—the right to enlist a body-guard for his own protection. The senate weakly assented. In a short time, he had 6000 men under arms. Antony was now master of Rome. Being in possession of Cæsar's papers, and having gained his secretary Faberius, he was

able to plead the authority of the dictator for anything he chose to do. By the sale of places and provinces, he quickly amassed wealth enough to purchase senators and soldiers and tributary sovereigns—even his own colleague, Dolabella. Thus supported, he deprived Brutus and Cassius of their promised governments, claiming Macedonia for himself, and giving Syria to Dolabella. “The tyrant is dead,” murmured Cicero, “but the tyranny still lives.”

RISE OF CAIUS OCTAVIUS.—Meanwhile, a new actor appeared upon the stage. Young Octavius, at the time of his uncle’s assassination, was with the legions then waiting for Cæsar’s arrival at Appollonia. The affection of the troops he had already won by his address and affability. So soon as he learned the tidings from Rome, he returned to the city, and boldly demanded the dictator’s inheritance. Most of it Antony had already squandered. But Octavius did not hesitate, at the sacrifice of his own fortune, and by borrowing large sums, to discharge Cæsar’s legacies to the people of Rome. This generosity gained their affection. At the same time, he affected great zeal for the republic, great respect for the senate, and great deference for Cicero in particular, pretending to be guided in all things by his advice. The veteran statesman was thus imposed upon. His courage revived, and he once more took an active part in public affairs.

MOVEMENTS OF THE CONSPIRATORS.—Meanwhile, Decimus had repaired to his government in the Cisalpine. Cassius, in defiance of the decree which had superseded him in favor of Dolabella, set out for his province. Brutus, after long delay, nerved himself to the task of calling the patriots to arms in Greece and Macedonia; and Sextus Pompey, appearing with a powerful fleet on the coast of Gaul, further encouraged the rising hopes of the republicans. But, in the city and in the senate, Antony still reigned supreme.

THE FIRST PHILIPPIC.—On September 1st, the senate was convoked to discuss the question of enrolling Cæsar’s name among those of the Roman divinities. Antony seized the opportunity to attack Cicero, who was not then present, threatening to demolish his house on the Palatine. Next day, in the absence of Antony, Cicero retorted: and, after defending his own conduct, impeached in an eloquent invective the administration of Antony. He denounced the consul’s arbitrary exercise of power, his venality, his hypocrisy,

the falsehood by which he had sheltered his own unlawful deeds behind the pretended authority of the dead emperor. The senate listened with admiration, and their applause warmed the orator to renewed energy.

In this, the first of Cicero's great orations against Antony known as the *Philippics*,* he confined himself to denouncing the policy of his enemy, and left his personal habits untouched. A few days later Antony replied, accusing Cicero of the murder of the Catilinarians, the assassination of Clodius, the rupture between Cæsar and Pompey, and denouncing him to the legions as the secret contriver of their hero's death. Cicero prudently kept out of the way of the armed guards of Antony, and remained at his villa, near Naples, until his enemy's departure from Rome.

OCTAVIUS RAISES TROOPS.—All this time, Octavius was silently undermining Antony's position. By promises and largesses, his emissaries had already enlisted a considerable number of troops in various parts of Italy. Besides 10,000 men thus collected in Campania, Umbria, and the Cisalpine, he gained over two legions that had just arrived from Epirus. But, as he needed the sanction of the senate to give legality to his conduct in thus raising troops of his own authority, he made it his chief object now to gain that body through Cicero, plying the great orator with compliments and caresses, calling him his father, and promising docility and obedience.

THE SECOND PHILIPPIC.—Antony now began to find his position at Rome less secure; and, in the fall of 44, he withdrew to the Cisalpine, to assemble there all the legions on whose loyalty he might still rely in his contest with the republicans. Cicero, meanwhile, was working with feverish anxiety to unite all parties against the tyrant. He exhorted Decimus; he caressed Octavius; he encouraged Brutus and Cassius, Trebonius and Cimber. Then, too, it was that he published his *Second Philippic*, one of the most violent invectives ever written. It branded Cæsar as a tyrant, Antony as a monster. Its effect was electrical. Both people and senate were emboldened to defy the usurper; and the consuls elect, A. Hirtius and C. Vibius Pansa, were confirmed in their loyalty to the republic.

CICERO'S PROUD POSITION AT ROME.—Antony was declared a public enemy; and, in the conduct of the war

* In allusion to the harangues of Demosthenes against Philip of Macedon.

against him, young Octavius was to be associated with the consuls. Cicero was now at the height of his glory. His activity was unceasing, and in the twelve remaining 'Philippics' he encouraged the senate and the people to prosecute the war with vigor. His eloquent harangues inspired all with confidence and devotion. He filled the treasury with voluntary contributions from the loyal, and fines levied on the disaffected. He maintained an active correspondence with the chiefs in the provinces, assuring each in turn of the constancy of all the others, and inspiring them by glowing accounts of the strength and resources of the party. Though without an office, he was allowed, as if by common consent, to take the helm of affairs.

BATTLE OF MUTINA (APRIL 27, B. C. 43).—Since the end of Nov., 44, Antony had been besieging Decimus Brutus in Mutina (*Modena*). Against him Hirtius went with Octavius in the Jan. of 43, while Pansa remained in the city to levy more troops. For some weeks, no movement of importance took place in either army. But, when Pansa set out to join the republican forces, Antony suddenly quitted his lines, and, falling upon this fresh adversary, defeated and mortally wounded him. Hirtius, however, saved the beaten force from utter rout; and, a few days later, in conjunction with Octavius, inflicted a severe defeat on Antony, before Mutina. But he, too, perished in the conflict, and thus both consuls were removed. The senate and people at Rome, overjoyed by the victory, carried Cicero in triumph to the Capitol, and saluted him as the true victor of Mutina. The contest seemed to be at an end. Decimus was pursuing Antony; Plancus was advancing to block the passes into Gaul: Brutus and Cassius in the east, and Sextus on the sea, all sent tidings of success.

OCTAVIUS SEIZES THE CONSULSHIP (SEPT. 22).—Elated by such favorable news, the senate began to show coldness towards Octavius. This was the pretext he wanted to unmask himself. He let Antony know that he had no wish to crush him, and stood aside to allow him to effect a junction with Lepidus in the Transalpine. Plancus terminated his long indecision by casting in his lot with the stronger party, and thus Antony found himself at the head of 23 legions. The senate had thought to use Octavius as their tool, and then to cast him aside. To prevent him from obtaining any farther power, they gave the command of the consular armies

to D. Brutus ; and Cicero talked of removing the 'boy.' But the 'boy' soon showed the senate that he was their master. He had asked for the consulship, and his request had been refused. He now crossed the Rubicon at the head of eight legions, and marched on Rome to seize the prize by force. Some feeble attempts at defence were made; but, one after another, the senators and consulars slipped through the gates, and went over to the intruder's camp. Cicero, alarmed for his safety, made his escape. On September 22nd, the people elected Octavius to the consulship. Next day, the audacious stripling completed his twentieth year. The first act of the new consul was to summon the murderers of Cæsar before his tribunal. Judgment was passed against them by default, and they were interdicted fire and water.

SECOND TRIUMVIRATE (B. C. 43).—Octavius, now consul of the republic and leader of a numerous army, was in a position to make terms with Antony on a footing of equality. Placed between two such powers, and abandoned by Plancus, Decimus was lost. His troops deserted from him wholesale. He tried to escape into Macedonia, but was captured and put to death. Toward the end of October, Antony, Lepidus, and Octavius, met near Bononia ; and, under the title of 'triumvirs for settling the affairs of the republic,'* the three leaders divided the whole power among themselves. The blood of their chief adversaries—200 or 300 senators, and perhaps 2000 knights, including friends and relatives of the triumvirs, whom they sacrificed to one another—cemented this union.

MURDER OF CICERO—HIS CHARACTER.—Of all the victims of this proscription, the most distinguished was Cicero. He had retired to one of his villas, on a little island off the coast, whence he proposed to embark for Macedonia. Though warned of the approach of the assassins, he delayed to depart. "Let me die," he would say, "in my fatherland, which I have so often saved!" His servants at length prevailing upon him, he was hurried in a litter, and carried towards the coast. But it was not long before his pursuers overtook him. His party was the larger, and ready to defend him. He forbade all resistance, had the litter laid down, and with his eyes steadfastly fixed on his murderers offered his throat to the sword. His head was carried to Antony, and by him set up in front of the rostra. Fulvia, it is said,

* *Triumviri reipublicæ constituendæ.*

pierced the tongue with a needle, in revenge for his sarcasms against both her husbands—the late notorious Clodius and Antony. Thus died Cicero, in his 64th year. In the midst of the corruption of the age, his life was relatively pure. He was an affectionate father, a faithful friend, and a kind master. As an orator and a writer, his extraordinary talents went on developing until his untimely death. For the finish and beauty of his orations, rhetorical works, letters, and philosophical treatises, he may be regarded as the greatest master of composition that the world has seen.

BATTLE OF PHILIPPI (B. C. 42).—While the triumvirs were consolidating their power in the west, Brutus and Cassius, having rallied large remnants of the Pompeian legions in the east, with a well-appointed army began their march towards Italy. Antony and Octavius with forces still more numerous, but not so well supplied, encountered the two pretors near Philippi, in Macedonia. A fierce conflict ensued, in which one half of each army was victorious, and the other half routed, Brutus having broken the line of Octavius, Antony that commanded by Cassius. Deeming all lost, Cassius slew himself in despair. His death was fatal to his party. Brutus lacked the energy to control the restless legions; and, when a few days after, they forced him to resume the battle of Philippi, being defeated, he, as his colleague had done, killed himself on the spot. With them died the hope of restoring the commonwealth.

HORACE AT PHILIPPI.—The Greeks took little interest in the political struggles of their Roman masters, though they had a traditional preference for republican forms. Athens, at this time, was a sort of university, frequented by aspiring youths of every nation. Among these was the genial satirist and poet, Horace. Brutus, on presenting himself at Athens as pretor of the province, had met with a hearty reception and ready support; and, in the army which he proceeded to organize, many Roman students received commissions. Among them the youthful Horace was made tribune, in which capacity he fought at Philippi, but did not, if we may believe his own account, display much courage. He nevertheless forfeited his estate; but, through the patronage of Mæcenas who appreciated his poetic talent, was afterwards abundantly repaid for whatever he had lost.

AGRIPPA AND MÆCENAS, MESSALA AND POLLIO.—After the battle of Philippi, Antony chose to remain in the east,

where he could more freely indulge his sensual and dissolute inclinations. Octavius returned to Italy, to give the veterans the lands which had been promised them. At Rome, the centre of the empire, he began with the help of Agrippa and Mæcenas to lay deep the foundation of a durable government. Whilst Agrippa successfully fought the battles of the young triumvir by sea and by land, Mæcenas, a wise and sagacious statesman, by his industry, his genial temper, his choice of friends, did much to reëconcile men to the new administration. From Messala and Pollio, persons of eminent talents and devoted to him, Octavius also derived much assistance.

SEXTUS POMPEY'S MARITIME POWER.—Sextus, the son of Pompey, after the battle of Munda, succeeded in collecting a numerous fleet, with which he made himself master of Sicily, Sardinia, and all the seas between Africa and Italy. As he had it in his power to intercept the ships which supplied the city with corn, Antony and Octavius found it necessary, in B. C. 39, to enter into negotiations with him. Besides confirming him in possession of Sicily, Sardinia, and Corsica, they promised him Achaia also. As, however, the surrender of this province was delayed, Pompey recommenced his piratical excursions; and, difficulties occurring between Antony and Octavius, he manifested a disposition to side with the former. Hence, for Octavius it became a necessity to reduce this new rival.

AGRIPPA CRUSHES SEXTUS POMPEY (B. C. 36).—The first operations of Octavius against Sextus were most disastrous. His fleet was twice defeated by Pompey, and at last completely destroyed by a storm (B. C. 38). This only proved the necessity of making more extensive preparations. They were entrusted to Agrippa, who was consul for the year 37 B. C. Nearly two years were employed in building a new fleet, and exercising crews and oarsmen. The consul, wishing to obtain a perfectly secure harbor for his navy, constructed the celebrated *Portus Julius*, on the coast of Campania, near Baia, by uniting the lakes Avernus and Lucrinus and admitting the waters of the sea to them. Here he prepared his galleys, exercised his seamen, and drilled the legionaries who were to fight on board the fleet. By these means, the war, which began with disasters, ended with triumphs. Sextus was crushed, and soon after perished.

DISGRACE OF LEPIDUS (B. C. 36).—Dissatisfied with his inferior position in the triumvirate, Lepidus claimed both

Sicily and an equal share with his colleagues in the government. Octavius, who had just triumphed over Pompey, now turned upon the imprudent Lepidus, who was quickly overcome, and forced to throw himself upon the mercy of the victor. He was deprived of his command, and sent into banishment; but was allowed to retain his property and the high-priesthood.

ANTONY IN PARTHIA.—Antony's lieutenant, Ventidius, a general formed in the school of the great Cæsar, had lately gained over the Parthians signal advantages, for which a well-merited triumph was awarded to him. By this the jealousy of Antony was awakened. He therefore assembled (B. C. 36) a large army on the Euphrates, with the avowed intention of completing the successes begun by his lieutenant. But he advanced too far; and, in his hurry, left behind him his military engines insufficiently protected. The Parthians, by a bold and skillful attack, destroyed them together with their escort of about 10,000 men. This accident, the severity of the weather, and the defection of the king of Armenia, compelled a retreat. The retrograde march, it is true, was well conducted, the Parthians being repulsed 18 times. But the loss of the Romans was appalling, though Antony chose to represent the campaign as a success, and in Cleopatra's company returned unabashed to Alexandria.

OCTAVIA.—Upon the death of Fulvia in 40 B. C., Antony had married Octavia, the sister of Octavius and widow of C. Marcellus, one of the noblest women of the age, whose charms and virtues made him for a time forget the fascinations of the Egyptian queen. Hearing that her husband's mad love for Cleopatra again possessed him, Octavia determined to make an effort to win him from this fatal influence. In B. C. 35, she set out for the east, carrying with her magnificent presents, clothing for his soldiers, beasts of burden, money, equipments, and a body-guard of 2000 picked men splendidly arrayed. At Athens, however, she received a command to advance no farther, and she had no choice but to return with dignity to Rome.

ANTONY AND CLEOPATRA, AT ALEXANDRIA.—In the following year (B. C. 34), Antony made an inroad into Armenia, carried off king Artavasdes to Alexandria, and, to the disgust of the Romans, celebrated a triumph in his foreign capital. The Egyptian court now plunged into the grossest debauchery, the queen leading the way, and contriving a

succession of new pleasures for the Roman voluptuary. All her talents, which were of the most varied kind, were called into requisition, as well as the lighter artifices of her sex. Painters and sculptors grouped the illustrious pair together, and the coins of the kingdom bore the effigies and titles of both. Masques and revels followed in quick succession, and the princely lovers assumed the characters of Isis and Osiris. To her hereditary dominions Antony added Phœnicia, Coëlesyria, Cyprus, a large part of Cilicia, Palestine, and Arabia; and he publicly recognized the children she had borne him.

OCTAVIUS AT ROME.—Antony's conduct caused much resentment at Rome, where Octavius, daily advancing in popularity, was beginning to fill the space left vacant by Cæsar's death. After the reduction of Sextus and the defeat of Lepidus, he had encountered with success some of the rudest tribes among the Alpine passes, in Dalmatia, Illyria, and the remote Pannonia. In addition to the military glory thus achieved, he won the affection of the soldiers by sharing their dangers and hardships. At Rome, while engaged upon the enterprise of raising himself above the laws, he took no step, however daring, without trying to secure for it the semblance of legality. He was careful to render an account of all his acts to the people; he restored their ancient prerogatives to the magistracies; he made life and property secure, in Rome, by the institution of city guards,* and through the peninsula by that of an active police, which scoured it from end to end. This wise administration, due chiefly to Mæcenas, reconciled many enmities; many also were softened by the personal affability of Octavius, his gracious manners, and his unwearied concern for the public weal.

ANTONY'S WARLIKE PREPARATIONS (B. C. 33-32).—In the course of the year 33, Octavius and Antony entered upon angry recriminations, the latter objecting that he had not received his share of troops and provinces on the deprivation of Lepidus, while his rival retorted by charging him with the murder of Sextus Pompey, the capture of Artavasdes, an ally of the republic, above all, with his scandalous connection with Cleopatra. Antony, who had been preparing an expedition against the Parthians, suddenly changed

* *Vigiles*, 700 in number.

the destination of his legions to Ephesus. Thither his officers were directed to bring fresh battalions, levied throughout Greece, Africa, and Asia. Thither, too, he summoned the barbarian chiefs, from the Caspian to the Syrtis, to assemble with their hosts of auxiliaries. Cleopatra contributed not only a contingent of troops, but a squadron of the most powerful galleys ever launched upon the Mediterranean. The object of all these preparations was not avowed. Antony pretended to be absorbed in frivolities. He passed the winter at Samos, lavishing his resources upon a splendid Dionysian festival; and the new Bacchus repeated his former extravagances, while the empire of the world was trembling in the balance.

WAR AGAINST CLEOPATRA (B. C. 31).—Octavius had been long preparing for the conflict, which he knew to be unavoidable. But, to prevent the contest which was now at hand, from degenerating into a personal quarrel, and the better to appear as the true champion of Rome, he refrained from denouncing Antony as a public enemy. The war was declared by the senate, not against him, but against Cleopatra, who held him in bondage; and Octavius, as consul of the republic for the year 31, proceeded to carry on war against the Egyptian queen.

FORCES OF THE BELLIGERENTS.—Antony had collected 100,000 foot and 12,000 horse, besides a large number of auxiliaries, many of whom were led by their native sovereigns. His fleet counted 500 war-galleys, 60 of which belonged to Cleopatra, and were commanded by herself. Octavius had 20,000 infantry less than his rival; the difference in the number and size of his vessels was still greater. But that inferiority was compensated by the skill of Agrippa, the devotedness of the troops, and the confidence which all reposed in their officers,

BATTLE OF ACTIUM (SEPT. 2, B. C. 31).—The hostile fleets and armies assembled on the western coast of Greece, and gradually concentrated in front of each other. Antony's ships were anchored in the gulf of Ambracia, and his army was encamped near by on the promontory of Actium, which has given its name to the battle. From the opposite coast of Epirus, and separated from him only by a narrow channel, Octavius at the head of the land-forces observed his opponent, whilst Agrippa with his well-appointed fleet was on the watch in the vicinity. Already two slight actions had

taken place, one on land and the other at sea, in both of which Antony was worsted. Defection had commenced in his ranks. The position of his camp was confined and unhealthy; and the superiority which the enemy had acquired at sea, threatened his supplies. Antony would have removed the theatre of war to the plains of Thessaly. But Cleopatra, who feared to have her retreat cut off, dissuaded him from this. To please her, he resolved to sacrifice the army, and retire with the fleet to Egypt. Agrippa, however, would not allow him to escape, and no sooner had Antony emerged into the open waters of the Leucadian Bay, than he was compelled to fight. The battle was still undecided when Cleopatra, whose vessels were at anchor in the rear, taking advantage of a favorable breeze, sailed through the midst of the combatants with her whole squadron, and made for the coast of Peloponnesus. Antony, observing her flight, hastened in her wake. Many of his adherents, enraged at this dastardly conduct, imitated his example, and withdrew from the action; yet most of them continued the contest till their vessels, now burned to the water's edge, sank slowly into the sea. A few days after the destruction of the fleet, the land-army surrendered to the conqueror.

OCTAVIUS QUELLS A MUTINY (B. C. 30).—Octavius did not follow Antony to Alexandria for nearly 12 months after the battle of Actium. Mæcenas had been left to govern Rome, and Agrippa with the veterans was now dispatched to pacify Italy, which was still disturbed, while Octavius visited Greece, and received a glad welcome from its people. Thence he passed on to Asia, where provinces and dependent kingdoms promptly submitted to him. But, during the winter, the veteran troops in Italy, whose demands Agrippa was unable to satisfy, broke into open mutiny. Octavius hastened to Brundisium; and, selling his own property and that of his nearest friends, raised enough money to calm their discontent. Then, promising an additional largess out of the spoils of Egypt, he started in the spring to complete his victory over the fugitives.

ANTONY'S SUICIDE.—The news of Antony's defeat at Actium, had preceded him to Egypt. On his arrival there, he found his authority renounced by the Roman legions, and gave himself up to despair. But Cleopatra with more spirit prepared to defend herself. As, however, her allies fell away from her one after another, she conceived the idea of

fleeing with her treasures to Arabia. Some of her ships were even dragged across the isthmus of Suez to the Red Sea, but were there destroyed by the Arabs. The project had to be abandoned, as was also the still wilder scheme of taking flight to Spain, and raising that turbulent province against the heir of Cæsar. Meanwhile, both Antony and Cleopatra separately pleaded for mercy. The former received no reply; the latter was encouraged to hope for favor, if she would rid the world of Antony. Octavius wished to exhibit her alive at his triumph, and he was anxious to possess himself of the treasures of the Ptolemies, which she had it in her power to secrete or destroy. His agents suggested to her that Octavius was young, and might yield to the power of her charms. In the hope of a last conquest, she determined to betray her paramour. As the conqueror approached, Antony, encouraged by some success in a cavalry skirmish, prepared to strike a last blow for empire; but, at that moment, both his navy and his troops, seduced by the queen's artifices, deserted him. He was at the same time falsely informed that she had committed suicide. Therefore losing all hope, he inflicted upon himself a mortal wound.

DEATH OF CLEOPATRA.—Cleopatra, learning that Octavius proposed to visit her, resolved to bend all her arts towards exciting his compassion and love. Against these efforts Octavius sternly fortified himself. He fixed his eyes coldly on the ground, asked for a list of her treasures, and, bidding her be of good courage, quitted her. Cleopatra was dismayed at her failure. Unwilling to be removed to Rome, she made up her mind to die, and was next day found dead, near the body of Antony, in the tower of her mausoleum. It was the popular belief that she perished by the bite of an asp, conveyed to her for the purpose in a basket of figs. With her, the dynasty of the Ptolemies ceased to reign; Egypt was thenceforth reckoned a Roman province.

CHAPTER XXXII.

THE ROMAN EMPIRE UNDER AUGUSTUS.—B. C. 29—A. D. 14.

OCTAVIUS BECOMES EMPEROR (B. C. 29).—The battle of

Actium was the conclusion of the grand drama which changed the Roman republic into the empire. Although Octavius did not assume the title of sovereign, he concentrated the ruling power in himself, and so retained and exercised it during a long life, as to transmit it without opposition to the members of his family. With what consummate prudence he gradually reconciled the Romans to the change, will be presently seen.

It was as consul that Octavius had gained the battle of Actium, and subjugated Egypt. On his return to Rome, he enjoyed a triple triumph—for his victories over the Illyrians, over the Egyptians at Actium, and over Cleopatra at Alexandria. With the ceremony of the triumph, his *imperium* became extinct, and he ought thereupon to have disbanded his army. This, with great show of moderation, he professed himself ready to do, but allowed the senate to confer upon him the title of *imperator*, whereby he became permanent commander of the national forces. Henceforth, he was permitted to prefix the word *imperator*, or *emperor*, to his name.

HIS CONSERVATIVE POLICY.—Octavius, now reversing Cæsar's policy, as well as that hitherto followed by himself, restored to the senate, at least in appearance, its ancient prerogatives. Rejecting unworthy members from that body, he reduced it to the legitimate number of 600, and strictly required a qualification of property of about \$50,000. Then, he placed himself at its head, as *princeps*, a republican title, long regarded as the highest of all honorary distinctions. Nor was it only thus that Octavius reconciled the nobles to his rule. He showed himself, in every particular, devoted to their interests. His policy, in most points conservative and reactionary, tallied perfectly with the ideas and prejudices of the aristocracy. He preserved the ancient laws with as little change as possible. He studiously exhibited himself as the champion of the national worship. He insisted on maintaining the superior character and privileges of the Romans, to the exclusion of all provincials and foreigners. He upheld the whole framework of the republican government, and seemed jealous to maintain it against the suggestions of a senate all too prone to flatter and caress him.

HOW HE CONCILIATES THE POPULACE.—While he conciliated the great by his studied conservatism and respect for ancient laws, Octavius adroitly appeared no less bound

to the popular party, which had raised him to power. The populace still persisted in regarding the tribuneship as the legitimate guardian of their privileges. Octavius, therefore, although invested with a perpetual tribunate, took care to have his tribunitian powers renewed every year, and thus led the people readily to believe him a champion of their liberties. But his shows and largesses, and relief from military service, proved the strongest ties that bound the lower classes.—Octavius reduced from 320,000 to 200,000 the number of the inhabitants of Rome who were maintained by the free distribution of corn; but he provided for many poor citizens, by settling them in new colonies.

OCTAVIUS RECEIVES THE NAME OF AUGUSTUS (B. C. 27).—The prosperity which the return of peace and the wise government of Octavius brought to the country, made the admirers of the new ruler desirous of showing their gratitude by some title, which, offending none, would exalt him before all. The epithet Augustus, that is, 'the sacred, the venerable,' answered this purpose. Hitherto applied chiefly to the gods and public worship, it flung a sort of aureola about the bearer's brow. Henceforth the worship of Octavius as a god, though forbidden in Italy, began to spread tacitly in the provinces. On the death of Lepidus, B. C. 13, Augustus succeeded him as chief pontiff.

AUGUSTUS RECEIVES THE TITLE OF FATHER OF HIS COUNTRY.—This title, the proudest any Roman could obtain, had long been bestowed by the popular voice on Octavius, when with one accord the senate resolved to confer it upon him with due solemnity, in the name of all the citizens. "Conscript fathers," said the emperor in his reply, "my wishes are now fulfilled, my vows are accomplished. I have nothing more to ask of the Immortals, but that I may retain to my dying day the unanimous approval you now bestow upon me."

SIMPLICITY OF THE EMPEROR'S HABITS.—Augustus was careful to veil the supreme power which he really wielded, under the greatest show of simplicity. He affected to appear on all occasions, not in the attitude of a ruler of Rome, but as the first of her citizens. In private life, he was studiously simple and modest. His house on the Palatine was moderate in size and ornaments. His dress was that of a plain senator, woven by the hands of Livia and her maidens. He traversed the streets as a private citizen, with no more than the ordinary retinue of slaves and clients, courteously

addressing the acquaintances he met, allowing himself to be summoned as a witness in their suits, and attending at their houses on occasions of domestic interest. Nor did he show himself affable only to persons of distinction. He received with kindness the petitions of all, encouraging those who were timid and bashful. At table, he was temperate. Though his personal conduct was not blameless, he applied himself to the repression of licentiousness, which he considered one of the greatest evils of the state.

AUGUSTUS A PATRON OF LETTERS.—Augustus was a tolerable writer, and capable of distinguishing literary merit. Most of his chosen friends were men of letters; and his fame with posterity rests, in a great degree, upon that circle of poets, historians, and eminent scholars by whom he was surrounded. Preeminent among them stand forth the poets Virgil and Horace, Tibullus and Ovid, together with the matchless prose writer—Livy. Of these authors a short sketch will be given, in a chapter on Roman literature, at the end of this work.

CLEMENCY OF AUGUSTUS.—Though the rule of Augustus bore lightly on the citizens, and the lassitude engendered by a hundred years of civil war had reconciled the few genuine Romans to his sway, he was not secure from conspiracies. He showed himself inexorable in the punishment of the first offenders, Ignatius Rufus, Murena, and Cepion. But in the case of Cinna, a grandson of Pompey, by the advice of the empress Livia, he resolved to try the effect of clemency. Sending for the chief conspirator, he named to him all his accomplices, together with the manner, time, and place fixed upon for the execution of the foul deed. Cinna was thunder-struck; but greater yet was his surprise, when Augustus, after enumerating the benefits he had conferred upon him, added, “Cinna, I forgave you once, when you were found in the camp of my enemies; I now pardon you a second time, after you have attempted to be my murderer. Let us become sincere friends; and, by our future conduct towards each other, make it doubtful which is greater, my generosity or your gratitude.” Many are the instances related of his moderation and clemency towards offenders.

THE IMPERIAL AND THE SENATORIAL PROVINCES.—Italy, under which name Cisalpine Gaul is henceforth included, was divided into eleven regions, and governed by the pretor in the city. The rest of the empire was apportioned between the emperor and the senate. To the latter were assigned

the great islands off the coasts of Italy, and such regions as were peaceful and less exposed to foreign aggression. The emperor reserved to himself those provinces in which large armies were maintained for the repression of turbulent subjects or aggressive enemies. The imperial governors bore the various designations of lieutenants of Cæsar, procurators, presidents, or prefects.

THE IMPERIAL LEGIONS.—The standing army of the empire consisted of 25 legions with the usual auxiliary troops—in all, some 340,000 men—stationed thus: 3 legions in Spain, 8 on the banks of the Rhine, 2 in Africa, 2 in Egypt, 4 on the Euphrates, 4 on the Danube, and 2 in Dalmatia. Each of these legions mustered 6100 foot and 720 horse, recruited mostly among the subject races. All the legionaries were now armed and equipped alike. Instead of the old arrangement in 3 or 5 lines, the arrayed legion had but 2; each of these were divided into 5 cohorts, and the veterans occupied the front rank. The local auxiliaries attached to the legions, were armed and drilled after their native usage.

THE IMPERIAL NAVY.—Augustus was the first to establish a regular and permanent navy, which he stationed under the supreme command of Agrippa, at Misenum, Ravenna, and Forum Julii (*Fréjus*) in Gaul. These fleets kept the pirates in check, secured the free transmission of grain to the capital, and convoyed the ships which brought tribute in money from the east and west.

THE PRETORIAN GUARD.—The pretorian guard, which Augustus provided for his own protection, as well as for the defence of Italy and Rome, consisted of 10 cohorts, each containing 800 or 1000 men recruited from among the citizens of Rome or the inhabitants of Italy. The pretorians received double pay, and were commanded by the *præfectus pretorii*. Augustus kept only 3 of the cohorts in the city, the rest being scattered throughout the peninsula. But, under his successors, the pretorians were all collected into a camp at the gates of the city. Their number seldom exceeded 20,000.

POPULATION.—The population of the empire is computed at about 100,000,000;* and, during the long period of peace and prosperity which ensued, it probably continued to increase for another century. Rome, under Augustus, may have reckoned 700,000—a number probably

*Of these 4,000,000 may have been Roman *citizens*; but what proportion were *Romans* cannot even be guessed at.

equalled by both Antioch and Alexandria. Though the population of Rome became larger subsequently, it never perhaps much exceeded 1,000,000.

EMBELLISHMENT OF ROME.—Augustus took great pride in the embellishment of Rome. "I found it of brick," he was wont to say; "I shall leave it of marble." Yet he would not trespass on the rights of the inhabitants, preferring to leave some designs unfinished or imperfect, rather than encroach upon the property of others. In this work of improvement, he was seconded by his nobles, and especially by his friend Agrippa, who, having secured, by his signal services in the field, the second place in the commonwealth, loyally abstained from aiming at the first. In the year B. C. 23, when Augustus, prostrated by fever, seemed unlikely to recover, it was to Agrippa that he handed his ring—hinting thus that it was upon him he wished to see the empire conferred. To Agrippa he intrusted, on his recovery, an eastern command, which made him almost equal to himself.

AUGUSTUS IN SPAIN (B. C. 24) AND IN THE EAST (B. C. 21).—In the year 29 B. C., the conqueror of Actium solemnly closed the temple of Janus—an event of which only two previous instances are recorded, viz., during Numa's reign, and after the first Punic war. Soon, an outbreak of the Cantabrians compelled the emperor to reopen Janus. He marched in person against the rebels; but, stricken by sickness, left it to his generals to complete their reduction, after which Janus was once more closed.

In B. C. 21, Augustus made a progress through his eastern dominions, during which he punished Tyre and Sidon for their turbulence, and prevailed upon the Parthian king Phraartes, to restore the eagles taken from Crassus.

VICTORIES OVER THE GERMANS AND PANNONIANS (B. C. 15-6).—In the year 15 B. C., the security of the empire was threatened by barbarian tribes along its whole northern frontier, and some legions were defeated by the Germans on the Lower Rhine. But the vigilance and activity of Tiberius and Drusus—the two sons of the empress Livia by her former husband—averted the danger. Acting in concert, they defeated the Breuni and the Genauni, and crushed the Vindelici and the Rhæti; then, parting company, Tiberius went to quell an insurrection in Pannonia, while Drusus, from his government in Gaul, not only checked the Germans, but penetrated far into their country. On his return from a

third invasion, the young conqueror died of a fall from his horse (B. C. 9). The title of *Germanicus*, conferred on him after his death, descended to his son. Tiberius then took the command of the army, and gained a great victory over the Sigambri. In B. C. 6, being called back to Rome, he celebrated a triumph, was saluted imperator, and received the tribunitian power for 5 years.

BIRTH OF CHRIST (A. M. 4963, A. U. C. 753 *).—The most memorable event during the reign of Augustus, was the birth of THE REDEEMER. In the 753d year from the foundation of Rome and the 31st from the battle of Actium, "Jesus Christ, eternal God and Son of the eternal Father, being desirous to sanctify the world by His mysterious coming, was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and, nine months having elapsed since his conception, was born in Bethlehem of Judah, having become man in the womb of the Virgin Mary."

Thus did the Messiah, who had been expected for nearly five thousand years, appear at the time when the vast extent of the Roman empire, the intimate connection of its various parts, and the general use of the Latin language, might facilitate the preaching of the Gospel.

The comparative tranquillity which the civilized world was then enjoying, was a not unfitting image of that spiritual peace which the eternal Son of God had come to bring to mankind.

THE IMPERIAL FAMILY.—Augustus had but one child, Julia, who was born of his second wife, Scribonia. Julia was first married to the nephew of Augustus, Marcellus,† who died young. Her next husband was Agrippa,‡ to whom

*The best among modern critics refer the birth of the Savior to the 25th of Dec., A. U. C. 749, that is, 4 years and a few days B. C. Though our era is too late by four years, the commonly-received date is here preserved to avoid confusion.

†Son of M. Marcellus and Octavia, the sister of Augustus. Marcellus died (B. C. 23) at the age of twenty, leaving no offspring; he had given high promise of ability, as we learn from the matchless praises bestowed upon him by Virgil.

‡In B. C. 12, Agrippa died. Augustus then prevailed upon Tiberius to divorce his own wife, to whom he was sincerely attached, in order to marry Julia. Their union was an unhappy one; and, after living together for about a year, they separated for ever. The conduct of Julia had long been marked by gross immoralities, which Augustus alone refused to believe. When at last he became convinced of her guilt, he had her banished (B. C. 2) to an island off the coast of Campania. Her daughter Julia, who had shared in her excesses, was also sent into exile.

she bore three sons—Caius, Lucius, Postumus—and two daughters, Julia and Agrippina. Caius and Lucius died before reaching the age of maturity, and Augustus deemed Postumus unfit for the succession. Julia dishonored the imperial family by her licentiousness, and left no issue. Agrippina was married to the celebrated Germanicus, by whom she had a numerous progeny. One of her sons, Caius, reigned under the name of Caligula; and, of her grandsons, one was the too notorious Nero.

LIVIA AND HER SONS.—In the year 38 B. C., Octavius, after divorcing Scribonia, snatched Livia Drusilla from her husband, Tiberius Claudius Nero, and married her himself. She was already the mother of a son—Tiberius, and within three months gave birth to a second, Drusus, of whom Octavius was reputed to be the father. Livia bore no more children, but maintained her dominion over the heart of her husband, and secured for her sons a place in his affections. Tiberius and Drusus were both men of ability, and proved not unworthy of the confidence placed in them by Augustus. To secure their aggrandizement, Livia, a woman of strong intellect and unbounded ambition, hesitated at no effort and no crime,* and the darkest suspicions were aroused at Rome by the death, one by one, of every person who stood between Tiberius and the throne. When at last Tiberius alone survived, Augustus adopted him as his son, and invested him with tribunitian power (A. D. 4).

INSURRECTION IN PANNONIA (A. D. 6–9).—In A. D. 6, a formidable insurrection in Pannonia caused much anxiety to the aged Augustus, and forced Tiberius to concentrate all the military strength of the empire in that quarter. To put down the rebellion it required three whole years.

VARUS AND ARMINIUS.—The peace of Augustus was further disturbed by a great military disaster. The territories overrun by the Romans beyond the Rhine, had been formed into a province, with its government entrusted to the proconsul Varus. Thinking that the Germans were really subdued, he attempted to rule them by the subtle Roman law rather than by the sword. The wary Arminius (Herman), a young chief of the Cherusci, incited his countrymen to profit by this imprudence. A revolt was planned. Varus

*It was believed, at Rome, that Livia and her son removed the two young Cæsars—Lucius in A. D. 2 and Caius in A. D. 3—by poison and assassination.

confronted the rebels with three legions; and, among the passes of the Teutoburg forest, was routed and slain. With him perished most of his men, and three eagles were carried off—a defeat not unlike those of the Allia, Cannae, and Carthage. When the aged emperor was apprised of the event, he sunk into a state of nervous despondency, allowed his beard to grow untrimmed for months, and was heard to exclaim “Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!”

CLOSING YEARS OF AUGUSTUS.—The revolt of the Pannonians, the defeat of Varus, the difficulties of raising levies to check the barbarians, the scandalous conduct of some of the members of the imperial family, and his multiplied bereavements, were so many circumstances which cast a gloom over the closing years of Augustus. He felt moreover, that he had outlived the favor with which he had so long been regarded by the Roman populace. Yet, through all these trials, the aged emperor bore himself with dignity.

THE ‘ACTS’ OF AUGUSTUS.—When he felt his end approaching, he held a third census of the people, which was completed A. D. 14. He spent the next few months in compiling a brief statement of his *acts*, which has most fortunately been preserved to modern times by its inscription on the walls of a temple still standing at Ancyra. This record extends over a period of 58 years, and enumerates achievements hardly equalled by any other single individual.

HIS DEATH (A. D. 14).—His last summer was spent in moving gently from one villa to another, until death laid hands upon him, at Nola. After desiring that his gray hairs and beard might be set in order, Augustus asked his friends around him, whether he had played well his part in life’s drama; and, on receiving an affirmative answer, muttered a verse from a comic epilogue, “Give then your applause.” Thus, at the age of seventy-six, he expired, on the 19th of August, a month formerly called *Sextilis*, but to which he had given his name. He was buried at Rome with great pomp, and divine honors were paid to his memory.

CHAPTER XXXIII.

THE REIGN OF TIBERIUS CÆSAR.—A. D. 14–37.

ACCESSION OF TIBERIUS.—The fidelity of the few troops

about the capital, was assured to Tiberius by the oath they had taken to him, as the coadjutor of their late emperor Augustus. Hence the decease of the latter and succession of the former were proclaimed together to the soldiers, who, together with the consuls and chief magistrates, swore obedience to Tiberius as their emperor. The senators, whom Tiberius summoned by virtue of his tribunitian power, hastened to offer to him the remaining functions annexed under Augustus to the imperial dignity. Tiberius, after a decent show of resistance, consented to become the chief of the Roman people.

DISCONTENT OF THE LEGIONS.—On receiving the first news of the late emperor's death, the legions stationed on the Danubian and Rhenish frontiers, mutinied, demanding an increase of pay and an earlier discharge from military service. The commander of the forces in Pannonia, Bæsus, was compelled to send their complaints to Rome. The emperor replied by placing over them Drusus, his son. But he gave the young prince no definite instructions; and it was only by the accident of an opportune eclipse which alarmed the disaffected, that he was enabled with some trifling concessions to recall them to the standards.—On the Rhine, the position of Germanicus was still more delicate. The legions under his command threatened to carry him in triumph to the city, and thrust him into the seat of the empire. But, by opportunely exercising severity and lenity, he at length succeeded in reestablishing subordination. He soothed the passions of the soldiers by money and promises; and, in order to turn their thoughts into another channel, led them into Germany, to avenge the massacre of the Varian legions and recover the lost eagles.

CAMPAIGNS OF GERMANICUS (A. D. 14-16).—He penetrated some distance into the country of the Bructeri, Tubantes, and Usipetes. But, the enemy falling back before the invaders and refusing to engage in a general action, the Romans were compelled to retire for the present, without having gained any permanent advantage. The following year, Germanicus commenced his operations earlier in the season. With 4 legions he embarked on the German sea, while 4 other legions and the cavalry proceeded by land. All arrived in due time at the place of destination, and the whole army marched towards the forest where the bones of Varus and his legions were said to lie unburied. When

they reached the spot, an awful spectacle met their view. The ground lay covered with bones, either thinly scattered, or lying in heaps, as the unfortunate soldiers happened to fall in flight, or in a body resisted to the last. Human skulls were seen upon the trunks of the trees; and, near by in the woods, stood the blood-stained altars on which tribunes and centurions had been offered up in sacrifice. Deeply affected at this mournful sight, the soldiers of Germanicus reverently buried the remains; and, the solemn rites over, began slowly to retreat. Arminius, whose counsels had till then been thwarted by intestine dissensions among his countrymen, now ventured to attack the invaders. But he met with a severe repulse, and the Romans were enabled to effect a safe return.

Next spring, Germanicus made a third campaign over the same region, and succeeded in coming to a general engagement with the entire force of Arminius. He gained a complete victory, and proved himself a captain worthy of the best days of Rome. The emperor's jealousy of his nephew's military fame and popularity with the soldiers, was now fully awakened; and, under various pretexts, Germanicus was recalled.

DEATH OF ARMINIUS.—Glorious as were the campaigns of Germanicus, their practical results, in the eyes of the emperor, were not adequate to the expense of blood and money which they entailed. Tiberius, moreover, rightly judged that the Germans, so soon as the dread of Roman invasion disappeared, would again fall to quarreling among themselves. And it so happened. Arminius, at the head of the Cherusci, waged a successful war upon a rival chieftain, Maroboduus, king of the Marcomanni (march-men, or border-warriors). Elated by his triumph, he had the ambition to aim at the sovereign power. Thereupon, the independent spirit of his countrymen turned many of them against him. Arminius fought with various success, and fell at last by the treachery of his own relations. He had lived only 37 years, during 12 of which he successfully maintained a certain bond of union among the tribes of Northern Germany. Arminius was celebrated for ages afterward in the heroic songs of their fatherland, as a champion of independence; and his name holds an imperishable place in literature, as the symbol of the aspirations of the German race for freedom from external conquerors.

From the death of Arminius, Roman influence was extended in Germany by policy rather than by arms. The mutual jealousies of rival families and tribes were fostered; bribery and cunning were resorted to; traders, settling among the Germans, accustomed them to peaceful commerce and intercourse with the Romans. Their warriors freely entered the service of Rome, and before long they formed the core of the legions.

DEATH OF GERMANICUS (A. D. 19).—Germanicus, on his return from the field of his exploits, enjoyed the honors of a splendid triumph. He was soon after sent by the emperor to Asia, with extraordinary powers. To reduce Cappadocia and Commagene to the form of provinces; to tranquillize Syria and Judea, which, under the pressure of taxation, gave signs of uneasiness; to overawe the Parthians, whose loyalty to their engagement trembled in the balance,—such were the objects of the prince's Oriental mission. He acquitted himself well. But, during his progress through the east, he sickened, and died of a wasting illness. The Romans, who loved him passionately, believed that he had been poisoned. Piso, a haughty noble, who had accompanied the young prince as *adjutor*, was thought to be the instrument used by Tiberius to commit the foul deed.

TIBERIUS AT CAPREÆ (A. D. 27–37).—Be this as it may, the emperor, who was jealous of his nephew, showed little and felt still less regret at his loss. Till then, Tiberius had concealed the perverse inclinations of his heart. After the death of Germanicus, he soon broke all restraints. One virtuous influence however still remained—that of his mother Livia. When, at last, she too died (A. D. 29), the satisfaction of Tiberius was hardly disguised. Henceforth, he unrestrainedly exhibited himself in his true character. He caused the widow of Germanicus, Agrippina, and her two eldest sons, to perish of ill treatment and starvation. He resigned the whole management of affairs to an unworthy favorite, Ælius Sejanus; and, withdrawing from the vexations of public life at Rome, settled himself in the voluptuous island of Capreæ. Here he indulged in all the excesses of debauchery. Warned that Sejanus had contrived a plot for his assassination, he anticipated the blow, and the traitor, with most of his friends and relations, was sent to execution (A. D. 31). For six years longer, Tiberius lived in sensuality, at Capreæ, his cruelties ever keeping pace with his debaucheries.

LAW OF MAJESTY: THE INFORMERS.—As the emperor feared and hated the great Roman houses, whose members still affected equality with himself and the imperial family, they were the chief objects of his animadversion. The more easily to break down their spirit of independence, the law of Majesty, originally devised as a special security for the tribunes, and restricted to overt attempts on their life, was extended now to all words or writings which could be construed to imply disregard for the person of the emperor and of those who were closely connected with him. Many were the nobles, both men and women, who, during the reign of Tiberius, fell victims to this cruel and sweeping law. It gave rise to the system of delation—a new feature of the imperial policy, and filled all Rome with spies and informers. These were rewarded with a large share of the confiscated fortunes of their victims; and so degraded were many of the nobles, that they did not scruple to acquire wealth by preying upon their own order.

PREACHING AND DEATH OF CHRIST (A. D. 33).—Whilst these painful transactions took place in Rome, Judea was the theatre of most interesting events. For more than three years, our Lord favored it with the public spectacle of his heavenly virtues and the preaching of his Gospel, which he confirmed by many miracles, until by his passion and death he completed the great work of our Redemption. The third day after his crucifixion, he rose glorious from the dead, frequently appeared to his disciples, giving them, during forty days, all necessary instruction about the establishment and government of his Church; committed to St. Peter the care of his flock; commissioned him and the other apostles to go and teach all nations, with the positive promise of his daily assistance till the end of the world; and then, in their presence, ascended into heaven.

DIFFUSION OF THE GOSPEL. Ten days later, the Apostles being all assembled in Jerusalem, the Holy Spirit came down upon them in a visible manner. They immediately began to preach with astonishing success. The first two discourses of St. Peter converted 8000 Jews. Many more afterwards embraced the faith, so that, even before the close of the reign of Tiberius, a numerous Church was already established in Jerusalem, whence the light of the Gospel began to diffuse itself in every direction, and in every part of the world.

DEATH AND CHARACTER OF TIBERIUS.—Prominent among the vices of Tiberius, was a mean jealousy of those who possessed the qualities in which he himself was most deficient. This feeling he exhibited against the gallant Germanicus; against the widow of that young prince, Agrippina, who stood high in popular favor; and even against his own son, Drusus, the news of whose death he received with a composure almost incredible. Indeed, all the members of the imperial family, one after another, aroused the suspicions of the tyrant, and nearly all fell victims to his jealousy. Even when his end drew near, Tiberius steadily refused to nominate an heir to the empire, for fear his officers should transfer their devotion from himself to his destined successor. His death occurred on March 16, A. D. 37. The Romans, who detested him during his life, abhorred his character no less after death; and their execrations have been echoed by posterity.

PROSPERITY OF THE EMPIRE.—It is, however, important to remark that the crimes and vices of Tiberius were chiefly of a personal nature, and did not largely affect his government of the empire. While his tyranny was felt at Rome by the nobles, Italy and the provinces, during his reign, enjoyed tranquillity, and flourished with a peaceful prosperity previously unknown. Faithful to his own maxim, 'that the sheep must be sheared, not flayed,' he took care that his subjects should not be oppressed by excessive taxes, and was attentive to afford speedy assistance to towns or provinces visited by extraordinary calamities. Thus, when 12 cities of Asia Minor were laid waste by an earthquake, in A. D. 17, besides granting a remission of all tributes for five years, he sent large sums to the sufferers. On two different occasions also he indemnified the inhabitants of Rome, whose houses had been burnt by an extensive conflagration. In fine, seeing that the practice of exacting heavy interests caused great distress, he placed for three years a considerable fund at the disposal of the debtors, by which seasonable aid public credit was revived.

CHAPTER XXXIV.

CALIGULA.—CLAUDIUS.—NERO.—A. D. 37–68.

CALIGULA'S PRODIGALITY AND CRUELTY.—Caius Cæsar,

surnamed Caligula,* the youngest son of Germanicus, and a favorite with the legions for his father's sake, was proclaimed by Macro, commander of the pretorians, as the successor of Tiberius, and was acknowledged by the senate and the people with unfeigned satisfaction. His first acts gained him universal applause. He restored many privileges to the people, delivered innocent persons from prison and banishment, abolished arbitrary prosecutions for crimes of state, and evinced so good intentions, that he received from the senate the most flattering honors.

But the joy of the Romans was not of long duration. Caligula, on recovering from a dangerous disease, which may have impaired his mind, at once began to indulge in every species of folly, cruelty, and licentiousness. In two months, he spent on shows and public entertainments more than sixty millions of dollars. When the large treasure left by Tiberius was exhausted, the plunder and murder of the wealthiest citizens were the means to which Caligula resorted in order to procure fresh heaps of gold. Among many others, he put to death his young cousin Tiberius, his father-in-law Silanus, and his benefactor Macro, to whose influence he chiefly owed his peaceful accession to the imperial throne. On one occasion, when provoked by the indifference of the multitude to some of his shows, he uttered the exclamation, "Would that the people of Rome had but one neck!" On another, happening to want money when at play, he sent for the public register which contained the names of the property-holders, condemned a certain number of them to death, and said to those with whom he was playing: "How unlucky you are! It has taken you a long time to win a small sum, and in one moment I have won six hundred millions of sesterces (\$15,000,000)."

CALIGULA'S MILITARY EXPEDITIONS.—From his unworthy course of lust and brutality, Caligula roused himself, in A. D. 39, to undertake a spirited enterprise. Lentulus Gætulicus, proconsul of the Rhenish provinces, defying Tiberius, had refused to surrender his command; and he was now suspected of being engaged in a conspiracy against the new emperor. Acting with promptness, Caligula surprised him, cut him off with his associates, and banished his own sisters, whom he found to be implicated. The follow-

*From the military buskin, *Caliga*, which he wore as a child in the Rhenish camps.

ing year, he collected the legions near Gessoriacum (Boulogne), on the shore of the Channel, with the avowed intention of invading Britain. From a galley at sea, he reviewed his troops. But, instead of giving the signal to embark, he commanded the men to pick shells on the beach; and, forwarding these 'spoils' to the senate, with the order to deposit them among the treasures of the Capitol, he set out for Rome, in order to celebrate a gorgeous triumph for his victory over the ocean. Finding, on his return, that the senate had been slow to issue the requisite decrees for his triumph, he now spurned that honor, and made his entry with an ovation only.

HIS INSOLENCE TO THE NOBLES.—Henceforth his demeanor towards the nobles grew more insolent and menacing. To show his contempt for them, he threatened to make his horse consul, and meanwhile clothed him in purple. At a public banquet, when the consuls were reclining beside him, he suddenly burst into a loud laugh. They courteously inquired into the cause of his mirth: "I was thinking," he replied, "that at a sign, I could make both your heads roll on the floor."

HIS DEATH.—At last, a private affront offered to Cassius Chærea, a pretorian tribune, aroused this man to a bloody revenge, for which accomplices were easily found. As the emperor was going, through a vaulted passage, from his palace to the circus, they suddenly dispatched him with thirty wounds.

ACCESSION AND CHARACTER OF CLAUDIUS.—By the assassination of Caligula, Rome was thrown into confusion. The senators wished to reestablish the commonwealth; but they were compelled to submit to the pretorians, who proclaimed Tiberius Claudius Drusus emperor. The new Cæsar, born in the year 10 B. C., was the youngest son of the eldest Drusus, and nephew of the emperor Tiberius, who had adopted him as his son. Feeble in body, of a timid disposition and apparent stupidity, he had been excluded from public affairs during the preceding reigns, and all political instruction had been purposely withheld from him. His special weakness—gluttony, his excessive condescension to the several wives he had in succession, coupled with the slowness of his wits, led contemporary writers* to draw a most unfavorable picture of this emperor. Yet, if he is to be

* "Even the great Tacitus is not to be implicitly relied on."—*Merivale*.

the Roman nobles from whom she apprehended opposition. All things being thus prepared for the succession of Nero, Agrippina hastened the event by poisoning the weak and misguided Claudius (A. D. 54). His reign had been, on the whole, a period of general prosperity and contentment for the empire.

FAVORABLE PROMISE OF NERO'S REIGN (A. D. 54).—With the help of Burrhus, who presented him to the pretorians as the heir of Claudius, Nero without difficulty obtained the imperial crown. The young emperor had enjoyed the benefits of a good education under the philosopher Seneca. While controlled by this wise tutor and by Burrhus, he preserved a show of decency in his public conduct. Like Tiberius and Caligula, he commenced his reign by performing several laudable acts. He took great care to have the city plentifully supplied with every thing needful, and gave pensions to poor senators who could not otherwise support their rank and dignity. On a certain day, when a death-warrant was brought to be signed, "I wish," he said, "I had never learned to write." On another occasion, as the senate were expressing to him their deep gratitude, he replied: "I shall be happy to receive your thanks, when I truly deserve them." In a word, Nero's conduct, in the beginning, was such as gained him the affections of the Romans.

MURDER OF BRITANNICUS, AGRIPPINA, AND OCTAVIA—POPPÆA.—Unhappily, Nero's vices could not long brook restraint. His true character soon appeared in its native deformity—a compound of baseness, cruelty, and infamy. The conduct of his own mother first gave occasion to the display of these vicious propensities. From the day of her son's accession, she had shared his power. But, as her influence was altogether evil, the ministers, Burrhus and Seneca, sought to weaken it by procuring the dismissal of her confidant, the freedman Pallas. Agrippina, to avenge herself, threatened to recommend Britannicus to the soldiers, as the true heir of Claudius. Nero's jealousy was awakened. At his own table and in his presence, poison was administered to the young prince, from the effects of which he soon expired (A. D. 55).

A sort of reconciliation followed between the emperor and his mother. But Nero was beginning to sink into licentiousness. He fell in love with Poppæa Sabina, wife to

east, Claudius effected a new settlement of the frontier provinces. Many suppliant princes, who had thronged the court of Tiberius and Caius, were sent off to govern their native realms in dependence upon Rome. Among these was Herod Agrippa, who, besides being confirmed in his sway over Galilee, received in addition the province of Palestine. The Jews, who had been on the brink of rebellion, owing to the threat of Caius to set up his statue in their temple, were pleased with this concession, and celebrated the return of Agrippa to Jerusalem as a national triumph. The reign of Herod was not of long duration. In the following year (A. D. 44), at Cæsarea, after addressing the people, he was saluted by the Hellenizing section of them as a god. His death by a terrible disease followed within a few days; his son was retained in Italy as a hostage; and Judea became once more part of the proconsular province of Syria.—For several generations, the Jews had been accustomed to roam beyond the narrow limits of their own country. Wherever trade was active, in the great cities of the Euphrates, in Alexandria, in the ports of Greece and Asia Minor, they had settled in large numbers. Such a colony existed also at Rome, and occupied a quarter of their own. Many of these people were highly cultivated, and ingratiated themselves with the best families, to whom their religious doctrines began to be familiar. Julius Cæsar and Augustus showed them much favor; but their turbulence and quarrelsome disposition caused Tiberius to deport 4000 of them to Sardinia. Under Claudius, owing perhaps to their hatred of the Christians, they gave similar cause of offence. A scarcity of corn occurred; and, finding it difficult to provide the Roman populace with food, the government took the opportunity to order a general expulsion of the Jews.

LAST YEARS AND DEATH OF CLAUDIUS.—AGRIPPINA.—On the death of his third wife, the wicked Messalina, by whom he had a son and a daughter—Britannicus and Octavia, Claudius was induced to espouse his niece, the ambitious and cruel Agrippina. Abusing the facile temper of her consort, this intriguing woman caused Domitius, her own child by a first husband, to be married to Octavia, the emperor's daughter, and to be adopted by him as his son under the name of Nero. She then set herself to gain the support of the army; won over Burrhus, the prefect of the pretorians; and prevailed on her weak husband to prosecute all

the Roman nobles from whom she apprehended opposition. All things being thus prepared for the succession of Nero, Agrippina hastened the event by poisoning the weak and misguided Claudius (A. D. 54). His reign had been, on the whole, a period of general prosperity and contentment for the empire.

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Salvius Otho and the fairest woman of her time. She, aspiring to the honor of the imperial couch, employed all her arts for the divorce of Octavia. As Agrippina opposed that scheme, the death of the emperor's mother was resolved upon. By Nero's contrivance, she was shipwrecked in crossing the calm waters of the gulf of Baïæ. She escaped to land, and gained her villa on the coast, but only to fall by the hand of assassins (59). Octavia was suffered to live a few years longer, but was finally divorced and put to death. Poppæa then became empress, and reigned supreme, exciting public disgust by the luxury of her bath of milk,* and of her mules shod with gold. She too, in the end, fell a victim to the passionate temper of her husband, who, in her pregnancy, gave her a kick which caused her death.

NERO'S TYRANNY.—Whilst Nero thus sported with the lives of the members of his family, it may be readily imagined that strangers suffered no less at his hands. As his expenses were enormous, he found no more expeditious means of replenishing his coffers than the proscription of the richest citizens, and Rome lost daily some of her noblest sons. Virtue itself, says Tacitus, seems to have been an object of hatred to the tyrant. He not only ordered the self-destruction of his preceptor Seneca and the poet Lucan, but he put to death the two most distinguished and virtuous members of the senate, Barea Soranus and Thræsea Pætus. Corbulo, who had just conducted a most brilliant expedition against the Parthians, as the reward of his services, received sentence of capital punishment; and Vespasian narrowly escaped the same fate, for having slept whilst the emperor was singing on the stage.

NERO AS A BUFFOON.—In nothing else did Nero so disgrace himself in the eyes of the citizens, as by his total disregard of the national traditions and loss of self-respect. Seeking the applause of the vulgar, and fond of exhibiting his supposed proficiency in Grecian arts, he engaged in the contests of the circus, acted the part of a comedian on the stage, and contended with professional singers and musicians. The nobles shuddered at such degradation; but the rabble shouted with delight.

SLAUGHTER OF THE DRUIDS IN MONA (A. D. 61).—Whilst Rome witnessed these excesses, the bravery of her

*To procure this, 500 asses were kept in constant attendance.

troops maintained the majesty of the empire in the distant provinces. Suetonius Paulinus resumed operations against the natives of Britain in A. D. 61, and penetrated into the isle of Mona (Anglesey). In this island, the Druids, retreating step by step before the advancing invaders, had sought refuge in great number. To their influence was attributed the obstinate resistance which Britain offered to Rome. With the defeat of the Britons in Mona, the occupation of this island by Suetonius, and the slaughter of the Druids, the power of the native priesthood received a shock from which it never recovered.

BOADICEA: SUBJUGATION OF THE SOUTHERN BRITONS (A. D. 61).—While Suetonius was detained in Mona, the queen of the Iceni, Boadicea, complaining of bitter insults offered to herself and her daughters, roused her nation to arms. Several other tribes, equally weary of Roman insolence and extortions, joined in the insurrection. The colonies founded by the conquerors were laid waste with fire and sword, and 70,000 persons—citizens or allies—were, it is said, slaughtered by the natives.

Suetonius was recalled by the news of the revolt. The Britons vastly outnumbered his own troops, and at first harassed them severely. But, as soon as he saw the enemy encumbered with plunder and grown over-confident, he gave them battle in a narrow plain, where they could assail him with only a few battalions at once, while their own wagons, laden with booty, so thronged their rear as almost to cut off the possibility of retreat. Despite the eloquence and courage of Boadicea, the barbarians broke before the steady onset of the legions. Eighty thousand natives were slain, and their queen put an end to her life. The revolt subsided as suddenly as it had risen. The Roman yoke now firmly fixed, soon brought prosperity to the country, whose wealth of flocks and mines was rapidly developed. Before the death of Nero, the Roman province extended to the Mersey and the Trent.

GREAT FIRE OF ROME.—In the summer of the 64th year of our era, a great conflagration, which lasted nine days, destroyed or damaged 10 out of the 14 quarters of the city. The Romans were panic-stricken. They believed that the fire was the work of paid incendiaries. It was asserted that Nero had watched the flames from a turret of his palace, amusing himself all the while with singing verses on the burning of

Troy. The belief gained ground that he had himself caused the conflagration, as a spectacle for his own wanton enjoyment.

FIRST GENERAL PERSECUTION (A. D. 64-68).—To divert the public indignation from himself and remove these suspicions, the emperor devised the satanical plan of laying this crime to the charge of the Christians. There were many of them already in Rome. As the purity of their lives was a censure on the corruption of the age, and their total separation from pagan festivities an occasion of hatred and contempt, Nero thought them fit subjects for public vengeance. Numbers of them were arrested, and subjected to the most frightful torments. Some, enveloped in the skins of wild beasts, were left to be devoured by dogs. Others were roasted alive; and many, wrapped in pitched cloth, were set on fire, so as to burn like torches in the imperial gardens. By the light thus afforded Nero delighted to ride through the avenues, in the dress of a charioteer. During this persecution, St. Peter and St. Paul suffered martyrdom at Rome, on the same day, the former by the cross, the latter by the sword.

DEATH OF NERO (A. D. 68).—Nero had gained his object. The first fury of his subjects had been assuaged, and it subsided into mere distrust or careless contempt. True, a plot for the destruction of the tyrant, to which Seneca and Lucan gave their adhesion, was arranged by Piso and other members of the aristocracy. But the scheme was betrayed, and the conspirators perished (A. D. 64). For four years longer Nero was allowed to proceed in his career of shame, and plunge still deeper, if possible, into his ignominious prostitution of the Roman character. At last, the news arrived that two provincial governors, Vindex in Gaul and Galba in Spain, had revolted. Virginius, with the legions of Germany, defeated Vindex. But the victors attached themselves to Galba, who at once made preparations to march upon Rome, at the head of the united forces of the two great provinces of the west. Thereupon Nero found himself abandoned by all. The senate decreed his death, and the pretorians refused to draw the sword in his defence. The tyrant fled by night from the city, and hid himself in the villa of one of his freedmen, four miles from Rome. He was traced to his hiding-place by the emissaries of the senate, who were ordered to kill him 'in the ancient fashion,' that is, to beat him with rods till he died. Terrified at the

thought of so horrible a death, Nero resolved to anticipate the executioners; and, as the soldiers were bursting into the house, he stabbed himself, exclaiming: "What a musician the world is going to lose!" With him, the adoptive race of the great dictator was extinguished. Henceforth, most of the emperors will be selected by the pretorian guards or the provincial legions.

CHAPTER XXXV.

GALBA, OTHO, AND VITELLIUS.—VESPASIAN, TITUS, AND
DOMITIAN.—A. D. 68-69.

GALBA experienced no difficulty in causing himself to be acknowledged emperor. He was of noble extraction, venerable for his age, and distinguished for his abilities in inferior employments. But, when emperor, his conduct answered neither the eminence of his dignity, nor the public expectations. His parsimony and severity provoked the hatred of the soldiers, and they stabbed him in the middle of Rome, after he had reigned seven months (Jan. 15, 69).

OTHO AND VITELLIUS.—Otho, once the husband of the famous Poppæa, had been the chief leader of the conspiracy against Galba, and he succeeded him upon the throne. Still, he was acknowledged only in the capital and in the neighboring provinces, the legions of Germany having declared for their commander Vitellius. The rivals had recourse to arms; and Otho being defeated near Cremona, killed himself after a reign of three months.

GLUTTONY OF VITELLIUS.—Vitellius was now without a competitor, and thought himself secure of his prize. His success, however, was not so much owing to his own abilities, as to the exertions of his generals. His chief merit consisted in eating and drinking. He took four abundant meals every day, and all countries and seas were laid under contribution, in order to furnish the most exquisite game and fish for his table. No repast could be offered to him below the value of 400,000 sesterces (about \$10,000); so that even the richest citizens were ruined by his visit. Lucius Vitellius, his brother, gave him a dinner in which 2000 fishes and 7000

birds were served up. His guests lost their health in consequence of this excessive and uninterrupted good cheer. One of them, Vibius Priscus, having contracted a disease which dispensed him with attending those fatal repasts, congratulated himself, saying: "I was undone, had I not fallen sick."

VESPASIAN PROCLAIMED EMPEROR IN SYRIA (JULY 1ST, A. D. 69).—The legions of the east, which constituted nearly one half of the whole military force of the empire, had thus far taken no part in the contest. Their commanders had been content with nominally acquiescing in the successive claims of Galba, Otho, and Vitellius. At last, the ambition of T. Flavius Vespasian, a plebeian of mean birth, but a general of remarkable talents, was aroused. He was then, together with his son Titus, engaged in suppressing a revolt which, two years before Nero's death, had broken out in Palestine. On the first of July, 69, his soldiers proclaimed him *imperator*, and, with the consent of his colleagues in the east, he was soon after saluted Cæsar and Augustus. To his son Titus was entrusted the care of continuing the war in Palestine. Primus and Mucianus, his chief officers, with the troops that could be spared from the Jewish war, undertook to march upon Italy and Rome.

VICTORIES OF PRIMUS.—Primus, at the head of the vanguard consisting of three legions, entered Italy from the north. Though much inferior in number to his opponents, without waiting for the arrival of Mucianus, he boldly challenged them to combat. His courage and confidence were rewarded by a hard-won victory on the plain of Bedriacum. The camp that surrounded Cremona, and the city of Cremona itself, fell into his hands. By this single blow, Primus had begun, and nearly finished, the war; nor could the Vitellians ever regain their former ascendancy.

The victors soon appeared under the walls of Rome. Forming themselves into three divisions, they simultaneously attacked three gates of the city. The Vitellians went forth to meet them at all points; but they could not resist the onset. The victors entering pell-mell with the vanquished, the combat was kept up from street to street, until the Vitellians were driven to their last stronghold, the pretorian camp. This too was carried, and the Flavians, bursting in, put every man to the sword.

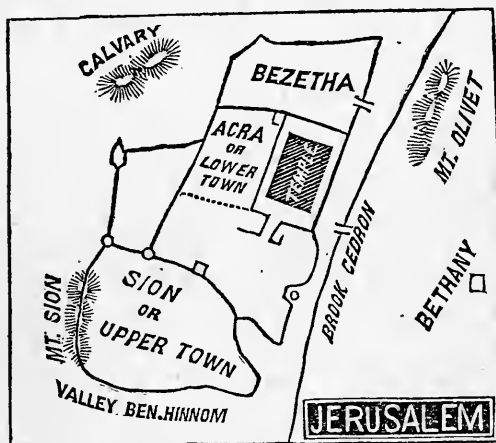
DEATH OF VITELLIUS (DEC., 69).—During the conflict, Vitellius had escaped to a private dwelling on the Aventine,

with the intention of making his way into Campania. Under some restless impulse, he returned to his palace, and roamed aimlessly through its deserted halls, until, weary of wandering about, he hid himself behind a bed in the porter's room. Here he was discovered, and ignominiously dragged forth. With his hands bound and his garments torn, wounded and bleeding, he was hurried away at the point of the lance to the common dung-hill, where he was put to death.

REVOLT OF THE JEWS (A. D. 66-70).—Ever since their subjection to Rome, the Jews had always borne the yoke with extreme reluctance. The tyranny and extortions of their governors added to their discontent; and, under Florus, they rose in arms against their oppressors (A. D. 66). Their first efforts were successful. They repulsed Cestius Gallus, the governor of Syria, who came to the assistance of Florus. Vespasian, however, at the end of two years, drove them back from all their positions into Jerusalem. His elevation to the purple preventing him from conducting the siege in person, he intrusted that care to his son Titus.

DESTRUCTION OF JERUSALEM BY TITUS (A. D. 70).—Jerusalem, one of the principal cities of the east, was a place of very difficult access. Its high position on two mountains, a double, even treble enclosure of strong walls and towers, where the approach was naturally easier, and many other fortifications, rendered it well-nigh impregnable. Behind its defences stood 24,000 trained soldiers, and these were supported by a multitude of irregular combatants. But Jerusalem contained within itself the seeds of inevitable ruin. As the Roman legions commanded by Titus encamped around the city about Easter, one of the principal solemnities of the Jews, an immense multitude of people found themselves shut up as in a prison. Their provisions were soon consumed, and famine began to exercise its ravages. Moreover, there were in the town furious factions, which, it is true, united their efforts to oppose the assaults of the Romans, but, as soon as the danger was over, quarrelled and fought among themselves. They let no day pass, without committing new cruelties, and staining with blood the streets of the city or the precincts of the temple. Titus had succeeded, not without much exertion and considerable bloodshed, to effect a lodgement within the first and second walls, yet was at a loss how to proceed and triumph over the savage obstinacy of the besieged. Once more he called

upon them to surrender, giving them full assurance of pardon. This offer being rejected, he changed his plan of attack. By his orders, a wall six miles in circumference and fortified by thirteen towers, was built all around the city, to prevent the escape of the rebels and the introduction of provisions. Henceforth, the most dreadful famine was felt within. The soldiers required to be served first, and violently snatched from the wretched citizens whatever little food they still possessed. Soon all were reduced to feed on such things as would in ordinary time excite only disgust. We may form an idea of the desperate condition to which the inhabitants of Jerusalem were reduced, when we learn that the necessaries of life were refused by mothers to their infants; nay, that children were even devoured by their



parents. Famine so dire did the work of death upon thousands and thousands, and the city became filled with the dying and the dead. Yet, the survivors kept up a desperate resistance. At length, however, the Romans carried by storm the fortress Antonia, and became masters of the lower part of the town.

Most of the defenders now retired into the upper city on Sion, breaking down the causeway which connected it with the temple on Moriah. The temple itself was stormed. It was the wish of Titus to save the sacred edifice. But a soldier, being lifted up by a comrade, threw a firebrand into one of the inner rooms contiguous to the sanctuary. The flames immediately rose. Despite the most strenuous efforts on the part of both Jews and Romans, the whole sacred edifice was soon involved in a general conflagration. Within a few hours, it was reduced to a heap of ruins (August 10). After some further resistance, the last citadel of the rebels was carried, and its defenders were put to the sword. What the flames had spared, was levelled with the ground, excepting only some portions of the western walls

and three towers, which were preserved to shelter the Roman garrison. Eleven hundred thousand Jews are said to have perished during the siege. Ninety-seven thousand were made prisoners, and sold as slaves. Thus were the predictions of our Lord fulfilled. The destruction of Jerusalem was the punishment of the deicide committed 37 years before, and the realization of the awful imprecation uttered by the Jews during our Savior's passion, "His blood be upon us and upon our children!" Titus himself felt that he was but the instrument of divine vengeance.

GOVERNMENT AND CHARACTER OF VESPASIAN.—The reign of Vespasian henceforward passed in peace. Mature in years and long accustomed to military obedience, the emperor, after the attainment of unlimited power, continued to control his passions and caprices. He respected the laws himself, and caused them to be respected by others. He enforced military discipline, prevented or punished oppression, encouraged virtue and talents. By word and example, he sought to check the luxury of the Roman tables—now become an inveterate evil. A lover of plainness and simplicity, he frowned upon every form of extravagance and effeminacy. To a young man strongly perfumed, who came to thank him for a preferment, "I had rather," he said, "that you smelt of garlic," and thereupon he immediately revoked his commission.

Vespasian was also very careful to procure a speedy administration of justice. The pleadings frequently took place before him. His tribunal was public, and his judgments obtained general approbation. He has been accused of too great a love of money. The charge, not wholly unfounded, is extenuated by the necessities of his exhausted treasury. Nor should we forget that he ever made a noble and generous use of his revenues. The restoration of the Capitol, the erection of the Colosseum, were objects of national policy, which entailed enormous expenditure. On part of the site of Nero's Golden House, he constructed the magnificent public baths since known as the Baths of Titus. A new forum and a temple of Peace also added to the splendor of the capital. In his forum, Vespasian founded a library for the use of the citizens, and he was the first to give pensions to the professors of Greek and Latin eloquence. From his time, teaching and learning became at Rome, as

at Alexandria under the Ptolemies, an honorable profession, which not unfrequently led to public preferments.

By such conduct, Vespasian, like Augustus, deserved and obtained the title of Father of his Country. At the age of seventy, full of toils and honors, he was called to his rest. Even during his last illness, he refused to relax his public exertions; and, at the crisis of his disorder, required to be raised upright, saying that 'an *imperator* ought to die standing.'

PLEASING CHARACTER OF TITUS (A. D. 79-81).—Titus, during his father's reign, had been admitted to a share of the imperial power. In his discharge of the censorship, his treatment of some offenders of rank had given him, among the nobles, a character for craft and cruelty; but he ever remained the darling of the soldiers and a favorite with the people. From the day of his accession to the throne, he seems to have made it his special care to treat the senate and the great with studied regard, and nothing appeared in him but generosity and benevolence. It was his wish that no suitor should leave his presence without at least some hope and consolation; and he is said to have complained that 'he had lost a day,' when he had let the twenty-four hours pass by without some act of kindness. It is happy for his fame that the treasures accumulated by his father and his short reign of two years, allowed him to carry on the government, and indulge in excessive profusion, without measures of extortion and proscription. His early death and his successor's tyranny have secured for him the fond appellation of the *Delight of the human race*.

DESTRUCTION OF HERCULANEUM AND POMPEII (A. D. 79).—The short reign of Titus beheld (A. D. 80) a conflagration at Rome, scarcely less disastrous than the great fire under Nero. But still more famous than this catastrophe, is the great eruption of Vesuvius. A violent earthquake, rumbling subterraneous sounds, the soil burning, the sea foaming, the heavens in a blaze—such were the forerunners of this dreadful visitation. Then, for three days, the volcano belched forth such a shower of ashes and such a flood of burning lava, as entirely buried the two cities of Pompeii and Herculaneum. The ruin of these towns was so complete, that the site was abandoned, and in the course of ages actually forgotten. It was not till the last century, that this tomb of an ancient civilization was accidentally discovered.* In the

*Herculaneum in A. D. 1713, and Pompeii in 1755.

temples and other buildings, under the ashes and lava have been found not only statues and vessels, but even fruits, olives, wheat, and bread in a state of preservation. Pliny the naturalist fell dead, suffocated by a sulphurous vapor which burst forth during the eruption. His nephew, Pliny the Younger, afterwards so famous for his eloquence, had the good fortune to escape.

DOMITIAN'S CAMPAIGNS.—Desirous to win a military fame equal to that of his father or brother, Domitian put himself at the head of the legions on the Lower Danube. He seems to have taken part in two campaigns against the Sarmatians and the Dacians, but achieved no remarkable glory. Yet, he had the impudence to boast in Rome of his pretended exploits, for which he gave himself the honor of a triumph.

AGRICOLA IN BRITAIN (A. D. 78-84)—IRELAND.—More real and glorious were the successes of Julius Agricola, who, in seven successive campaigns, carried the arms of Rome victoriously from the Trent to the Forth and Tay, in Northern Britain. An expedition of his fleet, which he directed to explore the coast to the farthest extremity of Britain, proved it to be actually an island—as Cæsar and others had declared on hearsay. Some of his vessels descried the Orkneys and Shetlands; some of his land troops, from the Mull of Galloway, beheld the coast of Ireland, or, as the Romans called it, *Hibernia*. Iernis, or Ierné, which signifies in the Phœnician language ‘the uttermost point,’ was the name first given to the island; by the natives, it was called *Erin*. This lovely isle, destined to such celebrity in subsequent ages, seems to have been at this time in the full enjoyment of peace, happiness, and prosperity. That it early attained a high degree of civilization, is attested by the existence of bards and historians among the ancient Irish, by their literary records, their proficiency in music, and the perfection of their laws. These laws, after the conversion of the island, needed but slight modifications to be made to harmonize with the gospel; and the *Senchus Mor* (great book of rights) remained the law of the land down to Henry VIII.

It did not enter into the designs of Providence that Ireland should fall under the Roman sway. Neither Agricola, nor any other general or proconsul of imperial Rome, ever trod the green soil of Erin. As a consequence of this escape from Roman rule, the conversion of the island was delayed.

But, when once begun, it went on with unexampled rapidity. It was the work, peaceful and unbloody, of one single apostle—the glorious St. Patrick.

EXACTIONS AND CRUELITIES OF DOMITIAN.—To satisfy the people who demanded shows and games in increasing profusion, and also to erect a triumphal arch which might rival that of his brother, Domitian, in the absence of plunder from abroad, found it necessary to require large gifts from every province, and levy exactions on the rich citizens. The discontent of the nobles soon became apparent. A military insurrection occurred on the Rhenish frontier. This Domitian suppressed with promptness and vigor. But, from this time, his jealousy of all persons of eminence increased, and he wreaked his vengeance by arbitrary executions on all who excited his suspicion. Not satisfied with putting to death many senators, he contrived the following scheme to frighten the other members of that body. He invited them to supper. As they arrived, they were conducted to an apartment hung with black and dimly lighted, where they perceived, besides a number of blackened boys who danced around the room, as many coffins as there were guests, with the name of each inscribed in large characters. Terror seized every one. A mournful silence reigned in the whole assembly. When the emperor had enjoyed their fright, he dismissed his guests with presents. Nor was it alone in the sufferings of his fellow-men that Domitian took his delight. He frequently amused himself in killing flies with a sharp bodkin. Hence a certain Vibius Crispus being asked if anyone was with the emperor, aptly replied, “Not so much as a fly.”

SECOND PERSECUTION (A. D. 93–96).—Chief among the objects of Domitian's cruelty were the Christians. He excited against them the second general persecution, in which he spared neither his own relations nor the venerable age of St. John the Evangelist. The beloved apostle was brought from Ephesus to Rome, and plunged into a caldron of boiling oil, from which he came forth fresher and stronger. He was then banished to Patmos, where he wrote his Book of Revelations. After the accession of Nerva, he returned to Ephesus, composed his gospel at the request of the bishops of Asia, and died at a very advanced age.

ASSASSINATION OF DOMITIAN (A. D. 96).—In the midst of his cruelties, Domitian lived in constant fear of assassination. He had the gallery in which he usually walked, over-

laid with stones which reflected objects like a mirror, that he might see those who should attempt to attack him from behind. He surrounded himself with guards and informers. But all his precautions were of no avail. Tablets having been found in which he had designated the empress and some of his own household for death, the intended victims anticipated the blow; and Domitian fell by the hands of his menials. He was the last of those emperors who have been specially denominated 'the twelve Cæsars.'*

CHAPTER XXXVI.

NERVA—TRAJAN—HADRIAN—ANTONINUS PIUS—MARCUS AURELIUS.—A. D. 96-180.

REIGN OF NERVA (96-98).—Nerva, a venerable old senator, who succeeded Domitian, was not the creation of military power, nor the scion of a line which owed its origin thereto. He was the nominee of the senate, and the first of five remarkable emperors selected by that body. He was not a Roman, nor even of Italian birth, his family having long been settled in the island of Crete. After him the emperors, in long succession, were but provincial Romans, if not actually of foreign extraction.

Nerva gave at the very beginning of his short reign, a striking proof of courage. As the pretorians clamored for the blood of the assassins of the late emperor, he boldly resisted the cry of vengeance, offering his own neck to the swords of the mutineers. He found it impossible, however, to shield the victims. But, to protect himself against further violence from the same quarter, he adopted the best and bravest of his officers, M. Ulpius Trajan, then in command on the Rhine, and offered him at once a share in the empire. The aged Nerva, by this master-stroke of policy, secured peace to the city, and to himself a dignified and tranquil reign during the few remaining months of his life.

QUALITIES OF TRAJAN.—Trajan was a native of Spain,

* Most likely because Suetonius composed the biographies of those twelve only. Domitian and Titus with their father Vespasian are sometimes called the Flavian emperors.

and belonged to an ancient Roman family long settled in that country. Possessed of an excellent constitution, an engaging and noble countenance, and great experience joined to mature natural abilities, he was moreover in the full vigor of his age. His elevation produced no change in his character and conduct. Fully convinced that haughtiness conciliates neither affection nor esteem, and that condescension can be well allied to dignity, when he presented himself to the citizens at Rome, he at once won their favor by his gracious demeanor, even more than by the fame of his military exploits which had preceded him. The popularity he acquired during his first brief sojourn in the city, he retained to the last. No one ever questioned his right to the appellation of *Optimus* (the most excellent, or best), which the senate decreed to him in addition to his other imperial titles. He always gave the example of obedience to the laws. He seemed to retain his rank for the sole purpose of preventing anarchy, and never hesitated to sacrifice his prerogatives to the true interest of the people. He took care, despite the wars he waged and the monuments with which he covered the empire, not to levy fresh contributions from his subjects. But the private life of this excellent ruler was not without blame. Far from perfection indeed were even the best among the pagans!

CAMPAIGNS IN DACIA* (A. D. 101-105).—Confident of his ability, and wishing to keep the legions occupied, Trajan led them first against the Dacian tribes, at that time under the sway of Decebalus. Before penetrating into their country, he took care to secure his communications in the rear by constructing a road along the bank of the Danube, and spanning the river itself with a bridge of great strength and magnitude. The conquest of Dacia, completed in a few vigorous campaigns, was recorded on the Column of Trajan. This column, still standing, formed the noblest ornament of Trajan's forum, laid out by the emperor in commemoration of his subjugation of Dacia. During his Dacian campaigns, as before his elevation to the throne, Trajan, ever vigilant and indefatigable, used neither horse nor chariot; but marched on foot, after the ancient fashion, at the head of the troops. Dacia was so effectually subjugated and colonized

*The wild tract of mountain, plain, and forest between the Danube and the Carpathians, now represented by Moldavia, Wallachia, and Transylvania, with part of Hungary.

by the Romans, that to this day the language of the people is substantially the Latin tongue.

TRAJAN'S PUBLIC WORKS (A. D. 106-114).—The peaceful interval which followed the reduction of Dacia, Trajan devoted to the erection of works of embellishment and utility. At Ancona, the Arch of Trajan still reminds the traveller that this chief port of the Adriatic was constructed by him. The harbor of Civita Vecchia is to this day sheltered by Trajan's Mole. Another of his works is the bridge over the Tagus, at Alcantara. Trajan indeed 'built the world over', and Constantine compared him to a wall-flower, because his name was found inscribed upon so many buildings throughout the empire.

TRAJAN'S EXPEDITION TO THE EAST (A. D. 114-116).—After eight years thus devoted to works of peace and to the administration of a beneficent government, Trajan, marching against the Parthians, advanced through Babylonia to the shores of the Persian Gulf. At Ctesiphon, he placed a creature of his own on the throne of Parthia, in the room of Chosroes. Assyria beyond the Tigris, Armenia and Mesopotamia, with some portions of Arabia, were reduced to the form of provinces; but they never were solidly incorporated into the empire, the new subjects availing themselves of the first opportunity to shake off the yoke. Trajan himself beheld the first success of their efforts, which death prevented him from checking. He died at Selinuntes, in Cilicia (A. D. 117).

THE JEWS.—The expedition just related appears to have been caused by the intrigues of the Jews, who, driven from their own land, and scattered throughout the east, strove to unite their own people in a combined movement against the might of Rome, stirring up Parthians, Armenians, and Arabians against the common enemy. All their schemes were frustrated for the time by Trajan's sudden and vigorous campaigns.

THE CHRISTIANS.—After the destruction of Jerusalem, the Jewish hopes of a Messiah were carefully inquired into by the rulers at Rome; and all who pretended to a descent from David, were prosecuted. The Jewish religion, however, continued to be tolerated throughout the empire. The Christians, on the contrary, as professing an unrecognized creed, not sanctioned by the senate, were not only outside the protection of the law, but liable to punishment. On

this plea had they suffered under Domitian, and by Trajan the persecution was renewed. At this time, Pliny the Younger was governor of Bithynia. When persons were brought before him, charged with the crime of being Christians, his practice was to question them; and, if they boldly confessed, he considered it his duty to put them to death. Finding, however, that this treatment only increased their numbers, and being convinced of their innocence, he wrote to the emperor for instructions on the subject. Trajan recommended mild measures, commanding that the Christian should not be sought for, and that denunciations of them, which emanated chiefly from the Jews, should be discouraged. Still, if any were accused, and professed their guilt, the majesty of the law must be upheld.

THIRD PERSECUTION.—Meanwhile, multitudes continued to join the new religion. The east was rife with reports and expectations, propagated by the Jews, of a coming deliverer. Conflagrations at Rome, and the fatal eruption of Vesuvius, added to the alarm produced by the Christian prophecies of the destruction of the world by fire. The claim of the Christians to superior morality excited the passion of the populace, always intolerant of such professions. The fact that a secret association, uniting in its bonds numbers of persons of every class, was advancing in power, disturbed the minds of the rulers, who were accustomed ruthlessly to suppress every combination of the kind. All these influences seem to have been kindled into fierce activity by the coincidence of a destructive earthquake with the emperor's visit to Antioch. The fanaticism and terror of the sufferers broke forth against the Christians, and Trajan stained his good name by encouraging a cruel persecution, which became memorable for the martyrdom of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch.

HADRIAN'S GOVERNMENT (A. D. 117-138).—Like his predecessor, Hadrian united, with a wretched life in private, great administrative abilities. As fond of peace as Trajan was of war, he restricted the empire to its ancient limits, abandoning all the conquests lately made beyond the Euphrates. Yet, he took the utmost care to provide against sudden dangers by always keeping the troops in good order, and for that purpose visited the various camps scattered throughout the empire, inquiring personally into everything connected with the military department. On these occasions,

he lived with the soldiers as one of them, using the common food, wearing a plain dress, and walking with head uncovered through the snow of the Alps, as well as through the burning sands of Africa. By these means, Hadrian kept up the strictness of ancient discipline among the troops, making himself however very dear to them by his kindness, affability, and opportune favors. His attention to the affairs of government was incessant. It was one of his maxims, that the emperor ought to be like the sun, which illumines and vivifies the whole earth. He accordingly travelled through the provinces, redressing grievances, inquiring into the conduct of governors, and punishing such as abused their power. To facilitate the administration of justice, he caused a collection to be made of the best ancient laws; and he himself enacted wise statutes against fraudulent bankruptcy and a variety of other disorders. Towards the senate his conduct was full of deference, except on the occasion of a conspiracy at the beginning of his reign, and in the last years of his life when infirmities and disease soured his temper and led him into acts of violence and tyranny. The importance of the senate, however, was much diminished, during this reign, by the establishment of a council of eminent men, presided over by a distinguished lawyer,* to advise and assist the prince in the administration of affairs.

HADRIAN'S ATTAINMENTS.—Hadrian seems to have been a man of wider acquirements and greater general ability, than any of the rulers before him since Julius Cæsar. He was well versed in architecture and mathematics, and excelled in grammar, oratory, and poetry. His memory was astonishing. He remembered whatever he had seen or read; and forgot none of the affairs which passed through his hands, nor the places where he had been, nor the names of those with whom he had conversed.

HIS GREAT WORKS.—Among other monuments and great public works of this emperor, may be mentioned: in the capital, the Temple of Rome—the grandest in the city, and his Mausoleum, now the Castle of St. Angelo; in Palestine, Ælia Capitolina, or the new city of Jerusalem; and in Great Britain, a wall 80 miles long, extending from sea to sea, and intended as a protection against the incursions of the Caledonians.

THE CALEDONIANS were among the chief tribes of North-

*Consistorium Principis.

ern Britain. Tacitus describes them as men with red hair and large limbs, who lived on the produce of their flocks or the chase, were addicted to predatory warfare, and fought in chariots with shields, short spears, and daggers. From them the whole region north of the firths of Forth and Clyde was by the Romans called Caledonia.

THE PICTS AND SCOTS.—The name of Caledonians ceased to be used about the beginning of the 4th century of the Christian era, when the inhabitants of Northern Britain began to be spoken of as Picts and Scots (*Scoti*). The former were the ancient Caledonians, or Britons, who came to be denominated Picts (*picti*) from the practice of painting the body common among them. The Scots were colonists from the northeast of Ireland. *Scotia* was one of the old appellations of Erin, derived, it is supposed, from the name of the Milesian colonists, which we find written Kinea-Scuit or *Scott* (Celts—Scythians). The Scots of Caledonia were at first confined to the western portion of the country and the neighboring isles. Subsequently, they spread through North Britain, became the dominant race, and so completely absorbed the Picts, that even the name of the latter disappeared, the whole tract becoming known as *Scotia*, or by way of distinction from Ireland *Scotia Nova*. Still, long after the union of the Picts and Scots into one monarchy under a Scottish ruler, Ireland continued to be called *Scotia*, and her people Scots. Hence the difficulty, which often occurs, of discerning whether the appellation of *Scotus*, applied to an ancient personage, is meant to designate a native of Ireland or of Scotland.

THE LAST JEWISH REVOLT (A. D. 132–136).—There had been partial revolts of the Jews under Trajan, who destroyed many of this infatuated people. Other insurrections also broke out, under Hadrian, in various remote localities. But the revolt of Palestine was more desperate and formidable. Depopulated though the country had been by Vespasian and Titus, the Jews in 60 years had again grown in strength and numbers. Led by the last of their national heroes, the gallant Bar-Cochebas (the son of the star), and encouraged by the aged teacher Akiba, these blinded people once more rose in arms. Hadrian sent against them numerous troops, under two able leaders, Tinnius Rufus and Julius Severus. Within the space of three years, during which the war continued, more than half a million of Jews are said to have per-

ished by the sword. A still larger number, probably, fell victims to sickness or starvation. The remnants of that unhappy nation were sold as slaves, and dispersed throughout the empire.

SUBSEQUENT FORTUNES OF THE JEWS.—From that time, the Jews have been scattered all over the earth, without fatherland, without kings, rulers, or magistrates of their own blood; mingled, but not confounded with other races; still vainly awaiting their Messiah, and meanwhile exposed to constant persecutions: yet ever preserved by the mighty hand of God, to be both visible examples of his justice, and unexceptionable witnesses to the truth of the Old Testament, wherein we read alike our claims and their condemnation.

HADRIAN AND THE CHRISTIANS.—Hadrian distinguished between the Jews and the Christians. The latter he recognized as loyal citizens, and discouraged the local persecutions to which they were exposed. During his sojourn at Athens, they ventured to approach him as a seeker after the truth; and he listened graciously to the apologies of Quadratus and Aristides, who were famous for their wisdom and learning. On his death-bed, he composed verses expressing his conviction of the immortality of the soul, and the fears which he entertained respecting his future destiny.

CHARACTER OF ANTONINUS PIUS (A. D. 138-160).—The name of Antoninus,* is after that of Augustus, the most distinguished of the long imperial series. The new emperor, an adopted son of Hadrian, was already in his 52nd year, when he began to reign. He was the first Roman ruler that seems to have devoted himself to the task of government with a single view to the happiness of his people—a fact worthy of notice, and showing a decided progress of humanity, due, no doubt, to an indirect influence of Christian ideas. Antoninus introduced important financial reforms, and gave a special attention to the administration of justice. Clemency, kindness, and cheerfulness, were his characteristic virtues. Many are the instances related of his meekness and forbearance. Such as he had been—kind, modest, and dignified—as a senator; such he continued to be as emperor. Some of his predecessors had mixed with the nobles, on a footing of equality; he was patient with the

* It was borne also by his successor Marcus Aurelius. The *age of the Antonines* is generally reckoned as beginning with the accession of Nerva.

populace, even when once on the occasion of a dearth in the city, they assailed him with stones.

A PROTECTOR OF THE CHRISTIANS.—But the great merit of this paternal ruler was his protection of the Christians, of whose innocence he became convinced chiefly through the eloquent apology of St. Justin. In a rescript to the magistrates in Asia Minor, where there had occurred popular outbreaks against the Christians, he praised their fidelity to God, extolled their courage in suffering, and contrasted their virtues with the vices of their persecutors. In conclusion, he declared that, the profession of Christianity being no crime, those who were brought before the courts on no other charge, should be acquitted, and the accusers punished.

A FRIEND OF PEACE.—Antoninus was a decided friend of peace. The saying of Scipio, "I like better to preserve one citizen than to kill 1000 enemies," was often on his lips; and he had the satisfaction to enjoy a peaceful reign. His reputation for wisdom and impartiality was such, that the very barbarians submitted their differences to him. The Indians, Bactrians, and Hyrcanians, testified their respect by solemn embassies. The Parthian king, being requested by letter not to invade Armenia, complied through deference for Antoninus. Indeed under him, the least ambitious of her rulers, the authority of Rome reached its loftiest heights. Henceforth the empire is doomed to gradual decline.

GEOGRAPHY.—The reign of Antoninus was signalized by some great works of geographical interests—the System of Geography of Ptolemy, the Itinerary of Antoninus, and the Periplus of the Euxine and of the Erythræan, or Indian Ocean, by Arrian.

THE REIGN OF MARCUS AURELIUS (A. D. 161-180) AN UNCEASING WARFARE.—Aurelius was not so free from prejudice as his predecessor; yet strove to imitate his zeal for the public good and his application to business. But it was the misfortune of the new sovereign to be entangled in almost perpetual warfare. An irruption of the Moors into Spain, of the Chatti into Gaul and Rhætia, of the Parthians into Syria, occupied his attention during the earlier part of his reign; and, later, the Germans, Scythians, and Sarmatians, allowed him still less repose.

THE PARTHIAN WAR AND THE FOURTH PERSECUTION (A. D. 166).—The Parthian war, marked in the beginning by

a series of disasters, was by the ability of Avidius Cassius at last brought to a triumphant close. But these successes were dearly purchased by the Romans. The returning legions carried back with them the seeds of a terrible pestilence. Famine, fires, and earthquakes, added to the general alarm. Victims were loudly demanded to appease the anger of the gods, and Aurelius was persuaded to sacrifice the Christians whom the popular fury designated as the cause of the calamities of the empire. A fourth persecution set in, which proved more general and more cruel than any of its predecessors.

WAR ON THE NORTHERN FRONTIER (A. D. 167-180).—The danger from the various tribes of barbarians who threatened the northern frontier, induced Aurelius to take the command in person. The emperor, philosopher as he was, applied to this uncongenial task with unwearied energy; and, for thirteen years, he fought the battles of the commonwealth with the earnestness and bravery of the great captains of old. But the contest with his northern assailants was checkered with many reverses.

THE THUNDERING LEGION (A. D. 174-180).—On one occasion, the Romans, surrounded by the Quadi, were on the point of perishing from heat and thirst. In that extremity, the soldiers of the 12th legion, all Christians, betook themselves to prayer, and presently an abundant rain fell which refreshed the Romans, whereas hail, thunder, and lightning, spread confusion among the barbarians, and enabled the emperor to gain a complete victory. The name of *Thundering* was, in consequence, applied to that legion, and the persecution ceased for a time. Aurelius did not live to see the end of the great Sarmatian war. It was concluded, soon after his death, by a disgraceful peace, which his son's advisers purchased from the barbarians.

THE EMPIRE AND THE BARBARIANS.—Marcus Aurelius, though not endowed with brilliant military genius, yet commanded his legions with courage and earnestness, and was not ill seconded by his officers and men. But the armies of Rome were no longer what they once had been. Her foreign mercenaries could not compare for martial vigor with her sons of old; nor did they feel the same interest in her welfare. On the other hand, the Germans and Scythians pressed forward with all the audacity that belongs to the lusty youth of nations. From this time, the tide of victory began to set against Rome. Her attitude became purely

defensive ; and, though she fought bravely, her defence was crippled by a sense of weakness, and at length by anticipation of defeat.

STOICISM AND CHRISTIANITY.—Aurelius had from his youth applied to philosophical and literary pursuits. He studied under Herodes Atticus and Cornelius Fronto, two famous rhetoricians, and also under the stoic philosophers Junius Rusticus and Apollonius. At 12 years of age, he avowed himself a follower of Zeno ; and stoicism became to him—the last great representative of the sect, a matter of conscience and religion. Hence his feeling of hostility to the professors of the young and vigorous system which was soon to supplant it. The fastidious pride of the Roman philosopher could not brook the simple creed of the Christian. To live for the state at the sacrifice of every passion and interest, was the fundamental rule of life to Aurelius. When, therefore, he found the Christians withdrawing on religious grounds from the duties of the public service, he had an excuse for treating them with cruelty. The result was that, on every occasion of military defeat, inundation, or pestilence, he yielded to the cries of the infuriated populace, and crowds of Christian martyrs were hurled ‘to the lions.’ But, in spite of wholesale persecution, the true religion was steadily advancing in influence. Preeminent among the martyrs under Aurelius, were the great bishops Polycarp of Smyrna and Pothinus of Lyons, together with St. Justin, the philosopher and apologist.

CHAPTER XXXVII.

COMMODUS—PERTINAX—SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS—CARACALLA—
MACRINUS—HELIOGABALUS—ALEXANDER SEVERUS.

A. D. 180–235.

COMMODUS (A. D. 180–192), the unworthy son and successor of Aurelius, veiled for a season the most odious features of his character. An attempt on his life, in the third year of his government, gave him a pretext for indulging his cruel propensities. Secure in the protection of the pretorians, and the favor of the populace, whom he was care-

ful to attach to his person by largesses, he ill treated the senate, and ruled the city as a despot. His cruelties were especially felt by those who were immediately around his person. Neither the provinces nor the Christians suffered under him. He had stopped, in the beginning of his reign, the persecution sanctioned by his father; and the faithful enjoyed a long respite of 12 years under a prince from whose wanton cruelty the nobles and the rich had so much to bear. A conspiracy set on foot by Marcia, his favorite concubine, Electus his chamberlain, and Lætus the prefect of the pretorians, put an end to the life of this despicable tyrant.

PERTINAX (A. D. 193), a distinguished senator, was at once proposed by the conspirators as a successor to Commodus, and readily accepted by the pretorians, the senate, and the people. The new emperor at once repudiated the delators, recalled the banished nobles, and took means both to restore the finances and to enforce the ancient discipline among the pretorians. This the latter would not endure; and, at the end of three months, they slew him in his palace.

THE EMPIRE OFFERED FOR SALE.—After this outrage, the revolted pretorians shamelessly proceeded to offer the empire for sale to the highest bidder. Didius Julianus, a vain and wealthy senator, carried the prize by bestowing a donation of about \$1,000 on each of the 12,000 pretorians. The senate and the city were forced to accept the upstart emperor.

SEPTIMIUS SEVERUS AND HIS COMPETITORS (A. D. 193-197).—The shameful transaction just enacted at Rome, was learned with disgust by the legions on the frontiers. Three emperors were proclaimed at once: Niger, by the army of the Euphrates; Albinus, by that of the Rhine; and Septimius, by that of the Danube. These last troops seemed to have been under better discipline. Their commander, at least, was a man of greater boldness, energy, and activity than either of his competitors.

Amusing Albinus with an offer of a participation in the imperial authority, he first rid himself of the weak Julianus, and punished the pretorians, whose force he remodelled and increased to 50,000 men. Leaving this strong and trusty garrison in the capital, he marched against Niger, who was defeated, taken, and slain. His next object was to destroy Albinus. This commander, little satisfied with the inferior qualification of Cæsar allotted to him, assumed the title of

Augustus. Thereupon Severus had him declared a public enemy; and with all possible speed advanced against him, to prevent his entrance into Italy. No difficulty of the roads stopped his march. He walked bare-headed at the head of his troops, disregarding snow and frosts, and both by words and actions transfused into the hearts of others his own ardor.

The quarrel between the two rivals was decided near the city of Lyons, in Gaul. The hostile forces being not unequally matched, the struggle was desperate, and the victory for a long time doubtful. At last, Albinus was routed and perished (A. D. 197). Severus made a terrible use of his victory. He put to death all the leading partisans of his late rival. Forty senators, and many rich inhabitants of Gaulish or Spanish towns fell victims to his revenge.

FIFTH PERSECUTION (A. D. 202-211).—The Christians, too, had much to suffer under this reign. At first, Severus merely permitted the magistrates to execute the former laws against the faithful. But, afterwards, he expressly authorized the persecution, which then became general, and for many years violently raged throughout the empire. In the single city of Lyons, there were reckoned 19,000 victims, exclusive of women and children. With them perished the holy bishop Irenæus, a disciple of St. Polycarp.

DESPOTISM, WARS, AND DEATH OF SEVERUS.—The rule of Severus was little less than a military despotism. Despising the feeble senate, he assumed both the legislative and the executive power; and it is from this reign that the emperor began to be regarded by the jurisconsults as the source of all law. In other respects, however, his conduct and character were not undeserving of praise. Strict in the administration of the laws, careful to correct abuses, he watched his subordinates with strict impartiality. Under him, peace was maintained in the provinces; cities were repeopled, and roads repaired; Rome abounded with provisions, and its inhabitants were satisfied. But the predominant characteristic of Severus was his activity and warlike spirit. Besides the exploits whereby he secured the imperial crown, he made two successful campaigns in the east, and by his victories won for himself the surname of *Parthicus Maximus*. His last expedition was in North Britain, against the Caledonians. Falling sick at *Eboracum* (York), he called to his dying bed his two sons Caracalla and Geta, and left them, the empire to be possessed in common. With his last breath

he is said to have uttered the words: "I have seen all things, and all things are nothing; I have nowhere found solid content and happiness."

CARACALLA (A. D. 211-217) began by the murder of his brother Geta a reign of six years, the whole tenor of which was in keeping with such a beginning. He seems to have been allowed to prolong his course of debaucheries, cruelties, and rapines, only by a constant change of residence. He was killed, at last, on the borders of Syria, at the instigation of Macrinus, prefect of the pretorian guard, who found that his own life was in danger from the tyrant. Under Caracalla, the citizenship of Rome was conferred on all freemen throughout the empire.

MACRINUS (A. D. 217-218), though an African, and a man of low birth, experienced little difficulty in obtaining the place of Caracalla. But his efforts to restore military discipline, and reduce the emoluments of the legionaries, soon earned him the hatred of the soldiers. A revolt broke out among some troops stationed at Emesa, in Syria, who put forward as emperor young Bassianus, a grand-nephew to Severus. Bassianus was then discharging the function of the priesthood of the sun, at Emesa. The beauty of his person and his apparent resemblance to Caracalla, whose son he was even reported to be, gained him the hearts of the garrison. The troops in other quarters equally espoused his cause. Macrinus, who was then at Antioch, acted with irresolution. The revolt spread; and, when he marched against the rebels, he was defeated and slain. The acceptance by the children of Mars and Quirinus, of a Syrian priest of the sun, as their next chief, prince, and supreme pontiff, is a phenomenon which can hardly be understood, except by casting a retrospective glance at the changes wrought since the days of Augustus.

CHANGES POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS, SINCE AUGUSTUS. —At his accession, Augustus found three great powers in the state—the senate, the people, and the army. From each of these he professed to derive his authority, as prince of the senate, tribune of the people, and commander of the army. This system of government inaugurated by the first emperor, was apparently kept up by his successors. But, before long, the army became, in reality, the only power in the state. And that army consisted now, not of true Romans nor even of Italians, but of provincials and barbarians—utter strangers

to the religious sentiments fostered by Numa. Of the population of Rome itself, a large proportion was made up of provincial residents, who felt as little as the army for the old worship; and of the two classes—the noble and the populace, which formed the true Roman element, the former had lost all influence; the latter, provided they were fed and amused, were ready to acquiesce in anything. Nor should we forget that much of the old Roman exclusiveness had vanished. Not only had the citizenship of Rome been extended to all freemen throughout the provinces, but the current of religious thought also had been flowing in an ever-widening channel. The gods of Greece and Egypt had been admitted into the Roman pantheon. The Gaulish deities Taranis and Hesus were identified with Jupiter and Mars. The Jewish religion was recognized; and Christianity, though never authorized and often persecuted, was daily becoming better known. Under these circumstances the Romans were not altogether unprepared for the rule of the Oriental youth, who, ignorant alike of their ideas and manners, transferred his superstitious cult and his effeminate dress, unchanged, from Emesa to the city of Augustus.

HELIOGABALUS A. D. 218–222), after his elevation to the empire, continued to wear his priestly dress even at Rome, and led the same life of superstition and effeminacy as before. In his palace, lust and licentiousness reigned supreme. To counteract the disgust occasioned by such conduct, he was persuaded to adopt his cousin Alexander, a youth of better promise, as his son and colleague in the empire. This step, however, did not save him. Soon the pretorians put an end to this despicable rule by assassination.

CHARACTER AND GOVERNMENT OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS (A. D. 222–235).—An inclination to virtue, fostered by an excellent education,* made Alexander Severus a most amiable prince. Justice, goodness, and generosity, were his favorite virtues. The maxim, “Do unto others what you would have them do to you,” he caused to be engraved on the walls of his palace, and made the rule of his conduct. He frequently paid homage to our Savior, whose image he kept in his chapel, together with those of Abraham, Orpheus, and other signal benefactors of humanity.

*His mother, Mammæa, is supposed to have been a Christian; and he, for some time, had Origen for his instructor, at Antioch.

Aided by excellent counsellors,* he applied with earnestness and perseverance to the task of reforming the government and correcting abuses. Iniquitous judges and bad officers were dismissed. The senate was purified. They alone obtained public employment, who were decidedly held in esteem. Nor did ties of consanguinity or friendship shelter the offenders. A certain Vetronius Turinus, who frequently approached the emperor, accepted bribes, as if imperial favors were dispensed through his means: this he called *selling smoke*. Alexander ordered him to be tied to a post, about which a fire was made of green wood, until he was suffocated, while a herald kept on repeating aloud, "Behold the seller of smoke punished with smoke."

RISE OF THE SECOND PERSIAN EMPIRE (A. D. 226).—Repeated struggles with Rome and internal feuds had much weakened the Parthian monarchy. A successful revolt of Hyrcania had lately made this weakness evident to all. Thereupon Artaxerxes, son of Sassan and prince of Persia, resolved to strike a blow for the independence of his country. Three successful battles not only freed Persia from the Parthian yoke, but at once raised her to the commanding position lately held by her oppressor, and Artaxerxes now claimed the possession of Asia as far as the Ægean and the Propontis. In one campaign, his troops overran and occupied the whole of Mesopotamia (229). But, soon, the presence of Alexander Severus, who invaded his territories with three armies, made Artaxerxes sensible both of the Roman power and of his own inferiority. A treaty was concluded (232), which fixed, as the territorial limits between Rome, and Persia, the very boundaries which previously divided the imperial possessions from the dominions of the Arsacidæ. Henceforth, until the rise of the Arabian empire, it is no longer Parthia, but Persia, that stands as the great antagonist of Rome in the east.

DEATH OF ALEXANDER SEVERUS (A. D. 235).—From his expedition against Persia, Alexander proceeded straight to the Danube and the Rhine, to resist the Sarmatians and the Germans. The legions in those parts, had long been accustomed to disorder and licentiousness. Before leading them to the enemy, the young emperor undertook to restore strict discipline among them. This they would not endure.

*Among these, Dion Cassius deserves a special mention. Of his great Roman History in 80 books, only fragments remain.

By the intrigues of the Thracian Maximin, one of the imperial officers, a mutiny broke out, and Alexander was slain in his tent.

CHAPTER XXXVIII.

ADVANCE OF THE BARBARIANS.—RAPID SUCCESSION OF EMPERORS.—A. D. 235–284.

THE FRANKS, ALLEMANNI, AND GOTHs.—The increasing activity of the barbarians is the chief feature of this period. About the time at which we are now arrived, three distinct confederations of German tribes began to force their way into the Roman provinces. The Chauci, the Chatti, and the Cherusci, united under the common designation of the Franks, at length overcame the resistance of the legions on the Lower Rhine, and carried their devastations through the whole extent of Gaul. Thence they passed into Spain; and, seizing the ships in the harbors, traversed the Mediterranean to its most distant shores. The Frankish conquests, however, were not permanent; and, after the storm was passed, the Roman power was reestablished within its ancient limits.

On the Upper Rhine and the head-waters of the Danube, in the countries now known as Baden, Bavaria, and Bohemia, four important tribes—the Suevi, the Boii, the Marcomanni, and the Quadi—were banded together under the title of Allemanni. After a protracted struggle with the garrisons of Rhætia and Pannonia, the Allemanni, in A. D. 272, burst the barrier of the Alps, and spread desolation over Northern Italy as far as Ravenna. The invaders, it is true, failed to acquire any firm footing, and yielded to the enervating effect of the soft Italian climate; but the empire was made painfully sensible of its weakness, and even Rome itself was seen to lie almost at the mercy of the barbarians.

The Goths, who were to be among the chief instruments of her fall, made their appearance also at this period, on the Lower Danube, and that river proved no effective barrier to their progress. They were daring navigators, who did not fear to traverse the broad and stormy Euxine. They ravaged the coast of Asia Minor; they sacked the rich cities of Tra-

pezus, Cyzicus, and Nicomedia; at last, they penetrated the Hellespont, and carried the terror of their name into Greece and the islands of the Ægean, and as far even as the southern extremity of the Italian peninsula.

MAXIMIN I (A. D. 235-238)—6th PERSECUTION.—As it was not known, at the time of Alexander's death, that Maximin was its chief promoter, the army, disregarding his Gothic extraction and considering only his courage, saluted him emperor. Of a gigantic stature and proportionate bodily strength, Maximin was also an excellent commander. Many were the victories he gained over the Germans, Dacians, and Sarmatians. But he shed no less blood, throughout the empire, by his cruel persecution of the Christians, and by putting to death a number of eminent personages.

The senate, deeply resenting the usurpation and tyranny of Maximin, first opposed to him two members of the noble house of the Gordians; and, after their death, set up Papianus and Balbinus with a third Gordian. The soldiers soon murdered Papianus and Balbinus; and Maximin, who was then besieging Aquileia, having also been dispatched by his own troops, young Gordian alone remained as sole emperor.

GORDIAN III (A. D. 238-244).—Under the able administration of Misitheus, the reign of Gordian was prosperous. The young prince had the honor of repelling in person an inroad of the Persians, who, under king Sapor I, had invaded Syria. But, shortly afterwards, he was slain, at the instigation of Philip, the prefect of his guards, who reigned in his place.

PHILIP (A. D. 244-249), an Arabian, governed with prudence the empire which he had acquired by crime. He was killed in battle, whilst endeavoring to repress the revolt of Decius, one of his generals.

DECIUS (A. D. 250-251)—7th PERSECUTION.—Decius, a scion of the old plebeian house which had produced historic examples of patriotic devotion, was persuaded that Rome could only be saved by stern recurrence to the principles of true Roman policy. Whilst, therefore, he was drilling and disciplining the troops wherewith he proposed to resist a threatened invasion of the Goths, he ordered that the gods of Rome should be propitiated by vows and sacrifices, and insisted that the Christians should join in these acts of worship, or perish as public enemies. A persecution ensued, sharper and more widely extended than any had hitherto been.

Leaving Valerian at Rome, in the capacity of censor, Decius set out for the frontiers; and, during three campaigns, strenuously impeded the progress of the invaders. At last, he suffered himself to be entangled in marshy places, was entirely defeated, and perished with his son on the field of battle.

GALLUS (A. D. 251-253) AND ÆMILIAN (A. D. 253).—Gallus, a lieutenant of Decius, was proclaimed emperor. Having consented to purchase peace from the barbarians by the stipulation of an annual tribute, he displeased all parties. The soldiers of the Danubian army murdered him; and Æmilian, one of the officers, took his place. Against this intruder, the censor Valerian, whom the senate had made emperor, now led the army of the Rhine; and Æmilian was assassinated by his own troops.

VALERIAN (253-260) was a venerable senator, who had distinguished himself in inferior employments. He bore his new dignity with grace and moderation. But he was incapable of coping with the difficulties which beset his government. Under him, the Franks and the Goths were but imperfectly held in check; and, when, in the 7th year of his reign, he attempted to reconquer Mesopotamia and other provinces lately subjugated by Sapor, he suffered a signal defeat, was captured, and treated with the utmost indignity. Sapor, it is said, used his captive's back as a footstool to mount his horse or to enter his chariot, and forced the unhappy man to run by his side, though loaded with chains. After nine years of such degradation, Valerian died; and his skin, tanned and painted purple, was suspended in a temple.

8th PERSECUTION (A. D. 257-260).—Such was God's judgment upon a prince, who, contrary to his own inclination, had been a persecutor of the faithful. Though naturally kind, superstition and evil advice induced him to order the 8th general persecution. It lasted over three years and was extremely violent. St. Cyprian, bishop of Carthage, and the deacon St. Lawrence, were among its most illustrious victims.

GALLIENUS (A. D. 260-268), the son and successor of Valerian, an indolent and careless prince, wholly immersed in pleasures, made no attempt either to liberate his father from captivity, or to retrieve the honor of the Roman arms. During his reign, 19 pretenders to the imperial crown—famously called by Roman writers the Thirty Tyrants—rose in

various parts, and at different times. But, one after another, they perished by the hands of their own troops, or by the arms of the emperor's lieutenants. The Syrian Odenathus alone was acknowledged and treated by Gallienus as his colleague. In due course, Gallienus met with a violent death. Before expiring he nominated for his successor Claudius, a man of courage and ability, though of mean birth and foreign extraction.

CLAUDIUS II (A. D. 268-270).—A happy union of moral, civil, and military acquirements might have raised Claudius to an equality with the most celebrated among his predecessors, had time been allowed him for the display of his princely virtues. As it was, this excellent prince reigned just long enough to destroy an army of 300,000 Goths, in Mæsia. The victory, one of the greatest ever gained by Rome, was followed by the destruction of a Gothic fleet, which, loaded with booty, was going to join the land army on the Macedonian coast, but fell in with the victorious Romans, and was easily overcome. Claudius died of the plague at Sirmium, on the Danube. Aurelian, the son of an Illyrian peasant, but one of the best captains of the age, was at once appointed to succeed him on the throne.

AURELIAN (A. D. 270-275) DEFEATS ZENOBIAS.—Aurelian began his reign by inflicting fresh defeats on the Goths, but prudently withdrew the outposts of the empire from the northern bank of the Danube. He then turned his attention to a rival power which had recently risen in the east. Zenobia, the relict of Odenathus, a woman of distinguished abilities and superior acquirements, had, after the death of her husband, retained the territories allotted to him by Gallienus. To these she added other provinces, which she detached from the empire; and, guided by the counsels of the philosopher Longinus, governed her extensive monarchy for five years with discretion and success. It was against her that Aurelian now directed all his efforts.

On his way to the east, he was obliged to fight against numerous bodies of barbarians, who pillaged the country. In Asia Minor, his progress was delayed by the resistance of some towns, which had espoused the cause of Zenobia. Tyana, in particular, resisted with such vigor, that Aurelian swore, in his anger, 'not to leave a dog alive' in the captured city. After it was stormed, the troops, remembering this threat, prepared to carry it into execution. But Aurelian

disappointed their ferocity. "Kill, if you will, all the dogs," he said; "but harm none of the inhabitants."

In the meantime, Zenobia, at the head of a large army, advanced to meet the Romans. After two actions near Antioch, and a third near Emesa, the result of which was unfavorable to her cause, unable to keep the field any longer, she took refuge within the walls of her well-fortified capital. When provisions began to fail, she secretly quitted the town, to go and implore the aid of the Persians. The emperor, apprised of her movements, sent a detachment of cavalry, which overtook and brought her back a prisoner. Her capture led to the surrender of Palmyra. The inhabitants were generously treated. When, however, on the departure of Aurelian, they rose upon the Roman garrison, the emperor returned, put them all to the sword, and destroyed their beautiful city. Bound with fetters of gold, Zenobia was led to Rome, to grace her conqueror's triumph. Her life was spared, and for many years she lived in dignity and honor at Hadrian's villa, near Tibur.

GOVERNMENT AND DEATH OF AURELIAN.—Aurelian recovered likewise Gaul and other western provinces, which, from the time of Gallienus, had either been occupied by barbarians, or formed into separate states. Having thus restored the ancient limits of the empire, he set about remedying the evils of the government. But his inflexible rigor raised him many enemies. His own secretary, fearful of punishment, anticipated the vengeance of his dread master. He drew up in the emperor's handwriting, a proscription list containing the names of the principal officers of the army. These, not suspecting the forgery, dispatched Aurelian with their swords (A. D. 275).

NINTH PERSECUTION (A. D. 274).—Aurelian at first treated the Christians, as he did his other subjects, according to the laws of equity. But afterwards, through a desire of gaining the popular favor, he persecuted them as enemies of the gods. Happily his cruel edict had not reached the remoter provinces before his death. Still his known intention was the occasion of many martyrdoms, especially in Gaul and at Rome.

THE WALL OF AURELIAN.—One substantial monument of Aurelian's short reign, is the existing wall of Rome, erected by him as a defence against the Alemanni, who had penetrated into the heart of Italy. The enclosure of Servius had

long been outgrown. The new one, including all the suburbs with probably much vacant space, comprised an area at least thrice equal to the old.

ORLEANS, in Gaul, built on the foundation of the ancient Genabum, was another of Aurelian's works. It was designed as a check upon the encroachments of the Franks and Alemanni. In its name—the city of *Aurelian*, is still perpetuated that of its founder.

TACITUS (A. D. 275-276).—In such respect was Aurelian held by the legions, that they consented to wait more than six months for the nomination of his successor by the senate. Tacitus, who was at last selected by that body, was a man of birth and good character. Though his great age rendered him incapable of enduring the fatigues of war, he undertook to lead an expedition against the Scythian Alani, but sank under the hardships of his first campaign.

PROBUS (A. D. 276-282), whom the eastern legions now raised to the supreme command, was peculiarly fitted by his bravery and hardy virtues, for the difficult times in which he lived. The empire was attacked on all sides by the barbarians. The new emperor, during his short reign of six years, drove them all back beyond the frontiers. The Germans were the first to feel the invincible strength of his arm. He next overthrew the Goths, and meditated a Persian expedition, when his career was cut short by assassination. Probus enforced strict discipline among the troops. Not to let them remain idle, he subjected them to wholesome labors, as the planting of vineyards and the draining of marshes. Some soldiers thus employed near Sirmium, mutinied, and slew him. His loss was seriously felt throughout the empire. During his brief government, he had built or restored 70 cities, and secured general prosperity.

CARUS (A. D. 282-283), whom the soldiers saluted emperor on the death of Probus, was also worthy of the imperial diadem. He overthrew the Sarmatians in a great battle, and penetrated into the very heart of the Persian empire; but, during the last expedition, was found dead in his tent, near the river Tigris.

CARINUS AND NUMERIAN (A. D. 283-284), sons of Carus, succeeded their father on the throne. Numerian, who was with the army, perished, while leading the legions homeward. Thereupon the officers proclaimed one of themselves emperor. The new chief, Diocletian, a native of Dalmatia,

who had risen from the lowest ranks by the sheer force of merit, was soon acknowledged by all the troops in the east. Carinus, however, led against him the forces of the west, and displayed high military talents in more than one victorious engagement. But the dagger of an assassin, by removing him, soon left Diocletian undisturbed master of the empire.

CHAPTER XXXIX.

DIOCLETIAN AND MAXIMIAN—CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS AND GALERIUS.—A. D. 284-311.

SCHEME OF DIOCLETIAN TO KNIT THE EMPIRE.—The power of selecting the chief of the state, supposed to reside in the senate, had practically been usurped by the soldiers, so that the empire might, at any moment, be torn asunder into as many kingdoms as there were armies. In order to avert this danger and put an effective check upon the ambition of his officers, Diocletian resolved to associate with himself other chiefs bound to him by family ties or otherwise, each of whom should watch over a separate portion of the empire, and combine with the rest in maintaining their common interest. This arrangement would, moreover, enable the government to repel more easily the attacks of the barbarians.

TWO AUGUSTI AND TWO CÆSARS.—The first step taken by Diocletian toward the accomplishment of his design was to choose for his colleague Maximian, surnamed Hercules, whom he invested with the title of Augustus (A. D. 286). To Maximian he assigned the west; the east he reserved to himself. But, finding the burden of government still too heavy for their efforts, he further created (A. D. 292) two Cæsars—the one, Galerius, to share with him the empire of the east, the other, Constantius Chlorus, to divide the west with Maximian. From Nicomedia, his capital, Diocletian ruled over Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. His Cæsar, Galerius, who resided at Sirmium, governed the Danubian and Macedonian provinces. Maximian, with his capital at Milan, reigned over Italy, Africa, and the adjacent island. Finally Spain, Gaul, and Great Britain, were allotted to Constantius with

Trèves, as his usual place of residence, whence he could more effectually protect the Rhenish frontier.

Under the prudent direction of Diocletian, whose supremacy was fully acknowledged, the Cæsars, acting with energy and success, reestablished peace in the empire, and repelled the barbarians at all points. Galerius humbled the Persians; Constantius drove the Allemanni from Gaul, and in Britain put down the pretenders Carausius and Allectus.

TENTH PERSECUTION (A. D. 303-313).—Diocletian had hitherto reigned with glory, and given proof of great administrative ability. But, in A. D. 303, he allowed himself to be persuaded by Galerius to issue edicts for a general persecution of the Christians. It was the most violent and bloody that the Church ever suffered. Such was the quantity of Christian blood spilt by the persecutors, that they boasted of having extirpated Christianity. But the Church came forth from the fiery ordeal, as strong as ever. Nor was chastisement slow to overtake the persecutors.

CHASTISEMENT OF THE PERSECUTORS.—Tortured by remorse, enfeebled in mind and body, Diocletian was compelled by Galerius (A. D. 305) to abdicate the imperial power. He retired to Salona, his native place, where he lived 8 years longer, occupying himself in the culture of a small garden. But life became burdensome to him; he could neither eat nor sleep. At last, excessive grief and starvation, and perhaps poison, carried him off in the 68th year of his age.

The fate of Maximian was not less wretched. He together with Diocletian had been compelled to resign the purple. But, displeased with a private station, he tried two or three times to resume the sovereign power, and even to murder his son-in-law, Constantine, whose throne he coveted. Being foiled in this attempt, he was peremptorily ordered to put an end to his own existence (A. D. 310). The justice of God was still more visible in the case of Galerius, the real author of the persecution. He was attacked with a frightful disease—the same that had once afflicted Antiochus and Herod Agrippa. An ulcer corroded and laid open his very bowels. His body became a mass of corruption, the stench of which infected not only his palace, but also the whole neighborhood. His pains were so acute as to wring from him the most agonizing cries, and left him no rest till the disease carried him off, A. D. 311.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, holding only a subordinate posi-

tion in the empire, was not able to prevent all deeds of violence in the provinces over which he ruled. But he himself never tormented the faithful. On receiving the bloody edicts, he feigned indeed a willingness to execute them. Assembling the Christians of his household, he requested them to comply or give up their employment. But those who chose to renounce their religion, he at once dismissed from his service, saying that traitors to God would be so likewise to their prince. To the others he continued his favor.

CONSTANTINE AT THE COURT OF GALERIUS.—Constantine, the eldest son of Constantius, had been reared at the court of Diocletian, who kept him near his person as a hostage for his father's fidelity. When Galerius succeeded Diocletian, being jealous of the young prince, he not only detained him at Nicomedia, but exposed his life to a thousand dangers. Constantius, informed of this, most urgently solicited the return of his son. Galerius pretended to consent, but always found fresh pretexts for delay. At length, Constantine started without the knowledge of the emperor, and travelled with the utmost speed. Galerius, transported with rage, gave orders for his pursuit; but the fugitive was already beyond his reach.

CONSTANTINE SUCCEEDS HIS FATHER AS CÆSAR (A. D. 306).—Constantine reached York in Britain, just in time to receive his father's last breath. The troops at once proclaimed him emperor in their camp at York, and this nomination was hailed with enthusiasm by all classes throughout the west. Galerius, however, insisted that Constantine should be content with the title of Cæsar, and the fourth rank among the associated rulers of the empire. Constantine feigned to be satisfied; and for six years gave his whole attention to the administration of Britain, Spain, and Gaul, quelling the outbreak of the Caledonians, repelling the inroads of the German tribes, particularly of the Franks, protecting the Christians, easing the burden of taxation, in a word, showing himself from the very beginning of his government worthy to become the ruler of the Roman world.

BURDEN OF IMPERIAL TAXATION.—Taxation in various shapes—on the necessities of life, as poll-tax and salt-tax, as custom dues at every port and tolls at every city gate—brought much of the wealth of the subjects into the imperial treasury. One aggravating feature of the system was, that,

each community being held responsible for a fixed sum, the produce of its soil lay at the mercy of the tax-gatherer, and was constantly liable to be swept off to discharge the common debt. Oppressive as the burden of taxation was before, it had become heavier of late, in consequence of the establishment of four different imperial courts. For an increase of expense naturally led to a still further augmentation of taxes, and every province suffered under new impositions. Even Italy, which had always been favored in this particular, was now heavily burdened; and everywhere lands were abandoned and left uncultivated, because their owners could not pay the taxes.

THE BAGAUDÆ.—In addition to the evil of taxation, Gaul, during the last half-century, had suffered much from the incursions of the barbarians and from civil wars; and the distress thus caused led to the insurrection of the Bagaudæ, or rustic banditti. For several years, the country was overrun with troops of famished and frantic marauders, who attacked all property, and, in the case of Autun, sacked and destroyed one of the chief centres of Gaulish civilization. Happily, the wise rule of Chlorus and his son Constantine afforded some respite to the unfortunate inhabitants of Gaul.

CHAPTER XL.

CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.—A. D. 311-337.

ANARCHY: FOUR AUGUSTI.—On the death of Galerius, four princes simultaneously assumed the title of Augustus—Licinius and Maximin in the east, Constantine and Maxentius in the west. Licinius and Maximin were creatures of Galerius. Maxentius, son of Maximian, had been raised to the purple by the Roman senate. Affecting to consider himself heir of his father's dignity, he not only ruled over Italy and Africa, but claimed superiority over Constantine. This the latter would not brook, and war was declared between the two rivals.

THE LABARUM.—The power of Maxentius was upheld by nearly 200,000 warriors. Constantine not only did not have half that number, but was forced to leave part of his men behind

to defend the frontiers of Gaul. In his great need, he bethought himself of the God of the Christians, and begged from him victory. His prayer was heard. At noonday, he saw, in the calm and cloudless sky, a figure of the cross, with the legend, *By this Conquer*; and the ensuing night, Christ himself appeared to him, with the same sign, and directing him to have it placed on a banner, and, borne at the head of his troops in full assurance of victory.* On rising in the morning, Constantine caused the sacred symbol to be emblazoned on the standard called *Labarum*, so as to form at once a cross and the monogram of Christ in Greek letters.†

BATTLE OF THE MILVIAN BRIDGE (313).—Encouraged by these marks of divine protection, Constantine advanced against Maxentius. He gained three brilliant victories—at Turin, at Verona, and lastly at the Milvian bridge, two miles from Rome, where Maxentius, after his defeat, was drowned in the Tiber. The victor, next day, was received with acclamations in the city, and speedily acknowledged emperor throughout the west.

EDICT OF MILAN (A. D. 383).—The new ruler introduced good order into the administration, revived the authority of the senate, and disbanded the pretorian guards. Without a moment's delay, he assured the Christians of his protection and favor; and some months later, A. D. 313, published the celebrated edict of Milan, which publicly granted the free exercise of the Christian religion. The faithful were at liberty to build new churches; and they regained possession of those of which the persecution had deprived them. Their clergy were exempted from all imposts and public charges; their bishops, obtaining the confidence of the sovereign, became men of influence, and were soon invested with the

*The exact *place* or *date* of the apparition is not known, nor whether the motto was in Greek or in Latin.

†The *labarum* became the sacred standard of the empire, and was committed to a guard of 50 men. The original *labarum* consisted of a long spear surmounted by a crown of gold, and of a transverse rod from which hung a purple flag bearing the monogram of Christ emblazoned with gold and jewels. The spear also was overlaid with gold. Besides this—the *labarum* proper, others came into use, having the monogram fixed in gold on the top of the staff, or surmounting the eagles, whilst the banner was embroidered with the figure of Christ, or with those of the emperor and his children. The sacred monogram was likewise found displayed on the shields and helmets of the soldiers. It was also used privately, as well as publicly, engraved on gems and on small reliquaries.

powers of civil judges, public authority being given to their decisions in all cases referred to them. Thus the triumph of Constantine was the triumph of the Church. From the battle at the Milvian bridge dates the speedy decline of idolatry, which, without being persecuted, tottered to its fall, so soon as it was left to its natural weakness.

LICINIUS EMPEROR OF THE EAST (A. D. 313).—Constantine had accepted the proffered alliance of Licinius, had given him his daughter in marriage, and had caused him to set his seal to the edict of Milan. Bearing back this edict to the east and placarding it on the walls of Nicomedia, Licinius aroused the enthusiasm of the Christians, and with little difficulty crushed his rival Maximin, who after three defeats poisoned himself at Tarsus (A. D. 313). Licinius, however, was at heart a foe to Christianity. Nor was the friendship between him and Constantine lasting. Difficulties soon arose as to the extent of their respective jurisdiction. Two well-contested battles were fought, which led to an agreement whereby Illyricum, Macedonia, and Greece, with a part of Mæsia, were ceded to Constantine (A. D. 314).

REFORMS OF CONSTANTINE.—During the nine years of peace which followed, Constantine was engaged in reorganizing his army and consolidating his vast dominions. He multiplied the number of the legions, but reduced their strength to 1500 men. He admitted slaves into the ranks, and generally selected barbarians for commanders. When, in the year 321, he enacted that no military exercises, no secular labor, no legal proceedings, *except the emancipation of a slave*, be permitted on the 'day of the sun,' he gave general permission to the Christian soldiers to leave their quarters, in order to attend their religious services on that day.

CONSTANTINE SOLE EMPEROR (A. D. 323).—Whilst Constantine was thus engaged, Licinius, growing jealous of the favor with which his colleague was regarded by the Christians, again provoked hostilities, and openly avowed himself the champion of the pagan gods. Henceforth, the contest was between idolatry and Christianity. A host of diviners and sorcerers accompanied the army of Licinius, who marched at the head of 165,000 pagan soldiers to encounter his rival. Constantine assembled his forces in Greece to the number of 130,000 men. The monogram of Christ was displayed upon his standard; and, in the conflict which followed near Adrian-

ople, he gave for his watchword 'God our Savior.' The western army triumphed, despite its inferior numbers. Licinius was driven to seek refuge within the walls first of Byzantium, next of Chalcedon on the opposite shore. Unable to offer further resistance, he at last surrendered, leaving Constantine sole master of the whole Roman world (A. D. 323).

CONSTANTINE AND CHRISTIANITY.—Freed from warfare, Constantine set himself to repair the evils of past disturbances. He enacted a variety of excellent laws in favor of poor laborers, of widows and orphans, of prisoners and slaves. He was particularly solicitous to make Christianity flourish. Nothing afforded him more pleasure than to learn of its daily progress. By an edict, he invited all his subjects to embrace the true faith. He even endeavored by letters to inspire Sapor II, king of Persia, with sentiments favorable to Christianity; and, not having succeeded in this, he granted an honorable asylum to those Persians whom persecution drove out of their country.

COUNCIL OF NICE (A. D. 325).—In fine, the zeal of Constantine for the true faith induced him to lend his most cordial cooperation for the assembling and celebrating of the first general council. He offered the city of Nice in Bithynia for its deliberations, sent letters of invitation with safe-conduct to the bishops, and defrayed all their expenses. Not content with showing the most profound respect to the 318 assembled Fathers, he employed his temporal authority in supporting their decisions. By him the heresiarch Arius was banished, with such of his adherents as refused to subscribe the Nicene Creed.

FAULTS OF CONSTANTINE. — Constantine, however, through excessive condescension for his sister Constantia, afterwards recalled the exiled Arians, and allowed himself to be influenced against the great St. Athanasius, their chief opponent. Deceived by an artful calumny, and believing his virtuous son Crispus guilty of an atrocious design, he had him put to death. From the date of that tragedy, he was never free from gloomy remorse. He roamed from city to city, fixing his court most commonly in Gaul, at Trèves or Lyons, and seldom visiting Rome, until he determined to erect a new capital for himself.

FOUNDATION OF CONSTANTINOPLE (A. D. 330).—Constantine had marked the advantageous position of Byzantium, when he pursued Licinius within its walls. He therefore deter-

mined to make it a second Rome, and the administrative centre of his empire. To this end he required his nobles to settle there, and erect palaces for their families. He also created a new senate and a new corps of officials; and, enriching the new metropolis with the spoils of Asia, of Greece, of Rome itself, made it in a short time the 'Queen of cities.' Situated at the point of junction of two continents, the position of Constantinople was unrivalled; its site, unsurpassed. Possessed of a vast and safe harbor, it saw the ships of both worlds lay at its feet the treasures of the universe. Easily defensible, it also afforded a basis for operations against the Persians and Goths, than which none better could have been found. Hence, whilst Rome early yielded to the barbarians, the new capital stood as a second head to the empire, which was not cut off till a thousand years later. Nor was Constantinople simply the means of perpetuating the Roman power so far into modern times; the transfer of the imperial throne thither facilitated the rise and consolidation of the temporal sovereignty of the Holy See.

CHARACTER OF CONSTANTINE THE GREAT.—In A. D. 335, Constantine celebrated with due magnificence, in his new metropolis, the thirtieth anniversary of his elevation to the purple. In the following year, while leading his army against the Persian king, Sapor II, he died at Nicomedia. The splendor of his achievements has gained him the surname of 'Great,'—a title which he shares with only two other heroes of ancient history, and which he better deserves than they. The changes effected under his auspices were of more value and importance to the world, than any achievements of Alexander or of Pompey. The establishment of Christianity by itself, and regarded merely as a political measure, entitles its author to imperishable praise; and the victories of Constantine in the field, the extent of his dominion, and the firm grasp with which he held it, were all unsurpassed by any ancient sovereign.

CHAPTER XLI.

CONSTANTIUS—JULIAN—JOVIAN—VALENTINIAN AND VALENS.—

A. D. 337-378.

CONSTANTINE, CONSTANTIUS, AND CONSTANS, the sons of Constantine the Great, divided the empire among them-

selves. Gaul, Britain, and Spain, were allotted to the oldest ; Italy, Illyria, and Africa, to the youngest ; and the provinces of the east to Constantius. Before long, Constantine and Constans quarrelled and fought. Their forces met at Aquileia (A. D. 340), when the defeat and death of Constantine left Constans master of the entire west. He took up his residence in Gaul, and led a life of indolent dissipation, till, being surprised by a mutiny of his soldiers, he was killed by their leader Magnentius (A. D. 350). The murderer assumed the purple ; but, at the same time, the Illyrian legions set up an officer of their own, Vetranio, as his rival.

CONSTANTIUS SOLE EMPEROR (A. D. 353-361).—Constantius heard at Edessa of this double revolt. Quickly retreating from the Persian frontier, he hastened to confront Vetranio, who, touched by a feeling of loyalty, submitted and was forgiven. This reconciliation was followed by a decisive battle with Magnentius at Mursa, in Pannonia. The usurper was routed, and soon after perished miserably (A. D. 353).

CONSTANTIUS A PROMOTER OF ARIANISM.—Thus the whole empire was again united under one ruler. Aware that the burden was too heavy for his shoulders, Constantius conferred on his cousin Julian the title of Cæsar, and entrusted him with the defence of the Rhenish frontier. He was thus free to devote all his attention to his favorite occupation, the promotion of Arianism. By his orders, the orthodox bishops were driven from their sees, imprisoned, banished, or compelled to subscribe ambiguous formulas, which might be made subservient to a confirmation of the heresy. But neither artifice nor violence could make Arianism prevail in the Church. The majority of both the pastors and the faithful persevered in the true faith.

ST. ATHANASIUS AND POPE LIBERIUS.—The most illustrious champion of the faith of Nice at this time, was St. Athanasius, patriarch of Alexandria. In him the orthodox belief was, as it were, impersonated, and against him the efforts of Arianism were chiefly directed. Even the great Constantine had allowed himself to be prejudiced against Athanasius, whom he banished (A. D. 336) to Trèves, then the capital of Gaul. After the death of Constantine, the holy patriarch was by the eldest son of the latter restored to his see (A. D. 338), but was soon again subjected to fresh persecutions by Constantius, emperor of the east. He was even

deposed by a synod of Arian prelates; and an edict was issued, commanding all the bishops of Christendom, on pain of banishment, to subscribe his condemnation. Pope Liberius, who manfully resisted the emperor's dictation, was banished to Thrace; and, during his absence, Felix, late archdeacon of the Roman Church, was thrust into the see. The faithful then absented themselves from the churches. But when, after his victory over Magnentius, Constantius visited Rome, the women came in long procession to remonstrate with him for his sacrilegious conduct. Constantius tried to compromise, by declaring that Liberius and Felix should both be bishops of Rome conjointly. He delivered his decree in the circus. "Shall we have factions in the Church, as in the circus?" exclaimed the indignant multitude. "One God, one Christ, one Bishop!" was the universal cry. Liberius returned, resumed his throne, and was not again disturbed. As to Athanasius, though persecuted also by Julian and Valens, he proved superior to all the machinations of his enemies; and, after his long and glorious administration of 46 years, he died in peace, testifying with his last breath that the Christ is *consubstantial* with the Father (A. D. 373).

JULIAN'S REVOLT (A. D. 361).—Julian's administration of Gaul was eminently successful. He repelled the numerous hordes of Allemanni and Franks that had invaded the country; he strengthened the Rhenish frontier; he enlarged and beautified Lutetia, the modern Paris, which he made his usual residence; he promoted, in different ways, the general prosperity of the country. Constantius became jealous of the growing reputation of the young Cæsar, and, being attacked by the Persians, made this a pretext for demanding four of his legions. The men refused to be detached from the command of their favorite captain, and proclaimed Julian emperor. With real or feigned reluctance, he accepted the title, and advanced to Constantinople, where he was received with acclamation. Constantius was then at Antioch. On receiving these tidings, he started at once to confront the usurper. But, worn out with fatigue and anxiety, he died in Cilicia; and Julian was everywhere acknowledged as his successor.

JULIAN'S APOSTACY.—The beginning of the reign of Julian was remarkable for the zeal with which he redressed the abuses of the late government, and improved the civil and military administration. But he quickly threw off the

profession of Christianity, and reestablished with much ceremony the ritual and the sacrifices of the pagan deities. Indeed, the restoration of paganism and the destruction of the Christian religion, were from his accession to the empire the chief object of his endeavors. This, however, he strove to effect more by artful than by violent measures. Whilst favors were lavished on sophists and magicians, the Christians experienced nothing but contempt, vexation, and disgrace. He openly violated to their prejudice the most common laws of equity—refusing them fair trial in the courts of justice, forbidding them to teach and to be taught in the schools, not admitting them to offices of trust, and at times secretly putting to death those whom he could not seduce into apostacy.

ATTEMPT TO REBUILD THE TEMPLE OF JERUSALEM.—Julian desired, above all things, to falsify the prophecies of Daniel and our Lord concerning the permanent desolation of the temple of Jerusalem. He therefore resolved to raise it from its ruins, ordering his treasurers to furnish all the money necessary for the undertaking. Immense quantities of materials were accumulated. The old foundations were removed; and everything was in readiness to begin the laying of the new, when an earthquake destroyed the trenches, and whirlwinds scattered the lime and sand which had been prepared. Despite this hinderance, the masons set to work. But, at this moment, from the bowels of the earth there burst forth balls of fire, which dislodged the stones, melted the tools, and burned the workmen. Whenever the work was resumed, the same prodigy was repeated, and ceased only when the attempt was given up.

DEATH OF JULIAN (A. D. 363).—Sapor II, a prince famous for his long reign of 70 years (310-380), as well as for his warlike dispositions and cruelties, had lately overrun the Roman province of Mesopotamia, and destroyed the important city of Amida. This and the many other insults offered the empire by its inveterate enemy, Julian resolved to avenge. With a powerful army he advanced to the walls of Ctesiphon, intending to besiege it with the aid of reinforcements expected from Armenia. Failing these, he proceeded further in pursuit of Sapor, who allured him into the interior of Persia, allowed the invaders to pass by his forces, and then assaulted them in the rear. The Romans repulsed his attack; but had now to struggle against exhaustion and

famine. Their perils increased every day. To crown their misfortune, they lost the only man who could have repaired his own imprudence by the resources of his genius. In a battle fought on June 26th, 363, Julian was mortally wounded. Some authors relate that, before dying, he threw a handful of his blood towards heaven, exclaiming, "Thou hast conquered, O Galilean!"

JOVIAN (A. D. 363-364) was chosen on the spot by the assembled officers, as the successor of Julian. He seems to have been a man of ability. Yet, so critical was the position of the army, that he found it necessary, in providing for its safety, to surrender the strong fortress of Nisibis, and withdraw the empire once more within the frontier line of the Euphrates. On his arrival at Antioch, he zealously labored to heal the wounds inflicted on Christianity by both Constantius and Julian. His excellent intentions and good qualities promised a prosperous reign. But, after a short rule of seven months, he was found dead in his bed, having been suffocated by the fumes of charcoal, which was burning in his chamber. His death renewed the strifes and the sorrows of the Church in the east.

VALENTINIAN (A. D. 364-375) AND VALENS (A. D. 364-378).—A Pannonian officer of low origin but distinguished prowess, Valentinian, was chosen to fill the place of Jovian. The first act of the new ruler on reaching Constantinople, was to divide the empire with his brother Valens, taking the western provinces for his own share. The arrangement thus made for the third time, was final. The empires of the east and of the west were never again united. Valentinian governed his dominions with vigor and firmness. Residing at Milan, Paris, Trèves, or Rheims, he was always ready to repel the barbarians, and triumphed over them in every battle.

GRATIAN (A. D. 375-383); ST. AMBROSE AND SYMMACHUS.—Valentinian, at his death, left two sons. The elder, Gratian, was in 17th year; the younger, who bore his father's name, and was the child of a second and favorite wife, was a mere infant. The early teaching of St. Ambrose, bishop of Milan, had impressed upon Gratian's mind the sacredness of his Christian profession. When the pontifical robes were offered to him in the name of the senate, he positively refused to wear them. He soon after sent order to remove the statue and altar of Victory which adorned the senate-

house,* and before which it was customary for the senators to burn a few grains of incense at the commencement of each sitting. The Christian members naturally objected to be partakers or even witnesses of this idolatrous practice, and, trusting to the favor of Gratian and the support of Ambrose, they had urged the removal of the idol. The pagan senators, thoroughly alarmed, sent a deputation to the emperor at Milan, to plead against the enforcement of the order. Gratian would not listen to the request. When, however, the young Valentinian was associated in the empire, making this a pretext for addressing the two rulers together with a second appeal, they deputed their great orator, Symmachus, to plead their cause (A.D. 382). Leave was given to Symmachus to transmit his plea in writing, and to Ambrose was intrusted the duty of preparing a reply. The imperial decision, as might be expected, was in favor of Ambrose. The statue, which had been removed, was ordered not to be replaced ; and this decision was supported by the chief magistrates of the empire, some of whom took the opportunity of declaring themselves Christians. Another measure of Gratian against paganism, was the prohibition of legacies to the Vestal virgins.

VALENS A FAVORER OF ARIANISM.—While Gratian, under the guidance of Ambrose, the greatest of Christian teachers of his day, showed himself the avowed champion of the true faith, his uncle Valens, who still governed the east, displayed little energy, except in protecting the Arians and cruelly persecuting the Catholics. Fortunately, the faith of the latter was defended by the illustrious doctors, St. Gregory Nazianzen, and his intimate friend St. Basil, archbishop of Cæsarea, against whom all the emperor's efforts proved fruitless.

CONVERSION OF THE GOTHs.—Two centuries before the time we have reached, the Gothic hordes had entered Europe in two divisions: the Visigoths (West Goths) had settled themselves in the regions bordering on the Danube and the Alps, while the Ostrogoths (East Goths) occupied the

*The *Curia Julia*, erected by Cæsar in the Roman forum, which was commonly used for the meetings of the senate throughout the imperial period. Constantine had caused the statue of Victory to be removed. But, on the accession of Julian, it had been promptly restored, and was now regarded by the pagans with more jealous honor than ever before.

Russian steppes from the Black Sea to the Baltic. After many conflicts, the two hordes coalesced into one great nation under king Hermanaric, whose empire extended over the regions of Hungary, Poland, and Courland. The Goths then changed from a nomadic to a settled and semi-civilized race, and such of their tribes as lived on the borders of the empire received their first instruction in Christianity from the captives whom they carried off beyond the Danube, in their wars with Decius, Valerian, and Gallienus. Among the Fathers present at the Nicene Council was Theophilus, 'bishop of the Goths.' His successor, as it seems, was Ulfilas (A. D. 312-381), who reduced the Gothic language to a written form,* and composed that version of the scriptures which is the first great monument of the old Gothic language, or Mæso-Gothic.

In the year 374, the Huns crossed the Volga and the Don, and began to press the Goths westward and southward. The latter yielded before their fierce assailants: and those of them who were pagans, retreated to the wilds of the Carpathian Mountains; while the Christian people among them, to the number of 300,000 warriors, besides women and children, came down to the north bank of the Danube, and begged a refuge in the plains of Mæsia.

DEFEAT AND DEATH OF VALENS (A. D. 378).—After much tergiversation and many ambiguous promises, the Roman officers stationed on the frontier, transported the women and children across the river, proposing to hold them as hostages for the peaceable behavior of the men. At length, the Goths, weary of long delay, and being in need of provisions, crossed the stream, and found that their wives had not been respected, and that many of their children had been sold into slavery. Exasperated by this outrage, they began to overrun the country, putting everything to fire and sword. Their commander Fritigern, an able general, defeated the imperial lieutenants in several bloody battles.

*By writing an Alphabet of 24 letters, based upon the Greek, which was adopted by all the Teutonic tribes, and is still in use as the German character, or 'black letter.' In B. C. 335, Ulfilas had led a large body of Goths across the Danube, to seek the protection of Constantius. When, in 376, Fritigern asked from Valens a new home south of the same river, Ulfilas was employed to negotiate the treaty. Unfortunately he had embraced Arianism, and was but too docile an instrument of both Constantius and Valens in propagating that heterodox belief among his Gothic countrymen.

Valens then hastened from the east to confront the invaders. Without waiting for the arrival of his nephew Gratian, who, after gaining a great victory over the Germans, was coming to his assistance, the unwary prince gave battle to the Goths, near Adrianople, but suffered a complete overthrow and perished with most of his troops (A. D. 378). The Goths then extended their devastations all over Thrace and Macedonia, till their career was arrested by the vigor and genius of Theodosius.

THE VISIGOTHS EMBRACE ARIANISM.—When the Visigoths applied for lands to Valens, and the emperor promised them an asylum, he stipulated that they should embrace Arianism. They accepted the condition, and were baptized into the Arian form of Christianity. Thus early infected with heresy, those barbarians carried their heterodox belief throughout the various portions of the empire which they successively invaded and conquered. The prevalence of Arianism among them was, in addition to their devastations, a cause of cruel persecution of the Catholics.

CHAPTER XLII.

THEODOSIUS THE GREAT.—A. D. 378–395.

ACCESSION OF THEODOSIUS AND VALENTINIAN II (A. D. 378).—By the death of his uncle Valens, the whole burden of the government devolved on Gratian. Aware of his inability to cope with the difficulties of his situation, this young prince at once placed on the throne of Constantinople the ablest of his subjects, the great Theodosius. At the same time, he yielded to his own brother, Valentinian II, the sovereignty over Italy, Illyria, and Africa, reserving only Gaul, Britain, and Spain for himself.

VICTORIES OF THEODOSIUS.—The accession of Theodosius almost instantaneously changed the desperate state of affairs. The Goths were defeated. Most of them consented to settle quietly in Mæsia and Pannonia; the rest were driven back beyond the frontiers. The Huns and Alans were kept in check; and the Persians, awed by the genius of the new ruler, sued for peace. In a few years, the name of Theodosius was respected throughout the world.

RELIGIOUS ZEAL OF THEODOSIUS.—Theodosius availed himself of the tranquillity which followed his victories, to enact laws conducive alike to the public welfare and to the moral improvement of individuals. He endeavored especially to promote the growth of piety and the speedy triumph of the orthodox faith. Arianism, not being able to obtain the least favor from him, rapidly dwindled into insignificance. The heresy of Macedonius against the divinity of the Holy Ghost, which followed, met in him a vigilant adversary. Under his patronage, the second general council was held at Constantinople, to condemn the new error (A. D. 381). The decrees of this august assembly were received as the oracles of God by the emperor, who gave them legal effect. Nor was his zeal satisfied, until the public worship of idols disappeared from his dominions.

USURPATION OF MAXIMUS (A. D. 383).—The example of Theodosius was at first faithfully imitated by Gratian. But gradually this young prince lost the esteem of his subjects, by indulging in the pleasures of the chase to excess, and associating on terms of intimacy with the barbarian Alaric. Profiting by this circumstance, one of the imperial officers in Britain, Maximus, assumed the purple; and with the British legions crossed the Channel. The troops in Gaul refused to stand by Gratian, who fled southward, but was captured and slain at Lyons.

DEFEAT OF MAXIMUS (A. D. 388).—From Trèves, where he fixed his residence, Maximus silently made preparations to oppress Valentinian also; and, suddenly crossing the Alps at the head of an army, appeared at the gates of Milan (387). With difficulty Valentinian escaped to Aquileia, whence he sailed eastward to throw himself upon the protection of Theodosius. The latter received the fugitive with open arms, induced him to renounce Arianism, in which he had been raised by his mother Justina, and marched with him against the usurper. One short campaign decided the contest. Theodosius triumphed; and Maximus, hotly pursued, was taken and killed at Aquileia. Valentinian was reinstated as emperor over all the provinces which obeyed his father and his brother. But Theodosius remained three years in Italy, and was from that time the virtual ruler of the whole empire.

THEODOSIUS AND FLAVIAN (A. D. 387).—In the year which preceded the triumph of Theodosius over Maximus,

a sedition broke out in Antioch, on occasion of a new and odious tax. The population, in their blind rage, threw down the statues of the emperor and empress, and dragged them through the streets. When Theodosius heard this, he resolved to visit the offenders with exemplary punishment. Two commissioners were sent to investigate the outrage on the spot. They had orders to punish the guilty with death, yet consented to postpone the execution of the penalty, until the venerable bishop Flavian might reach Constantinople, and beg the emperor's forgiveness. On coming into the imperial presence, the aged prelate first remained at some distance, with his eyes cast down, and observing a mournful silence. The emperor then approached the bishop, and with strong but tender reproaches expatiated on the ingratitude of the people of Antioch. Flavian acknowledged both the enormity of the crime, and the justice of any punishment which might be inflicted; but, at the same time, so extolled the advantages of clemency that Theodosius willingly granted forgiveness. The pardon, entire and unreserved, did infinite honor to the prince. Yet, within three years, he visited the guilt of another city, so as to bring on himself the solemn and well-merited rebuke of the great bishop Ambrose.

THEODOSIUS AND AMBROSE.—In A. D. 390, the populace of Thessalonica stoned their governor to death. Theodosius, thereupon, ordered a promiscuous massacre of the inhabitants, in which 7000 persons were put to the sword. Ambrose then notified the emperor by letter, that he could not, in consequence of this frightful abuse of authority, be admitted into the church, and still less to the participation of the sacred mysteries, till he should do full penance. Theodosius in spite of the warning, went as usual to worship at the Por-tian basilica; but was met at the door by the bishop, who bade him withdraw as a man polluted by innocent blood. After spending eight months in penitential seclusion, Theodosius ventured, at Christmas, to present himself in the attitude of a suppliant to seek readmission to the church. Ambrose still required a practical fruit of repentance, in the form of an edict forbidding the execution of capital punishment, till thirty days after the sentence. The emperor cheerfully acceded, and was admitted to communion.

THE USURPER EUGENIUS (A. D. 392–394).—Theodosius had scarcely returned to Constantinople, when a fresh revolution took place in the west. Young Valentinian, whom his

instructions and examples had lately trained up to virtue, and who, under the guidance of St. Ambrose, gave bright hopes of a wise and prosperous government, was murdered by his Frankish general, Arbogastes. The barbarian, not caring to seize the prize of empire which lay ready to his hand, conferred the sovereignty on Eugenius, the grammarian and chief secretary of the late monarch. This man was the last emperor that professed himself a pagan. His accession was the signal for an outburst of triumph, on the part of the old pagan party throughout Italy. The temples were reopened and the sacrifices renewed; the pontiffs, augurs, and Vestal virgins, reappeared; and the usurper prepared to meet the attack of Theodosius, under the protection of the image of Jupiter *Tonans* (the thunderer).

Two years were spent by Theodosius in making adequate preparations to overthrow Eugenius and his supporters. The hostile armies met in the passes of the Julian Alps, thirty miles from Aquileia. The number and discipline of the troops engaged, rendered the struggle which ensued most obstinate. It lasted two days, the first of which beheld a fearful havoc of the eastern soldiers. Their opponents, thinking themselves victors, spent the following night in merriment. Theodosius passed it in prayer. At the dawn of day, he again drew up his army, and inspiring his soldiers with his own confidence, led them to a decisive victory. Eugenius was taken and put to death. Arbogastes fell upon his own sword. At the instance of St. Ambrose, the pagans were spared the horrors of a persecution. But their religion was once more abased; and their temples, sacrifices, endowments, and idols, were swept away.

THEODOSIUS ASSOCIATES HIS SONS WITH HIMSELF (A. D. 395).—His late victory subjected all the west to Theodosius. This he confided to his younger son Honorius, who was but eleven years old, and gave him for his minister the brave Stilicho, a chief of the Vandals. His eldest son, Arcadius, he associated with himself in the empire of the east. Though Theodosius was but fifty years of age, continual labors and hardships had exhausted his constitution. He survived his victory over Eugenius only a few months, and died at Milan, in the arms of St. Ambrose (Jan. 17th, 395).

HIS CHARACTER.—From the Christians Theodosius received after his death the title of 'the Great,' an appellation he well deserved for his many illustrious achievements. He

restored the majesty of the empire; conquered the Goths; drove back the Huns and Sarmatians; kept the Persians in constant awe; overcame two powerful usurpers; checked the Arian and Macedonian heresies; almost completed the destruction of idolatry, without shedding a drop of blood; and published a number of excellent laws, which place him far above the wisest legislators of antiquity. One of his edicts enjoined the release, on Easter day, of all prisoners who could be set at liberty without endangering the interest and good order of society.

Theodosius was dignified in countenance and deportment, but withal cheerful, courteous, and affable. Free not only from gross vices, but even from ambition and vainglory, he undertook no war, except through necessity. His temper, which was naturally violent, he usually kept under control; and, when he failed to do so, he repaired his fault in a manner which did him honor. Hence the unanimous verdict of ancient ecclesiastical writers, who proposed Theodosius as a model for Christian princes.

CHAPTER XLIII.

THE WESTERN EMPIRE UNDER HONORIUS.—A. D. 395-424.

STILICHO DEFEATS ALARIC (A. D. 396-403).—No longer awed by the genius of Theodosius, the Goths of Mæsia and Dacia quitted their settlements in A. D. 396, and, headed by Alaric, ravaged Illyria and Greece. Stilicho drove them back. But, soon reappearing, they burst into Lombardy and threatened Milan. Stilicho, who had gone to collect troops in Gaul, returned, twice defeated Alaric, and thrust him out of the peninsula (A. D. 403). On this occasion, Honorius celebrated a triumph—the last of the series, which has been grandly described by the pagan poet Claudius.

SUPPRESSION OF THE GLADIATORIAL SHOWS (A. D. 404).—Public combats between swordsmen, rude captives of foreign warfare, had long been a noted feature of the Roman triumph. After the conclusion of the Dacian war, the mild Trajan exhibited 5000 pairs of gladiators, who, during four months, fought, bled, and died for the entertainment of the people. The edicts enacted by Constantine

and other Christian emperors against the barbarous practice, had not been effectual; and Honorius, on the occasion of his triumph, scrupled not to gratify the Roman populace with their favorite, though bloody, entertainment. A monk, Telemachus by name, on hearing of it, hastened to Rome, for the purpose of putting an end to these detestable cruelties. Rushing through the crowd into the arena, he threw himself between the combatants stripped for the death-struggle. He was cut to pieces on the instant. But the spectators were smitten with compunction. The games were immediately suspended; and the Christian sentiment being now strong enough for the government to interfere effectually, a stringent decree was issued,* prohibiting all gladiatorial shows for the future.

STILICHO DEFEATS RADAGÆSUS (A. D. 406).—Within three years from the repulse of Alaric, a host of mingled barbarians—Suevi, Alemanni, Vandals, Alans—pushed westward by the Goths and Huns, and numbering perhaps 300,000 warriors, advanced under Radagæsus as far as Fæsulæ, near Florence. Stilicho, after raising forces sufficient to cope with these new foes, surrounded and defeated them, slaying a multitude of them together with their chief, and selling the survivors into slavery. Two years later, Stilicho was himself put to death for treason.

GAUL AND SPAIN OCCUPIED BY THE BARBARIANS (A. D. 406-409).—To save Rome and Italy, Stilicho had withdrawn from Gaul most of her defenders. That province, being thus left unprotected, was at once overrun by the barbarians, and practically lost to the empire. Whilst the Alemanni and Burgundians occupied the territories bordering on the Rhine, the Suevi, Alans, and Vandals for three years plundered the remainder, after which they went to Spain. Here they settled, the Suevi in the north, the Alans in the west, and the Vandals in the south, the eastern parts alone being left to the Romans.

THE SACK OF ROME BY ALARIC (A. D. 410).—The death of Stilicho was followed by the reappearance of Alaric in Italy. At first, he exacted from the Romans an enormous ransom†, which taxed their resources to the utmost (408).

* By some the imperial decree is referred to the year 409.—See Alzog's History, by Pabisch and Byrne, Vol. I, 741.

† Among its chief items are mentioned 5000 pounds of gold and 30,000 of silver, 4000 silken robes and 30,000 pieces of scarlet cloth, 3000 pounds of pepper, etc.

He then set up as emperor in the city one of his creatures, Attalus. This man, though an Arian, openly favored the pagan party. The Christians, too spirited to submit passively to such a ruler, drove him out, when Alaric once more returned, and gave up the city to pillage. For six days, his greedy followers were allowed full license, and many doubtless were the deeds of violence perpetrated in that interval. The Christian churches, however, seem to have been respected, and those who took sanctuary in them were unharmed.

FINAL OVERTHROW OF THE PAGAN RELIGION.—The sack of Rome by the Goths was accepted by the Roman world as the judgment of God upon paganism, and the old religion never again reared its head. Indeed the faith of its adherents centred in the invincible might, the inviolable sanctity, and the eternity of the City of Rome herself. In their view, the glorious career of the Roman commonwealth had been due to the protecting favor of the gods. Of their city they had made a divinity, which they worshipped, and in which they implicitly trusted. With its fall, their creed was hopelessly shattered. They lost all heart and faith. The ancient superstitions, driven from the cities, now lingered only in fields among the ignorant peasantry—*pagani*, whence our English expression *pagans*.

THE KINGDOM OF THE VISIGOTHS.—Alaric quitted Rome at the end of twelve days, and led his plundering hordes through the centre and south of Italy, ravaging towns and villages, devastating estates, and setting free the slaves. Many Roman nobles were thus reduced to utter destitution; many fled beyond sea.

After the death of Alaric, his brother-in-law, Ataulphus, (Adolf), withdrawing from Italy, carved out for himself a kingdom which included the south of Gaul and the north of Spain. On the promise of a subsidy from Honorius, he consented to become a vassal of the emperor. The provincials, on their part, who were now known as Romans, from having adopted the language and manners of Rome, willingly submitted to the rule of their new master, which was probably less heavy than the fiscal tyranny of the imperial administration.

RAVAGES OF THE PICTS AND SCOTS IN BRITAIN.—Already were Spain and Gaul all but lost to the empire. And now the same fate befell Britain also. The recall of

the legions, whose presence was deemed necessary elsewhere, left the country exposed to the inroads of the Picts and Scots. Some troops, indeed, were sent at times to assist the Britons in driving their foe. But so soon as they withdrew, the restless invaders renewed their depredations.

IRISH INROADS INTO BRITAIN AND GAUL.—Nor was it merely from the incursions of their northern neighbors that the Britons had to suffer. The Scots of Ireland are known to have made frequent descents upon the coast of southern Britain, even from the first century of the Christian era. Agricola, who governed the British provinces in the reign of Domitian, is said to have retained near his person an Irish chieftain—probably captured during an inroad in Britain. Seneca, in his satire on Claudius, gives the name of Scots to the British Brigantes, thus implying that they originally came from Ireland. With the decline of the Roman power in Britain, the inroads of the Irish became more frequent and destructive. Nor did Gaul escape their ravages. Not to mention earlier instances, Nial of the Hostages led several expeditions into Gaul, in the last of which, A. D. 405, he was slain; while his nephew and successor, Dathy, penetrated to the Alps, where a stroke of lightning arrested his progress, A. D. 428. It was in one of their inroads abroad, about the year 400, that the Irish brought to Erin the illustrious captive,* for whom Providence had reserved the glory of their conversion to the Christian faith. But Patrick was then a mere youth. After spending seven years in tending the flocks of his master Milcho, in the present county of Antrim, he escaped from captivity; and it was not till 432 that he returned to Ireland, clothed with the character and authority of a Christian bishop.

* Patrick's mother also, Conchessa, the daughter of a Roman officer of Pannonian origin who was stationed on the Rhenish frontier, had been carried off in her youth by Frankish marauders. She converted both her captor and her captor's son, and marrying the latter, who is known to us under his Christian name of Calphurnius, and who enlisted in the Batavian legion, she followed him to Britain, and lived with him for some time in the fortress of Theodosia, the last Roman station in North Britain. Near by, in the neighborhood of what is now Dumbarton, Patrick was born about 373. Was he still in Britain at the time of his capture, or had he returned with his family to Gaul, is a matter of doubt. Potitus, the grandfather of Patrick, died a priest; his father Calphurnius became a deacon; but his most illustrious relative was his maternal uncle, the great St. Martin of Tours.

CLOSING YEARS OF HONORIUS.—The affairs of the empire, at the close of the reign of Honorius, assumed a less gloomy appearance. The barbarians were not yet ready for the repose of a settled life; and, by purchasing the services of one tribe to employ them against another, the nominal sovereign of both, who ruled at Ravenna, was still able to prevent them from establishing permanent governments of their own. Thus were several provinces rescued from barbaric yoke, and the progress of the invasion checked for some time longer. These happy results were chiefly due to the virtuous Constantius, who was both a skillful warrior and a great statesman. As a reward for his services, he received the title of Augustus, and the hand of Placidia, the emperor's sister. His son was adopted by Honorius, and succeeded this prince at Ravenna, as Valentinian III.

CHAPTER XLIV.

• THE EASTERN EMPIRE.—A. D. 395-475.

ARCADIUS (A. D. 394-408).—The reign of Arcadius was considerably shorter than that of Honorius. Like his brother, want of resolution and capacity made him unfit to govern in those troubled times. He rather witnessed than directed the transactions of his reign. The ravages of the Huns in Thrace, and of the Isaurians in Asia Minor; the successive ascendancy, at court, of Rufinus, Eutropius, and Gaïnas; the unjust treatment of St. Chrysostom, the illustrious archbishop of Constantinople, such were the principal events which marked the feeble rule of Arcadius. He was succeeded by his infant son, Theodosius II the Younger.

THEODOSIUS II THE YOUNGER (A. D. 408-450).—During the minority of this prince, the government was first in the hands of the præfect Anthemius, an able minister; and, afterwards, in those of the emperor's sister, the pious Pulcheria, who, at sixteen, showed enough vigor and capacity to preserve good order at home, and cause her power to be respected abroad. When war was renewed with the Persians, king Varanes V saw himself compelled to receive the

terms dictated by her. Unfortunately, Theodosius allowed himself to be prejudiced against his noble sister. A scholar, and possessed of most of the virtues which adorn a private station, the weak and indolent emperor knew not how to govern, nor how to choose ministers worthy of his confidence. Under his rule, provinces were laid waste by the barbarians, and he could not otherwise protect himself against Attila than by paying him an annual tribute.

MARCIAN (A. D. 450-457).—Theodosius II died at fifty, after a reign of 42 years. His sister Pulcheria then bestowed, together with her hand, the imperial crown on Marcian, a brave and virtuous officer, whom merit had raised from the condition of a common soldier to a conspicuous rank both in the army and the state. Marcian at once rescued the empire from the ignominy to which it had been reduced by the barbarians. When Attila claimed the tribute, the emperor's answer was, that, reserving gold for his friends, he had nothing but steel for his enemies. Towards his subjects he behaved as a father. He restored security and abundance. He secured the exact administration of justice, and diminished the taxes. But what chiefly engaged his attention was the cause of the true faith. Two opposite heresies were then desolating the Church—the Nestorian, which denied the unity of person in Christ; and the Eutychian, which confounded his two natures. The former had already been condemned in the council of Ephesus (B. C. 431). Against the latter, by the authority of Pope St. Leo and through the care of Marcian, the council of Chalcedon was now held (A. D. 451). Besides renewing the condemnation of the Nestorian, it solemnly proscribed the Eutychian errors.

Marcian's reign, which was unfortunately too short, has been called the golden age of the eastern empire. This excellent prince was not less distinguished for his domestic than for his public virtues. As to Pulcheria, she has merited by her holy life to have her name inscribed on the calendar of the saints.

LEO I, though not so talented as Marcian, was his worthy successor. He gained signal victories over the barbarians; and, in general, maintained his dominions in that state of respectability in which they had been left by his predecessor. He died A. D. 475, just one year before the fall of the western empire.

CHAPTER XLV.

THE FALL OF THE WESTERN EMPIRE.—A. D. 424-476.

ACCESSION OF VALENTINIAN III (A. D. 424).—Honorius dying childless, the crown devolved on Valentinian III, a prince remembered for his effeminacy more than for any active participation in the important transactions of his reign. As he was only 6 years old at his accession, his mother Placidia assumed the regency, supported by two illustrious senators, the patrician Aetius, by birth a Scythian, and the consul Bonifacius, count of Africa.

RIVALRY OF AETIUS AND BONIFACIUS.—Aetius, in his quality of patrician, ranked next to his imperial master. But he feared the influence of Bonifacius, his equal in military capacity, and his superior in moderation and disinterestedness. To ruin the dangerous rival, Aetius secretly sent him word that Placidia, being bent on his destruction, was about to recall him to court; and that, if he left Africa, his death was inevitable. At the same time, he assured Placidia that Bonifacius had conceived the design of rendering himself independent in Africa, and that he ought to be recalled.

THE VANDALS IN AFRICA (A. D. 428).—Placidia, too credulous, followed the treacherous advice. Bonifacius, thinking his life in danger, refused to obey, raised troops, and called to his aid the Vandals of Spain. Soon, indeed, the imposture of Aetius was unmasked. Bonifacius returned to the allegiance of the empress; but he could not expel the Vandals from Africa. Headed by the fierce Genseric, they overran the country with the rapidity of a torrent. Those rich provinces, whose inhabitants had by their corruption provoked the divine wrath, were soon deluged with blood. The Vandals established, on the ruins of the Roman power, the seat of their own domination, which lasted 106 years (A. D. 428-534).

DEATH OF BONIFACIUS (A. D. 432).—In the meantime, Placidia dared not punish the guilty, but too powerful patrician. But the favors she studiously heaped on Bonifacius, served only to increase the jealousy of Aetius. The two generals soon took the field, in support of their respective pretensions. Bonifacius was victorious; but, in the contest, he received a wound of which he died shortly after.

VICTORIES OF AETIUS.—Freed from his rival, Aetius now thought only of repairing the evils which his jealousy had occasioned. He defeated the Goths in the south of Gaul, the Franks in the north, and other barbarians near the frontiers of Germany and Italy. But he could not prevent Attila from crossing the Rhine.

ATTILA AND THE HUNS.—The Huns, a ferocious tribe issued from Tartary, had for some time been hovering along the frontiers, north of the Danube. Their king, Attila, who delighted to call himself the scourge of God, is depicted by historians as hideous in person, with an enormous head, small glittering eyes, a flat nose, a swarthy complexion, a stern and haughty bearing. Attila was held in horror not only by the Greeks and Romans, but also by the Goths and most of the barbarians who had preceded him in the territories of the empire. To slay, to plunder, to destroy—such was his mission. Fire and blood marked his track. After vanquishing the troops of Theodosius II and imposing a tribute on him, he turned northward, and attacked the tribes on the Elbe and the Baltic. He next crossed the Don and the Volga, and was making war upon the Tartars, when, finding that the Byzantine court had failed to pay its tribute, he hurried back to the Danube, and ravaged Thrace and Illyria.

RESCUE OF ORLEANS (A. D. 451).—Deterred by a bribe from further attacking the empire, Attila determined to march against the Visigoths in Gaul. When Aetius undertook to defend them, Franks, Burgundians, and Romans, flocked to his standard, the ravages of the Huns arousing every nationality against them. Attila crossed the Rhine through the connivance of a Frankish chieftain, his ally, and devastated the country as far as Orleans, on the Loire. That city closed its gates, yet barely escaped destruction. The Huns had already effected a breach in the walls, and were beginning the work of plunder, when Aetius with his Romans and Theodoric with his Visigoths, entering the city from the south, charged the barbarians. The surprise of the latter was equal to the suddenness and violence of the attack. Attila had besieged Orleans with only part of his army, having sent a division northward for the protection of his Frankish allies, and left the rest among the Burgundians, both to prevent them from rallying and to menace the passes of the Alps. When, therefore, he saw that Aetius and Theo-

doric opposed him with their full contingents, not choosing to risk a general battle with his present numbers, he fell back upon his base of operations; and, calling in his wings from Arras and Besançon, concentrated all his troops on the vast plains of Châlons-sur-Marne. No more favorable spot could have been chosen for his scattered forces to converge upon; none better suited for the operations of his cavalry, the arm in which lay his chief strength.

BATTLE OF CHÂLONS (A. D. 451).—The confederate armies of Romans, Visigoths, Alans, and Franks, followed their wary foe to the ample battle-ground of his choice. Aetius commanded on the right of the allies, king Theodoric on the left, and the Alan prince, Sangitan, in the centre. After some manœuvring, Aetius succeeded in occupying a sloping hill which commanded the left flank of the Huns. From this post no effort of the enemy could dislodge him, though Attila, who saw the importance of the position, detached some of his best troops from the centre to aid his left in the attack. Whilst the allies thus had the advantage on their right, their left gained a still more decisive triumph over the Ostrogoths, who formed the right of Attila's army. True, the gallant Theodoric fell struck down by a javelin, as he rode onward at the head of his brave Visigoths. But his followers, undismayed and rendered only the more furious by his fall, routed the enemies opposed to them, and then attacked the Hunnish centre, which had been engaged in an indecisive contest with the Alans. In this peril, Attila fell back upon his camp, where his archers, from the top of the entrenchments and wagons, easily kept the assailants at bay till nightfall. His menacing attitude, on the next day, daunted his antagonists. No measures were taken to blockade him in his camp. He was allowed to march back the remnants of his army without molestation, carrying off his booty and a multitude of captives. But his dream of founding a new anti-Christian dynasty upon the wreck of the empire, had vanished. The field just won was the last victory of imperial Rome. But, among the long *fasti* of her triumphs, few can compare, in importance and ultimate benefit to mankind, with this expiring effort of her arms. By it, the relics of classic civilization, and the early institutions of the Christianized Germans and Goths, were saved from the hopeless chaos of Tartaric domination. By it, also, the Germanic element, so conspicuous in the civiliza-

tion of modern Europe, was reserved for centuries of power and glory.

ATTILA AND ST. LEO (A. D. 452).—Attila's attacks on the western empire were renewed the following year. Invading Italy by way of Illyria, the ferocious Hun sacked Aquileia, Padua, and Verona. The fugitives from these cities took refuge in the islands of the Veneti, where they became the founders of Venice. Rome trembled; nor was there at hand any force capable of arresting the march of the invaders. In this extremity, the great pontiff St. Leo undertook an embassy to the king of the Huns. He found the haughty barbarian at the place where the Mincio enters the Lago di Garda; and such was the persuasive eloquence with which he addressed him, that Attila, after accepting a heavy bribe from the emperor, agreed to evacuate Italy. He withdrew to his stockade on the Danube; and, soon after, was taken with a violent vomiting of blood, of which he died (A. D. 453). With him disappeared the vast empire which he had founded.

DEATH OF VALENTINIAN III (A. D. 455).—Aetius outlived Attila only one year. A charge of conspiracy having been brought against him, he was summoned before the emperor, who, without demanding any explanation, stabbed him with his own hand. By this summary execution, Valentinian deprived himself of his only defender. A few months later, he was in turn assassinated by Maximus, a senator, who assumed the purple, and forced his widow, Eudoxia, to accept his hand. The princess bowed to the odious necessity; but secretly sent a message to Genseric, entreating him to avenge both her and Valentinian.

SACK OF ROME BY GENSERIC (A. D. 455).—The Vandal chief failed not to seize such a golden opportunity. With a large fleet he crossed the Mediterranean, sailed up the Tiber, and entered Rome. Unable to do more, St. Leo obtained from him that the lives and buildings should be spared. But the work of pillage went on for 14 days. The Vandals loaded their ships with ornaments of gold and silver, with metal statues, with the precious trophies suspended in the Capitol and the Temple of Peace, in a word, with all the wealth of Rome. They also plundered Nola, Capua, and other southern towns. Among the 60,000 captives carried off by them, were the empress Eudoxia and the two daughters she had borne to Valentinian III. One of

these Genseric gave in marriage to his own son. Eudoxia he surrendered to the emperor Leo.

EXTINCTION OF THE EMPIRE OF THE WEST (A. D. 476).—The western empire was now in the last stage of its existence. Maximus had been stoned to death, and Avitus, a senator of great repute, was invited to assume the diadem. But the real authority, from this time onward, was exercised by the commanders of the barbarians, who, under the denomination of *confederates*, having been taken into pay by the government, formed the imperial army. Ricimer, their general, after compelling Avitus to withdraw to his estate in Auvergne, created and deposed, in quick succession, Majorianus, Severus, Anthemius, and Olybrius (457–472). His death did not put a stop to the military despotism of the confederates. By them Olybrius was set aside to make room for Glycerius (473), who, in turn, had to abdicate in favor of Julius Nepos (475). Finally, the patrician of the empire, Orestes, a Pannonian of Roman origin, who had won wealth and reputation at the court of Attila, was allowed to bestow the purple on his own son, a child of six years, who, by a singular coincidence, bore the name of Romulus Augustulus.

Romulus Augustulus was the last of the western emperors. Odoacer, a chief of the Heruli, demanded from Orestes, in the name of the confederates, one-third of the lands of Italy. When this was refused, Odoacer, marching against Orestes, slew him, stripped the boy Romulus Augustulus of the purple, and had himself acknowledged king of all Italy, A. D. 476. Thus was the Roman empire destroyed in the west, 1229 years after the building of the city, 507 after the battle of Actium.

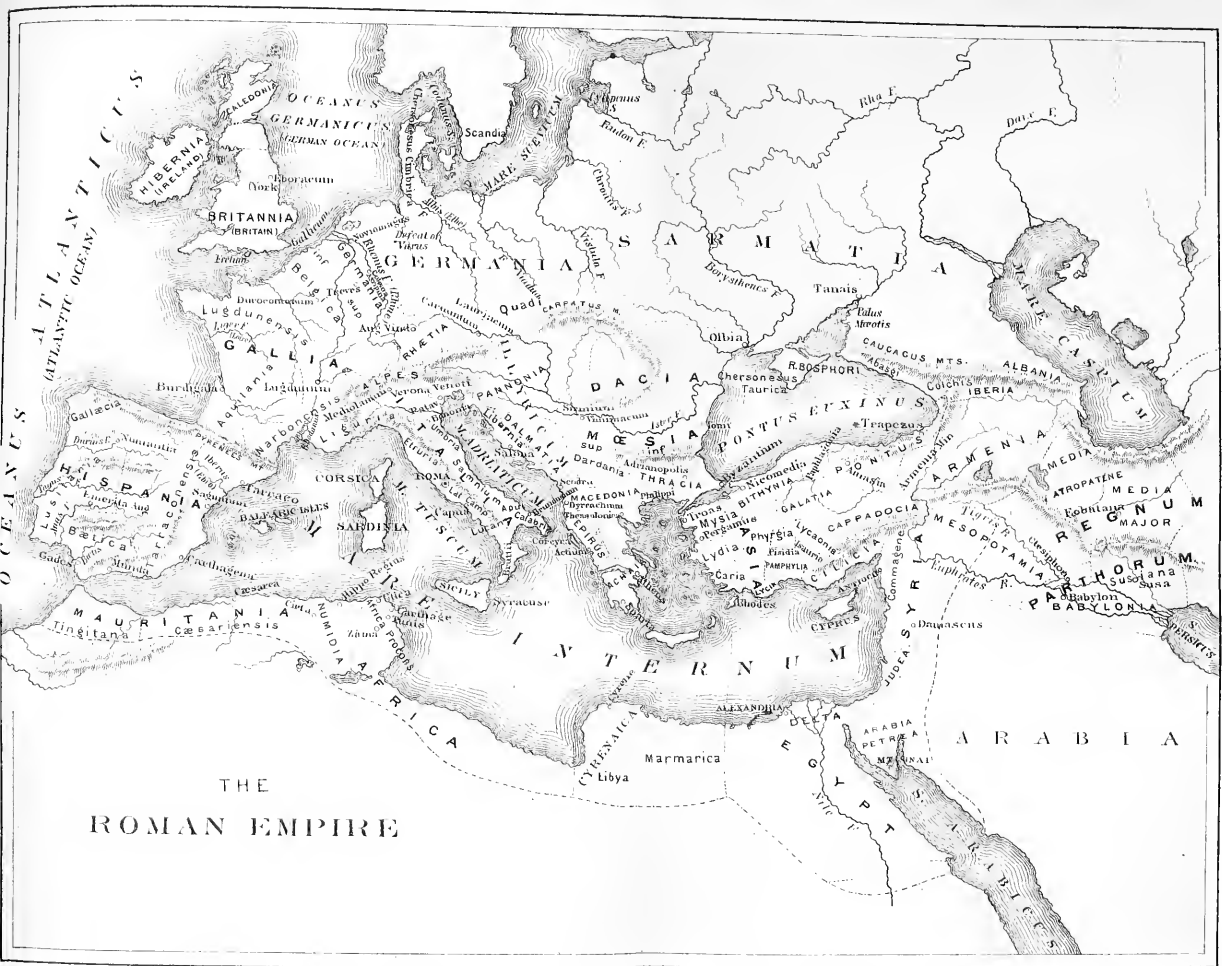
CHAPTER XLVI.

ROMAN LITERATURE.

THE OLDEST ROMAN POETS.—War for a long time so completely absorbed the Romans, that they paid little attention to letters. Indeed, there is no trace of literary efforts among them, till after the subjugation of Southern Italy. Their literature began with the drama, and it was only in







240 B. C. that the first regular dramatic piece was exhibited at Rome. It was from the pen of Livius Andronicus, a native of Magna Græcia; and, like the subsequent dramas of the same poet, as indeed of all his successors for many years, was nothing more than a translation from the Greek. Andronicus, besides tragedies and comedies thus borrowed from Grecian sources, wrote an *Odyssey* and some hymns.

The second Roman poet was Nævius, a native of Campania. As he made the stage a vehicle for assailing the aristocracy, he was thrown into prison, and even expelled from Italy. In his retirement at Utica, he composed an epic poem on the first Punic war, wherein were introduced the popular legends connected with the foundation of Rome.

The next writer of note is Ennius (B. C. 239-169). Born in Calabria, he was brought to Rome by Cato, and here supported himself by acting as preceptor to the noble Roman youths. His chief work, the *Annals of Rome*, remained, down to the age of Virgil, the great epic poem of the Latin language. Besides the *Annals*, Ennius composed a number of tragedies, comedies, and satires. His poetical talents procured for him the patronage of the Scipios, and he was buried in the sepulchre of that illustrious family.

POETS OF THE GOLDEN AGE ANTERIOR TO AUGUSTUS.—The most celebrated are Plautus (B. C. 254-184) and Terence (B. C. 195-150), Lucretius (B. C. 95-51) and Catullus (B. C. 87-48). Plautus, a comic poet, began his literary career when about thirty, and continued to write for the stage nearly 40 years. His comedies enjoyed unrivalled popularity among all classes, and continued to be represented down to the time of Diocletian. Though, like those of his predecessors, they are founded on Greek models, the characters in them invariably act, speak, and joke like genuine Romans; hence the favor with which they were regarded at Rome by both the learned and the unlearned.

Less popular, but more refined in tone and language, were the comedies of Terence, which intellectual Romans admired for their immaculate purity and elegance of expression. Although a foreigner and a freedman, Terence was treated as an equal by Lælius and the younger Scipio. There were two tragic poets contemporary with Terence, who also enjoyed great celebrity, but all of whose works have perished, Pacuvius and Accius.

The name of Lucretius has been immortalized by his *De*

Rerum Natura, which, as a work of art, is admitted by all modern critics to be the greatest of didactic poems. In it, the literary principles of the Epicurean philosophy, together with the most abstruse speculations, are set forth in majestic verse; and the whole is enlivened by digressions of matchless power and beauty. Unfortunately, the main points of doctrine therein set forth, are wholly erroneous.

The poems of Catullus comprise elegies, epigrams, and lyrics, together with an epic on the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis. It has been said of him, that he adorned all he touched. Catullus and Lucretius are by some regarded as the two greatest of all Roman poets.

PROSE WRITERS BEFORE AUGUSTUS.—The earliest prose works among the Romans, were annals. The oldest Latin annalist of whom any considerable fragments have been preserved, is Cato the Censor. His important book entitled *Origines*, contained a complete history of Rome from the kingly period to the year of his death. This and similar works of other annalists were used by Livy, in compiling his great history.

In Cato's time, oratory was already cultivated at Rome as one of the chief avenues to political distinction. Cicero, in his *Brutus*, has a long list of renowned orators, whose speeches he had heard or read. But he himself far surpassed all his predecessors and contemporaries. Nor was it in oratory alone that he excelled. His works on *philosophy* and *rhetoric*, as well as his *Epistles*, are the most beautiful of their kind in the Latin language.

Varro is pronounced to have been both the most learned of Roman scholars, and the most voluminous of Latin authors. But of the 490 books which he wrote, only two have come down to us: *De Re Rustica*, a work on agriculture, composed in his 80th year; and *De Lingua Latina*, a grammatical treatise, of which only 6 books out of 24 have been preserved.

Of Cæsar's several works, his *Commentaries* are all that we possess. For purity and clearness of style, they have justly obtained the highest praise.

Sallust, a contemporary and political supporter of Cæsar, was also a distinguished historian. Only two of his books, the *Catilina* and *Jugurtha*, have reached us entire. Sallust is conspicuous for brevity, and finish of style.

Cornelius Nepos, the contemporary and friend of Cicero,

was the author of many works, all of which are lost, except his well-known *Lives of Distinguished Commanders*. But even these, it is thought, are merely an abridgement of the original work.

AUGUSTAN WRITERS.—The most conspicuous of these are Virgil (B. C. 70–19), Horace (B. C. 65–8), Tibullus (B. C. 54–18), Ovid (B. C. 43–A. D. 18) and Livy (B. C. 59–A. D. 17). Virgil's poetical works comprise the *Eclogues*, his earliest compositions; the four books of *Georgics*, which are the most finished of all his poems; lastly, the *Æneid*, an epic formed on the Homeric plan, the first six books of which are modelled after the *Odyssey*, while the last six recall the battles of the *Iliad*. The fortunes of Æneas and his final settlement in Italy, are the subjects of the *Æneid*; but the glories of Rome and the Julian house, are indirectly the poet's theme. On his death-bed Virgil wished to burn his great epic, to which he had not given the final touches, but was happily prevented by his friends. Even during the lifetime of Augustus, the works of Virgil became schoolbooks, and they have continued such ever since. Not remarkable for any striking originality, their chief merit lies in the elegance and beauty of the versification, their singular delicacy, simple pathos, and uniform good taste.

Introduced to Mæcenas by Virgil, Horace soon won the friendship of this great minister. His works, which consist of *Odes*, *Satires*, and *Epistles*, reflect the manners of the age more fully than those of any other Augustan writer. While devoid of the higher inspirations of lyric verse, his *Odes* are unrivalled for terse and translucent expression, agreeable images, and skillful felicities of language and of measure. His *satires* expose the folly rather than the wickedness of vice; and in his *Epistles* are found such knowledge of the weaknesses of the human art, such good sense and practical wisdom, that they have been the charm of the scholar in every age. They are his most original and most perfect compositions. The best-known, though not the most artistic, the epistle *Ad Pisones*, or *Ars Poetica*, was probably intended to dissuade Piso's eldest son from devoting himself to poetry, by suggesting the difficulty of attaining eminence in the art. Horace is the most frequently quoted of ancient classics, but from none of his productions are citations so common as from the *Ars Poetica*. According to his description of himself, as found

in his works, Horace was of short stature, with dark eyes and dark hair. Tolerably robust in youth, he grew fat in more advanced life, and became a valetudinarian. In dress he was rather careless. Though generally frugal and abstemious, he scrupled not upon occasions to indulge in conviviality, and enjoy the luxuries of his time.

Like his great contemporary Virgil, whom he survived but a short time, Tibullus is described as a gentle and singularly amiable man. To Horace he was particularly dear. His *Elegies* are mainly addressed to his mistresses, whose beauty and cruelty they depict in tender and exquisitely finished verses.

By his father, Ovid was destined to be a pleader. But the hours which should have been spent in the study of jurisprudence, were devoted to the worship of the Muses. His poetic talents won for him the friendship of a large circle of distinguished men; and he enjoyed the favor of Augustus till his 50th year, when he was suddenly banished to Tomi, on the Euxine. His works consist of amatory poems; the *Metamorphoses*; the *Fasti*, a sort of poetical Roman calendar, with its appropriate festivals and mythology; and the *Elegies*, written during his banishment. In these, he piteously complains of the inhospitable soil, the severity of the climate, and the hardships of exile; but all his entreaties could not procure his recall. Gifted with real genius, wonderful facility, great vigor of fancy and warmth of coloring, Ovid lacked taste and judgment. His works exhibit traces of negligence foreign to the other poets of his time.

Of the prose writers of the Augustan age, Livy is undoubtedly the greatest. His *History* extended from the foundation of Rome to the death of Drusus, B. C. 9, and comprised 142 books, of which only 35 have descended to us entire. Of the remainder nothing is extant, except inconsiderable fragments. In easy elegance and grace of style, Livy is unequalled. But his work seems rather a pleasing narrative meant to flatter the national vanity, than a critical history of Roman events.

POST-AUGUSTAN WRITERS.—Roman literature did not long maintain the elegance and harmony of the golden age; and, amidst a host of authors, the period of the empire boasts only two names, Juvenal (A. D. 38-?) and Tacitus (A. D. ?-117), that are really great.

Of Juvenal we possess 16 satires—full of noble appeals

to the purest emotions, and of severe rebuke for triumphant vice. His language is often harsh and otherwise faulty; but his ideas are so elevated, his perception of truth, honor, and justice so clear, that he seldom fails to win the attention of his reader. He was banished by Domitian, and died in exile.

Tacitus, the chief of the imperial prose, has a style wholly his own—vigorous and dramatic, concise and condensed to a degree nowhere else found, but not always compatible with perspicuity. His descriptions are full of animation; and his characters, of living reality. Only a small portion of his *Historiarum Libri*, a history of his own age from Galba to Domitian, is preserved. His *Annales*, or history of Rome from the death of Augustus to that of Nero, are also imperfect. His *Life of Agricola* is one of the most delightful of biographies. A treatise On Orators is also attributed to Tacitus.

The *Pharsalia* of Lucan (A. D. 38–65), an epic on the wars between Cæsar and Pompey, contains many fine thoughts and striking images, generally expressed in pure language and harmonious versification.

Martial (A. D. 40–110) has left about 1500 *epigrams*, full of originality and wit, but often indecent and obscure. Of the *Fables* of Phædrus, written under Augustus and Tiberius, and which are so well known, it is unnecessary to speak. The *Alexander the Great* of Quintus Curtius, and the *Twelve Cæsars* of Suetonius, are also pleasant reading. Velleius Paterculus, Valerius Maximus, Florus, Justin, Aurelius Victor, Eutropius, Ammianus Marcellinus, were authors of historical works not void of merit or interest.

Quintilian (A. D. 42–?), a celebrated teacher of rhetoric and a person of excellent character, has left a most valuable work upon oratory, *Libri duodecim Institutionis Oratoriæ*. This book, wherein by precept and example he strives to restore the purity of the language, has ever been the chief guide of rhetors, and the storehouse whence most precepts contained in modern rhetorics have been drawn. The philosophical essays and other works of Seneca (B. C. ?–A. D. 65), although full of affectation, and otherwise offending against taste, have always been admired.

In his *Historia Naturalis*, the elder Pliny passes in review the whole circle of human knowledge—the heavens, the earth and its inhabitants, trees, flowers, minerals, the sea, the arts and sciences. His nephew, the younger Pliny,

was a famous orator, or declaimer; but he is chiefly remembered for his agreeable letters, and the purity and dignity of his character.

CHAPTER XLVII.

PROGRESS OF CHRISTIANITY.

REMOTE PREPARATION.—The transportation of the Jews into Assyria and Babylonia; the formation of the Persian empire, which, together with the Jewish dispersion, greatly contributed to disseminate the belief in one only God, common to both Jews and Persians; the conquests of Alexander and consequent spread of the Greek language in the east; above all, the great fabric of the Roman commonwealth, which so closely united the western with the eastern world, connecting the whole by ties political, commercial, and literary, and rendering travel both easy and secure—such were the successive steps divinely preordained to facilitate the carrying out of Christ's injunction to his apostles: "Go ye forth into the whole world, and teach all nations."

RAPID DIFFUSION OF THE GOSPEL.—So great was the rapidity with which the Gospel spread and filled the earth, that St. Paul applies to the Twelve the words of the Psalmist: "And indeed their sound hath gone forth to all the earth, and their words to the end of the whole world." A hundred years after Christ, we find the Church established, not only in Palestine and Syria, where it sprung up, but in Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece; in Italy, Gaul, and Spain; in those parts of Germany, Britain, and Africa which were subject to Rome; and, beyond the limits of the empire, in Armenia, Persia, and India, as well as among the Sarmatians, Dacians, Scythians, Moors, and Gætulians. Of this wonderfully rapid diffusion of Christianity, the early Fathers speak with enthusiasm: "There is," exclaims *Justin Martyr* in the second century, "no people, whether Greek or barbarian, among whom prayers and thanksgiving are not offered to the Father and Creator of the world, in the name of Christ crucified"—a statement which is confirmed by Irenæus, Tertullian, Origen, and others.

PERSECUTIONS.—The rapid growth of the Church will appear the more marvellous, if we consider the difficulties which the gospel encountered from the human passions, which it thwarted; from national prejudices, which it disregarded; from the opposition of both Jews and pagans alike; lastly, from the strenuous efforts made by the civil power to extinguish the new religion. During nearly 300 years, the faithful continued the objects of popular suspicion or hatred, sometimes tolerated by the emperors and magistrates, but generally subject to numberless vexations, harassed in a thousand ways, tracked, cast into dungeons, horribly tormented, and put to death. But “the blood of the martyrs was the seed of the Church,” and the number of Christians increased with the persecution.

HERESIES.—Invincible against external enemies, the Church was equally so against those that arose from her own ranks. As predicted by Christ, heresies sprang up among the Christians long before the heathen persecutions were ended, and, after their cessation, burst forth with increased violence. Hardly had the peace of Constantine been proclaimed, when a storm was raised by Arius, more violent than any the Church had yet encountered. Seduced by this heresiarch, the emperor Constantius harassed both clergy and people throughout the empire. His successor, Julian, who wished to destroy Christianity altogether, fondly encouraged the factions by which the Church was divided. After him, Valens showed himself no less ardent a champion of Arianism than even Constantius. The Goths, infected by him with this error, carried it to the utmost confines of the empire. Other heresies and schisms followed. But, by means of her ecumenical councils—at Nice, Constantinople, Ephesus, Chalcedon, and through the firmness of her pontiffs and great doctors, she triumphed over heresy, as before over the torments of the heathen persecutors.

APOLOGISTS.—Popular prejudice, under the pagan emperors, attributed every public calamity to the impiety of the Christians, for refusing to worship the national gods and indulge the national vices. Hence every plague or famine or earthquake or defeat became invariably the signal for the mob to renew the ominous cry, “The Christians to the lions!” To counteract these prejudices, the most learned among the Christians early addressed to various emperors *apologies*, or statements in vindication of the Christian faith and char-

acter. Thus Quadratus, bishop of Athens, and Aristides, a converted philosopher of the same city, presented *apologies* to Hadrian; Justin Martyr, to Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius; Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis, Melito, bishop of Sardis, and the rhetorician Miltiades, to the same Aurelius; also Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, to the emperors Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. But the greatest works of this class were Tertullian's *Apologeticus*, written (about A. D. 200) during the persecution of Alexander Severus, Origen's exhaustive volume against Celsus, the *Divine Institutes* of Lactantius, and the *City of God* of St. Augustine.

CHRISTIAN WRITERS IN THE 2d AND 3d CENTURIES.—Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Tertullian, and St. Cyprian, are the greatest names of the period.—Clement was born in heathenism, but was led by dissatisfaction with the Greek philosophy in which he was deeply versed, to seek for the pure truth of the Gospel. After hearing several eminent teachers, he was at last converted by Pantænus, the first known superintendent of the catechetical school of Alexandria, and became a priest in that city. Between 189–203, as successor of Pantænus in the headship of the school, he labored assiduously, by writing and oral instruction, in the work of Christian education and heathen conversion.

Origen, the son of the martyr Leonidas of Alexandria, was taught by his father both secular and sacred learning. He attended also the lessons of Clement, whom he succeeded, at the age of 18, as head of the school. Under him, it became a seminary not only of sacred learning, but of general culture also; and was frequented even by Jews, heathens, and Gnostics, several of whom became fervent Christians. Origen was the most learned man of his time. With his wonderful knowledge he united a most tender piety, consecrating all his studies by prayer, and turning them to the service of God. His voluminous works are not exempt from errors; but these must not blind us to the immense value of his services in the cause of truth, especially as an interpreter of the word of God.

Tertullian, the first great Christian writer in the Latin language, was born about the year 160, at Carthage. Trained to the profession of an advocate, it was not till his 30th or 40th year that he embraced Christianity. Tertullian was a man of keen intellect, vast learning, and singular eloquence;

but his ardent and ill-balanced nature led him into a deplorable exaggeration of asceticism, and his works for the most part were composed after he fell away to Montanism. Abrupt and concise, rapid and impetuous, full of strong images and hyperboles, the style of his writings is in perfect keeping both with the thought expressed and the character of the author.

Born of a noble Carthaginian family, Cyprian lived to mature age in luxury and the vicious license of heathenism. But he no sooner became convinced of the truth of Christianity, than he proved the sincerity of his conversion by taking a vow of chastity and selling his goods for the benefit of the poor. A man of great intellectual culture, he had already attained the highest fame as a teacher of rhetoric. To this was now added the halo of sanctity; and, within three years from his conversion, he was raised by the acclamations of the people to the bishopric of Carthage (A. D. 248). In this capacity Cyprian displayed great administrative talents, combining strictness and moderation, dignity and gentleness, so as to inspire love and confidence as well as esteem and veneration. As an author, St. Cyprian is far less original, fertile, and vigorous than Tertullian; but he is clearer, and more elegant in his style. St. Irenæus, Minucius Felix, and Arnobius, were other distinguished Christian writers of the period under review.

THE AGE OF DOCTORS.—The 4th century of the Christian era has been styled the Age of Doctors—an appellation which the names of Athanasius and Basil, Chrysostom and Gregory, Ambrose and Hilary, Jerome and Augustine, amply justify. Of St. Athanasius and St. Ambrose we have spoken above; and of the others a short sketch is all that our limited space allows. Three of them belong to Cappadocia—Basil, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory Nazianzen.

After studying with his father till the age of 18, and at Constantinople with Libanius, St. Basil spent the next five years (351–355) in perfecting himself in oratory, mathematics, and philosophy, at Athens. On his return, he taught rhetoric in his native city, but soon withdrew into solitude, where he applied exclusively to meditation and prayer. Reluctantly drawn from his retreat to be ordained priest, he was in a few years made bishop of Cæsarea and metropolitan of Cappadocia with fifty suffragans under him. Here, be-

sides his usual austerities, his charity to the poor and love of poverty, he displayed such administrative talents and such invincible firmness in resisting the Arian emperor Valens, as have immortalized his short pontificate of 9 years (370-379). His works on the Scriptures, as also on the divinity of Christ and of the Holy Ghost, have secured him a distinguished place among the Fathers as a theologian, while his discourses have won for him a high rank among the sacred orators.

St. Gregory of Nyssa, a younger brother of Basil, by whom he was educated, first taught rhetoric at Cæsarea, and then led for some time in solitude a life of study and asceticism. Raised by Basil to the bishopric of the small town of Nyssa (372), he was revered by the Fathers of the first council of Constantinople, at which he assisted, as one of the pillars of Catholic orthodoxy. Besides the life of his sister Macrina and the panegyric of his brother Basil, he composed biographical Eulogies on St. Stephen, the Forty Martyrs of Sebaste, St. Gregory Thaumaturgus, St. Ephrem, and St. Meletius, bishop of Antioch; also homilies on the Scriptures, and several ascetic tracts. His writings are not surpassed by those of any other Father for clear and distinct statements of doctrine.

Inferior to his bosom friend, Basil, as a Church ruler, and to his namesake of Nyssa as a speculative thinker, St. Gregory Nazianzen was superior to both as an orator. Trained in Greek science, as well as in Scripture learning, Gregory early chose the profession of rhetoric, and pursued his studies at Cæsarea in Palestine; next at Alexandria, where Athanasius was then bishop, and finally, at Athens, where he formed his well-known close, and lifelong intimacy with Basil. Returning to his native province at 30, he lived alternately in solitude, at Nazianzus, and at Seleucia in Isauria, till he was called to preach and act the pastor, as champion of orthodoxy, in the heretical capital of the empire (379-381). Gregory's high place in ecclesiastical literature is due to his eloquent orations. Of these, five, called *theological*, were delivered at Constantinople against the Eunomian and Macedonian heretics; the remaining 45 are eulogies and discourses on the events of his own life, on public affairs, and on Church festivals. As a poet, St. Gregory Nazianzen holds a respectable place. His *Epistles*, like those of St. Basil, are full of information about his life and times; and, in some cases, very graceful and interesting.

John of Antioch, surnamed *Chrysostom* (the golden-mouthed), was the favorite pupil of Libanius, who would have appointed him as his successor in the chair of rhetoric, 'had not the Christians snatched him away.' Having finished his course of eloquence, and applied to philosophy, in which he also excelled, John devoted himself with much earnestness to pleading at the bar; but soon resolved to consecrate his powers to a sacred use. After three years' probation, he was baptized, and made lector by St. Meletius, his bishop. On the death of his widowed mother, in whose house he had lived the life of a recluse, John further spent 6 years of still more rigorous penance in distant solitudes (374-380); after which he was raised to the deaconship, and next to the priesthood. During the years of his ministry at Antioch, he acquired great fame as a preacher and expositor of Scripture, and won by his pure and devoted character universal love and admiration. Elevated to the patriarchal see of Constantinople, he now attained the climax of power and fame for eloquence; but his bold denunciations of vice made him enemies in high places. He was twice sent into exile; but the first time, to appease the anger of his flock, he had to be recalled. Banished a second time, he died of ill treatment.

The discourses of St. Chrysostom, about 600 in number, are for the most part consecutive expositions of entire books of Scripture. Some of his homilies, however, treat of separate texts, and some are controversial; but all are remarkable for profoundness of thought, clearness of exposition, and exquisite arrangement. The style is elevated and easy, rich in figures and comparisons, and full of striking images. Wonderful are said to have been the effects of Chrysostom's oratory. Gifted with a clear and sonorous voice, graceful gesture, and brilliant imagination; his mind well stored with Scripture lore, his soul fired with the flame of charity, his heart replete with the generosity of the cross; a perfect master of rhetoric and logic, knowing all the avenues to the human feelings, and in full sympathy with his hearers; now like a torrent from the mountain height, now like a river in its majestic course—he appears to have completely riveted his audience. Tears, terror, joy, admiration, in turn were elicited; and often was the eloquence of the orator interrupted by bursts of acclamation.

St. Hilary of Poitiers, so styled from his birthplace and bishopric, was already of mature age when he embraced Christianity. His writings are distinguished for thorough knowledge of the Scriptures, and the skill with which he expresses the ideas of his Greek models—Origen and Athanasius—in the less flexible Latin. His zeal in defence of orthodoxy and strenuous opposition to Arianism in Gaul, caused him to be surnamed ‘The Athanasius of the West.’

Born of wealthy parents in Dalmatia, St Jerome received a thorough education in Rome; but it was not till about his 30th year that he devoted himself to a life of ascetic discipline, joined with literary labor. From a converted Jew he learned the Hebrew language; and, henceforth, his chief occupation was his translation of the Scriptures direct from the original—a work which has won for him the title of *Doctor Maximus*.* St. Jerome was also distinguished as an eminent spiritual director, and an ardent promoter of monastic life.

St. Augustine—the greatest name of the Latin Church—was a public teacher of rhetoric at Milan, when he became a hearer of St. Ambrose, and a convert to the Christian faith, being then in his 34th year (387). The four years which followed his conversion, he spent in retirement, meditation, and study. But, happening one day to assist at the divine service in the cathedral church of Hippo, he was compelled to receive the ordination to the priesthood, and before long succeeded to the bishopric. Henceforth, Augustine led a life in common with his clergy. His house became a school of theology, and no woman was permitted to enter it. The inmates, like the prelate, wore the black dress of the eastern cenobites; their common meal, a frugal repast, was usually seasoned with reading. Augustine preached almost daily in his own church, and in the churches of his brother bishops, when abroad. During his episcopate of 35 years, no religious question of importance arose, whether in Africa or throughout the west, but he took in it a prominent part; and by his voluminous writings, which touch on almost every point of dogmatic theology, he wielded in his own day, and has since exercised more influence in doctrinal matters than any other Father of the Church. Unrivalled in powers of logic and reasoning, profound in metaphysics,

*The greatest doctor.

warm and poetic, brilliant and imaginative, acquainted with all the ancient religions and philosophies and with every shade of contemporaneous thought, always ready to confront error in personal conflict or with the pen, St. Augustine was one of the most extraordinary men that ever lived.

Lactantius, Eusebius of Cæsarea, St. Ephrem, St. Cyril of Jerusalem, St. Epiphanius, St. Cyril and Didymus of Alexandria, St. Prosper of Aquitania, St. Honoratus, and above all, St. Leo the Great, are other illustrious names of that marvellous age, when the Christian teachers and writers, monopolizing all the learning and eloquence of the declining Roman empire, made it subservient to the cause of Christianity.

CHRISTIANITY AND ROMAN SOCIETY.—Most degraded was the moral state of society, at the advent of Christ. Vice was deified. Lust had become a part of the religious worship. Infanticide, divorce, and slavery, not only were legally recognized, but prevailed to a frightful extent. Intemperance and gluttony were no disgrace. Fathers had the right of life and death over their children, and masters over their slaves. Woman was held in a state of inferiority and degradation. Poverty and misery excited nothing but contempt. The Romans, in particular, had become so callous to the sufferings of their fellow-beings, as to take their chief delight in the combats of gladiators; and we read that even the mildest and best of emperors—a Titus, a Trajan, and such like—felt no scruple in forcing thousands of unfortunate captives to butcher one another merely ‘to make a Roman holiday.’ Yet, in such ill-prepared soil, did the evangelical virtues soon thrive with wonderful luxuriance. In place of the enormities which they before practised, the converts became models of temperance and chastity, of humility and charity, of justice and uprightness. To love their enemies, to forgive injuries, to compassionate the poor, to look on their slaves as dear brethren in Christ, to tend the sick, to feed the poor, to hold health and wealth as vanities, to despise honors, to be patient under sufferings in hope of a blissful eternity—such were the virtues which the Sun of justice caused to flourish everywhere. Even the pagans did not remain blind to this wonderful transformation. Pliny saw nothing but innocent behavior in the Christians of his province of Bithynia. Constantius Chlorus preferred Christians to all others in his service. Libanius, on beholding the virtuous conduct of Anthusa, the mother of his favorite pupil

John, could not help exclaiming, "Ah! what women there are among the Christians!" When half the population of the empire had thus come to practise those heavenly virtues in privacy, Constantine rightly judged the moment had arrived to give them some sort of recognition and encouragement. By various imperial enactments, the condition of prisoners was alleviated; provision was made for the maintenance of the destitute children of the poor; hospitals for the sick were erected; the emancipation of slaves was encouraged, and a weekly day of rest granted by law to laborers, officials, and soldiers. The impure rights of the heathen worship were forbidden; and the temples wherein these were practised, pulled down. An attempt was even made by Constantine to put a stop to the barbarous gladiatorial combats. Thus did the spirit of the Church begin to pervade the civil legislation. But what shows still more plainly the wonderful change produced in society by the influence of the Gospel, was the spread of monasticism.

EARLY MONASTICISM.—Not content to practise Christian virtues, as best they could, in the midst of the world, multitudes tore themselves away from it, to lead in solitude or in monasteries a life of prayer and mortification. The first distinguished anchorite that we know of, was St. Paul of Thebes (229-341), who for 90 years lived alone in the desert of Upper Egypt. Not he, however, but his disciple Anthony (251-356), also an Egyptian, is regarded as the founder of monastic life, as it was the latter's fame and example that gave it the first great impulse. Despite his desire of living by himself the life of the hermit, Anthony felt compelled to accept the guidance of thousands of his countrymen, who came to settle round him in the desert of the Thebaïd, where they dwelt in their separate cells—fasting, working, and praying, but assembling together at proper intervals to partake of the sacraments and hear the burning exhortations of their great patriarch. From Egypt, where the number of monks is said to have equalled the population of cities, this mode of life spread to other countries. In the wilderness of Gaza, St. Hilarion, Anthony's disciple, was revered as the father of the Syrian anchorites.

Besides the monks thus living as hermits, there were others who preferred the *cenobitic*, or community life, in monasteries. This new, or social form of monasticism also

sprang up in Egypt. Its founder, or at least its first regulator, was Pachomius, who attained a fame only second to that of Anthony. He too was born in the Thebaïd, but of heathen parents, and was serving in the army of Maximian, when the spectacle of the fraternal love reigning among the faithful, won him over to Christianity. The monastery over which he presided on the island of Tabennæ, in the Nile, became the type of all such communities in Egypt. Before his death in 348, the number of his monks, spread through 8 or 9 cloisters in the Thebaïd, counted already more than 8000, a number which grew in the course of a century to 50,000.

Both the cenobite and the anchorite form of monasticism spread rapidly over the east. St. Athanasius, St. Basil, the two Gregories, St. Chrysostom, followed for some time this mode of life, and favored it, notably St. Basil, who drew up an improved monastic rule, which, before his death, was adopted by about 80,000 monks.

In the west, the spirit of monasticism was first diffused by the visits of St. Athanasius when an exile, but especially by his Life of St. Anthony. Rome soon had a convent of nuns, among whom was Marcellina, sister of St. Ambrose, who himself founded a monastery at Milan. His pupil Augustine, as has been said, led with his clergy the life of a monk in his episcopal residence, at Hippo. St. Jerome also was ardent in propagating monasticism by oral and written exhortation, as well as by his own example. But the chief representatives of monasticism in the west, in those early days of the institution, was the great St. Martin, the patron of Gaul.

Born in Pannonia of pagan parents, but educated in Italy, young Martin followed his brother, an imperial officer, into northern Gaul, and served 3 years as a soldier under Constantius and Julian. Having been baptized in his 18th year, he first lived as a hermit in Italy, and afterwards founded a monastery in Gaul, near Poitiers. Made bishop of Tours against his will, he maintained his monastic life, which was sanctioned by numberless miracles. From his example, monasticism spread rapidly through southern Gaul, where his most eminent successors were Cassian, an ascetic writer, who established two cloisters of men and women at Marseilles, and St. Honoratus, bishop of Arles, the founder of the famous island monastery of Lerins.

The great development of western monasticism by St. Patrick, St. Columba, and St. Columbanus on the one hand,

and by St. Benedict of Nursia on the other, belong to Medieval history.

THE CHURCH AND THE BARBARIANS.—Much as the Gospel had leavened Roman society; salutary as were the imperial enactments in favor of poor laborers, of widows and orphans, of prisoners and slaves; great as was the prestige of the Christian bishops and clergy; wide-spread as were the benefits of monasticism,—the institutions and traditions, the literature and the arts, as well as the laws of Rome, which were pagan in their source, still remained essentially pagan, as did also a large portion of the population of the empire, in whose heart heathenism was too deeply rooted to be eradicated by other than violent means. This Providence supplied in that deluge of barbarians which, from the death of the emperor Theodosius, repeatedly overwhelmed the provinces. From the forests of Germany, from the steppes of Scythia and Tartary, came this horde of destroyers, burning, plundering, laying low what temples of idols still stood, and scattering to the winds the last remnants of superstition. But, whilst they seemed only the instruments of destruction, they were brought within hearing of Christ's true Church, which, with her ancient and unbroken hierarchy, her popes, her bishops, her priests, her monks, stood ready to receive, to disarm, to soften, to teach, and to civilize them, in a word, to make of them men and Christians. The tempest, which, had she been merely human, would have engulfed her along with the old Roman institutions, served only to exhibit her divine perpetuity. Not only did she survive all strength of opposition; but out of chaos, she brought forth order; from ignorance, knowledge; from barbarism, civilization; from paganism, Christianity. She became, indeed, the mother of the nations which arose from the ruins of the Western Empire. Under her influence, the formation of Christendom began, and was completed.

CONCLUSION.—In material enjoyment and luxury, several of the ancient nations rivalled our modern times. In art and literature, they produced masterpieces which have not been surpassed. But in true civilization, in morals and religion, in the government of the individual, the family, and society, how striking the difference! As the light of the Gospel dispels the darkness, barbarous and infamous rites disappear; unjust and inhuman laws are discarded; criminal and cruel practices cease. The native equality of all is acknowledged.

Woman becomes the partner and equal of man. Civil power no longer dictates to conscience. In fine, whilst in pagan times we meet an occasional example of natural virtues, in Christian history alone is found the genuine hero—whether in the walks of ordinary life, or, for God's sake, consecrated to the service of the neighbor—ever actuated by principles of religion, and finding happiness in whatever tends to the alleviation of misery, the dispelling of ignorance, and the promotion of virtue.



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The marks of pronunciation here used have been taken substantially from Worcester's Dictionary: *ā, ē, ī, ō, ū, ŷ, long*; *ă, ě, ĭ, ŏ, ŭ, ŷ, short*; *ą, ę, ĭ, ę, ū, ę, obscure*; *â, ê, î, ô, as in fall, there, marine, move*; *ch, hard*; *æ*, ending a syllable is equivalent to long *ē*. The accent ' shows the syllable on which the stress is laid.

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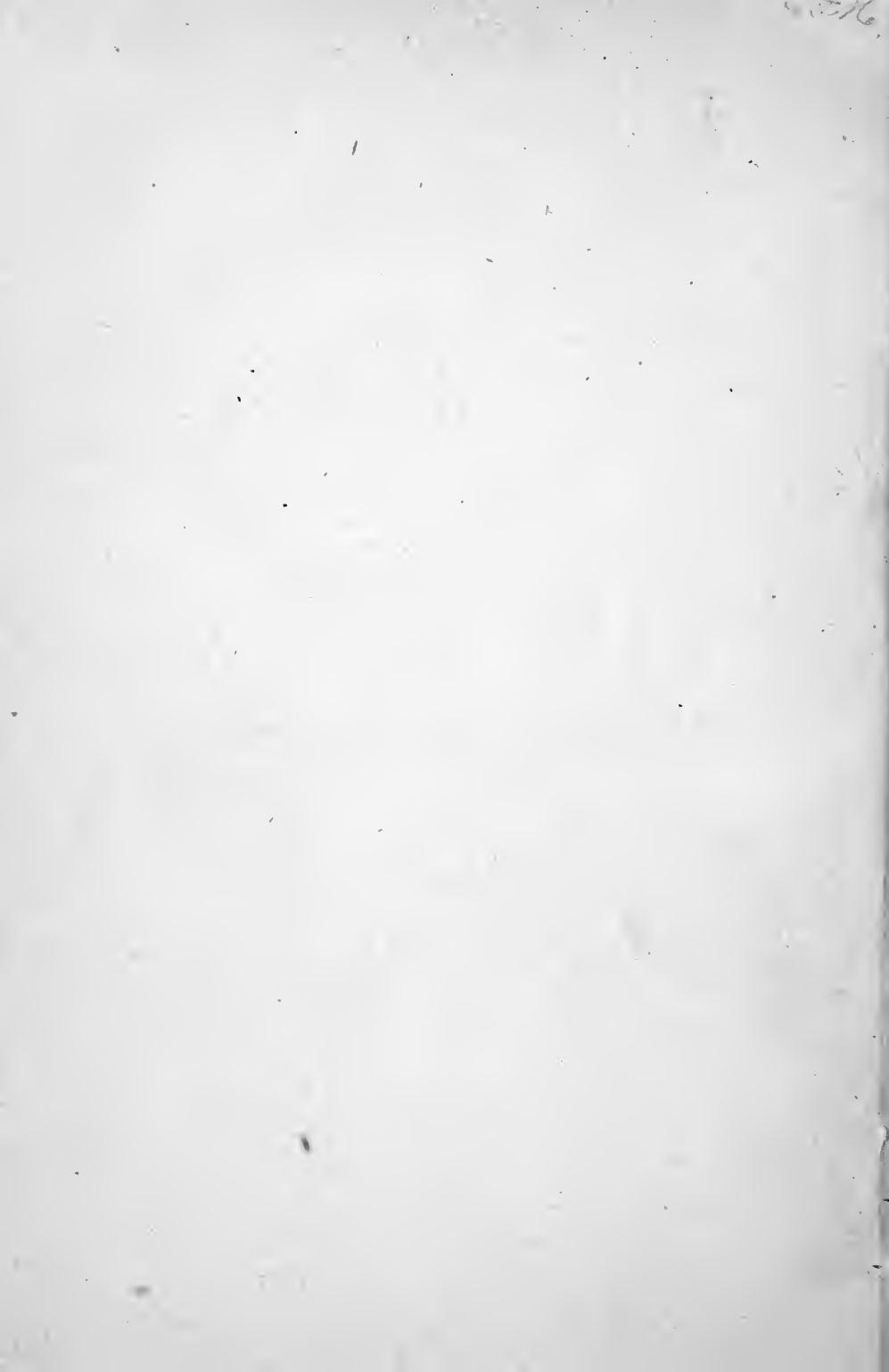
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